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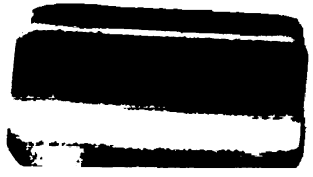

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METHODIST
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1883.

ART. I.—DUNS SCOTUS.

DUNS SCOTUS, the Doctor Subtilis of Scholasticism, is the least known of the great lights of the Middle Ages. Really it may be said of him, *Stat nominis umbra.* While Thomas Aquinas, the darling of the Romish Church, is every-where extolled, and his writings have been commented on in every age, till they seem submerged beneath the weight of his expositors, Scotus has had but little sympathy outside his school, and but few competent historians of his doctrine. Erdmann's account of him, though brief, is comprehensive, and Ritter's exposition is one of his best pieces of work. Haureau, with his brilliant dash, gives but a travesty of his doctrine. Stöckl, with his sturdy German honesty, does him fair justice, though devoting only ninety pages to Duns, and over three hundred to Thomas. The French writers, Cousin, Rousselot, and others, fail to appreciate him fitly, with the single exception of Morin in his Dictionary of Scholastic Theology and Philosophy. None of the Church historians do him justice, with the exception of Baur, both in his Church History and History of Doctrines. Last year (1881) Dr. Karl Werner wrote a book of 512 pages, 8vo, devoted to his system, but in language so scholastic and so completely a transfer of Duns' own modes of expression, that it is about as easy to read the barbarous original as Werner's Exposition. Certainly it is not likely to make Scotus

any better known than before. His name, which signifies darkness in Greek, has been the occasion of many a pun, while his cognomen has given us the word dunce, as if his very subtilty were an indication of the want of intellectual vigor—"dark by excess of light."

John Duns Scotus was probably born in the year 1274, in the village of Dun or Dunum, whence his name. Scotus points to the country of his birth; but as Ireland as well as Scotland is indicated by the term, it is not absolutely certain which was his native land. Still Scotland seems to have the preference, in accord with the inscription on his tomb:

"Scotia me genuit,
Anglia me suscepit,
Gallia me docuit,
Colonia me tenet."

It is narrated that he was dull in his boyhood, and had no aptitude for learning. Tradition tells us that the future champion of the Immaculate Conception of Mary called upon the mother of God to illuminate his mind, and that amid his tearful struggles he fell asleep. The virgin mother appeared to him and promised the gift of learning on condition of his faithful service in her cause. This was the beginning of a new intellectual life.

We know not when he became a brother of the Minorite Order, nor yet the course of his early studies. At all events we find him in Oxford, England, before 1300, and in Merton College. Amid the dearth of information regarding his favorite studies, we learn that he was especially devoted to mathematics, and that about 1300 he was called to the Chair of Theology vacated by his master. It was at Oxford that he wrote his Commentary on the Sentences of Lombard, making six volumes of his collected works. In 1304 we find him in Paris, whither he was called to hold a public disputation on the subject of the claims of Mary, and as a champion of the Franciscan Order. It was in this contest too that he won his title of "Subtle Doctor," at the suggestion of Pope Clement V. or of the Bishop of Paris. The chivalric knight of the honors of Mary was often called Doctor Marianus. It was at Paris that he wrote the *Reportata*, a new Commentary on the Master of Sentences, less full and valuable than the Oxford work.

This is known as the Paris work, and occupies one of his folio volumes.

He left Paris in 1308 for Cologne. It is uncertain on what mission he went thither, in obedience to the rescript of Gonsalvi, the general of the order. It was certainly in the interest of the Franciscans, and probably to meet the growing fanaticism of the Beguines and the Apostolic Brothers, who then swarmed at Cologne. We encounter a significant feature of the discipline of the Minorite Order when we read of the unhesitating obedience with which Scotus obeyed the commands of his chief. The letter was handed him as he was taking recreation in the vicinity of Paris, with his pupils around him; but he girded himself for his journey without returning to his convent. In answer to the suggestion that he should return to Paris and bid adieu to his friends, he answered, "The general father orders me to go to Cologne, not to the convent in order to salute the brethren."

At Cologne he expounded the Sentences of Lombard, defended the Thesis of the Immaculate Conception, and fought the heretical sects with all his powers.

But the end was near. Before the year 1308 had passed away he died suddenly, at the age of thirty-four. He was buried in the Franciscan Convent, at the entrance of the sacristy, near the altar of the Three Kings.

The report has gone forth, and it has really great probability, that he was committed to the tomb in an epileptic fit. When consciousness returned, finding himself in darkness, and abandoned to his terrible fate, he tore the flesh from his hands and dashed his head against the walls of his tomb. According to the declaration of more than one writer, he was found as thus described, stretched out on the pavement of his tomb. His foes declared that he must thus have expiated some terrible crime unknown to the world. His friends put quite another face upon the matter. He had long been subject to the falling sickness, at which times he was unconscious for many hours. Having been so short a time in Cologne among strangers, and his disciples having found him one day stiff and cold, as in death, they mourned over him as really dead, and accordingly placed him in the tomb. His friends say still further that these trances, to which he was subject, were the issue of

his holy life, for in these ecstasies his soul took flight to the skies and basked in the mysteries of God.

The curse of Shakspeare upon the man who should move his bones might well have been adopted by Scotus, for his remains were disinterred five times in 400 years.

These traditions of his sanctity are not necessarily inconsistent with the impetuosity of the man, which is betrayed everywhere in his writings. It seems difficult, however, to conceive of him as playing the quietistic rôle or wrapt in ecstatic visions. Yet experiences of his are related similar to that of Catharine of Sienna, who wore on her finger the espousal ring given her by the Holy Child.

Certainly he clung to his vow of poverty and exemplified humility even in dress and bearings. A Latin verse speaks of him as

> "Quem vestis vilis, pes nudus,
> Et chorda coronant."

When on his way to Cologne a crowd went forth to greet him, the magistrates of the city among them. They met a man, clad in the gray robe of the Franciscans, old and tattered. His naked feet and his low estate moved their pity and called forth alms. What was their surprise to discover that they had fallen in with the world-renowned Duns! It casts a light upon the university life of those days to read of his encounter with one of his great contemporaries. One day at Paris, amid the crowd of his auditors, he remarked a man of unprepossessing appearance, and covered with rags. He did not seem to be *en rapport* with the discourse of the master. He muttered his disapproval of the argument, and at a crucial point of the discussion shook his head in absolute denial. Scotus noticed this, and sought to humiliate him by a simple question in grammar. So singling him out, he proposed this: *Dominus, quæ pars?* that is, What part of speech is Dominus? Instantly came back the retort, *Dominus non est pars, sed totum.* The master saw by this that here was a diamond in the rough, and after his lecture he invited the stranger to converse with him on the divine mysteries. The results of this conversation were afterward embodied in the treatise, *Dominus, quæ pars?* for the stranger was no less a man than Raymond Lull.

Duns is said often to have tried his hand at argument with the common people, of which we have one instance at least. One day in England he encountered in a field a peasant sowing barley. Angry at being obliged to labor he vomited forth frightful oaths, while the great scholar called his attention to the ten commandments. In vain, for the rustic replied, "You lose your time in talking to me. The will of God will come to pass, since he knows from eternity what will become of me. Well, then, if he has resolved to save me or to damn me, it matters not what I do, for I shall go to the place appointed, be it heaven or be it hell." Scotus now turned the tables upon him by this retort: "If God has, as you believe, imposed from all eternity such a necessity upon things, why do you trouble yourself to sow grain in your field? If God has determined that this barley shall grow here, whether you sow it or not, it will nevertheless grow. If, on the contrary, he has determined that it shall not grow, whatever you may do, it will never sprout from the earth." Whether this story be true or not, it is certainly in the spirit of Duns Scotus. As the Italian proverb has it, "If it is not true, it is well invented."

The Subtle Doctor left behind him twelve folio volumes, edited in 1639, mainly by Luke Wadding. His works are rare, there being no copy of them in Boston, to my knowledge, and one must needs make a pilgrimage to Cambridge to find them in the library of Harvard University. Besides these published works he left numerous commentaries on the Scriptures. He wrote on most of the books of the New Testament and on some of the Old. Besides, he left an ecclesiastical work on the Perfection of States, and some books on alchemy. Were all his works published, they would, it is likely, reach the number which Thomas wrote—seventeen volumes folio—and he lived fifteen years longer than his great antagonist, dying in the year in which Scotus was born. What amazing fertility of thought and what boundless capacity for work is shown in such a library left by a young man of thirty-four years of age!

If we seek now to give a general view of the work of Duns, we shall see that his industry was guided by a philosophic interest rather than a theologic. Of course the latter is not ignored, and he seeks to keep within Church lines. Had he not made theology his main business he would not have been

a Scholastic. The industry of Scholasticism is directed to a vindication of the doctrine of the Church, and philosophy is used for this purpose. But philosophy is the maid of theology, the Hagar who may be banished into the wilderness if need be, whose work is ancillary ever. Show, if possible, the harmony of faith and reason, but if there be any parallax, philosophy must step aside.

Now the work of Duns Scotus was mainly philosophic. He fixed his attention upon the system of vindication rather than the doctrine itself. The philosophic forms which had gathered around theology, properly so called, gave scope for his criticism and a wide field for his subtilty, making him appear, as Wadding says, like a new Œdipus. He philosophized upon the scholastic philosophy rather than upon the scholastic theology. Erdmann and others have called attention to this. Albert and Thomas reflected on doctrine; Duns reflects upon this reflection, sifts the reasoning of his predecessors, and drives a coach and four through their lacunæ. In Thomas, scholasticism reached its consummate flower, the ideal which Albert never attained. Scotus summons scholasticism to see what she has done, and picks out the artificial petals of the lily of the Angelic Doctor. The chasm then between theology and philosophy still yawned before Scotus, for the substructions of the bridge which St. Thomas had constructed were not laid in the nature of things. Scotus, then, forms the transition between the old and the new, between mediævalism and modern thought. He builded wiser than he knew, for from him has started the better philosophy, whose hour struck with Descartes. Walter Burleigh and William of Occam were without doubt among his hearers. Occam is the watershed from which begins the flow of modern philosophy. He is the outcome of Scotus, of the same Franciscan Order. Besides, the Formalists, as they were called who were of the school of Scotus, by natural and easy transition passed into the Nominalists, of whom Occam was chief. William was no such extravagant Nominalist as Roscellin, to whom Universals were words, and nothing more, but stands quite on the platform of that sober nominalism which marks modern philosophy. Roscellin was a Nominalist of the school of Hobbes and Bain, while Occam has great affinities with Leibnitz and Lotze. To see the full outcome of

Scotus we need often to pass down to Occam, and even to Nicholas of Cusa and Bruno.

The actual result of Scotus' work is in most respects nearer the truth than that of Aquinas. He really breaks with scholasticism, and yet hesitates to draw the ultimate consequences. He stands on the brink of a great discovery, and yet shrinks back from the promulgation. Hence the contradictions to be found in his system. No exposition of scholastic doctrine is complete which stops with St. Thomas. It must also present the view of Scotus. Generally, when the latter takes issue with the former he is right, enlarging the scope of mediæval doctrine and emancipating thought. Scotus' errors lie close to his grandest thoughts. He is the knight-errant of freedom in both God and man. There has never been a more uncompromising statement of freedom than Scotus makes, and yet the modern advocates of the doctrine seem strangely ignorant of his work. But in this field lie also his errors. In almost every case his deficiencies grow out of a one-sided apprehension of divine and human freedom.

Let us now pass on to special applications of Scotus' doctrine, whereby may be seen the truth of these general assertions:

1. Consider the transformations undergone by the scholastic doctrine of matter and form under the hand of Scotus. The scholastics inherited the traditions of Aristotle. All their thinking was concerned with the charmed rubrics of form and matter, of actuality and potentiality. The lowest stage of being, or first matter, was considered as wholly destitute of form, and the highest, or God, was destitute of matter, for he was *purus actus*. All between these extremes was compounded of matter and form. But really matter without form cannot exist, for Thomas says: "First matter does not exist in the nature of things by itself, since it is not being actually but potentially." So also, true to the peripatetic thought, he says, "Form is that by which the agent acts."

Not so Scotus. He denies that matter is a mere potence, which, apart from form, has no actual being. Rather must we ascribe to it a being apart from form. Though always in juxtaposition with form, it has its being as matter not from form, but from the divine creation. Matter, even as the principle of

passivity in an essence, must be something actual, else it could not be distinguished from form, and no composite could arise. It may be indefinite, but it is a divine creation without form and before form. In fine, he declares that matter has the entitative act in itself, and not in form. We may scout this whole mode of argumentation, but on the plane of scholasticism it was an advance to something better. At all events it was a break with the system thus shaken to its base.

Again, Thomas had declared that matter in the heavens and on the earth is not the same. In the sublunary region, change rules, or generation and corruption; but these are excluded from the realm of the heavenly bodies.

This again Scotus denied. Matter is the same every-where, and it may be studied in the light of the same laws throughout the universe. Matter, said he, may be predicated of all created things *univoce*. According to his graphic picture, "the world is a beautiful tree, whose root and germ is first matter, whose leaves are accidents, whose boughs and branches are corruptible creatures, whose flower is the rational soul, and whose fruits are the angels." In another form Scotus represents matter as the common root from which go forth two boughs, the spiritual and the corporeal creature, each again splitting into various twigs, the spiritual into angels and human souls, the corporeal into corruptible and incorruptible bodies. To assert, with Thomas, that the matter of the heavenly bodies is diverse from that on earth, was in the spirit of the Ptolemaic system of astronomy: to assert the identity of matter every-where is to bring it under the sway of universal laws, is to anticipate Nicholas of Cusa, who asserted the motion of the earth before Copernicus.

Once more, Thomas declares that the soul is the form of the body. It stands related to it as form to matter, as actuality to potentiality. Independent validity is denied to the body, whose activity seems to come wholly from the soul. Such, at least, is the trend of the Thomist doctrine. Now Scotus brings in something entirely new. There is a substantial form of the body as such, a form by which the body exists as organic body. This Scotus calls the form of corporeity or the form of the mixed. Thus the organic body is conditioned by another form than the soul. Thus body and soul are extricated from that

thorough interpenetration which they had in the scholastic thought, and assume a sort of independence of each other. It did not take long for this separation in thought to make way for a new science and to disentangle physiology from psychology, which absorbed all before. In fact, all these distinctions regarding matter, giving it a validity apart from form, indicate the passage of metaphysics from the idea of substantial forms to that of force, which is the modern notion. The *Possest* of Nicholas of Cusa and the Monad of Bruno are but stages in the progress from Scotus to Leibnitz.

Turn now to the position of Duns Scotus upon the question of Universals. It has been said by Haureau, in his "History of Scholastic Philosophy," that Scotus was more of a realist than Thomas. Haureau represents him, in fine, as adding to the scholastic refinements and realizing vastly more abstractions than had ever been done before. Erdmann tells us that there was no difference, on the question of universals or general ideas, between Thomas and Scotus, save that the latter declared them to exist *formally* in things. Still he does not seem to weigh this distinction properly, for the *formalities* of Scotus play a significant rôle in his system. To the question, Are Universals real or only abstractions from things? is, for instance, humanity a reality or only an abstraction from existent men? Albert and Thomas and Scotus all were agreed. Their answer was, Humanity exists as an archetype in the divine mind, as they said, before things—as the quiddity or essence in things—as an abstraction from them in our thought, after things. Thus, as Erdmann says, Scotus has left the contention between Realist and Nominalist behind him. The exact distinction between Thomas and Scotus, or the Realists and Formalists, was this. The Realists held to a twofold distinction, the real distinction and the mental. In this latter there was a further distinction, namely, purely mental and virtual; that is, without foundation in the thing, and with foundation in the thing. Universals, then, they held, were based upon a mental distinction, but with a foundation in the thing.

Now, the Formalists made a third distinction, lying between the real and the mental, namely, the formal. They called it "a distinction from the nature of the thing." It is less than the real, but more than the mental distinction. Thus, they said, in

actuality there are not only things but *formalities*. According to Scotus, "nature itself is of itself indifferent to universal and individual being." The individual is a unity which is incommunicable, but the universal is a unity which may be participated in by many individuals.

The comparative insignificance of the question of Universals to Scotus is seen in the fact that he devotes to it only seven or eight pages of his twelve folio volumes. That he is not an extreme Realist, as Hauneau asserts, is evident from his own words. Thus he says, "The universal, in so far as universal, is nothing in existence;" and again, "Universality or the *not this*, attaches to nothing except in the intellect." All his commentators, from Lychetus to Wadding, assert as his view that "the universal does not exist on the part of the thing." Besides, the Scotists generally had a warm side toward the Nominalists. It is true Mayronis pushed the realist doctrine to an extreme, but Peter Aureolus, of his school, immediately after found the way to nominalism.

The doctrine of formalities, then, played an important part in the system of Scotus. The exigency of the Trinitarian doctrine first called it forth. The persons of the Trinity, he said, were formalities, thinking thus to save the dogma of the Church. But it is evident that this whole doctrine of formalities is an utter break with scholasticism, which ever clung to matter and form as exhaustive of reality. Here was a new entity placed in the bosom of things. It needed only Occam to come into the tangled scholastic forest, and, with his hatchet of parsimony, to cut away all unnecessary entities.

Scotus may not be consistent with himself, but his utterances may be made harmonious with the essential truth of realism, which is this. Universals give us in outline the norm of the Divine procedure in creation. As Agassiz states it in reference to the animal kingdom, "in tracing (the natural system) the human mind is only translating into human language the Divine thoughts expressed in nature in living realities."

3. Let us pass now to the central question of Scotus, the principle of Individuation. Which is the truly real, the universal or the singular, the genus or the individual? The main question of realism lay behind Scotus, as we have seen; but how does he explain the individual? The question of In-

dividuation was one which occupied all the scholastics, and whose answer in Scotus opened the way through the forest of abstractions, and disclosed the path of modern science.

Abelard had said, each individual is composed of matter and form. The matter of Socrates is humanity, the form is Socratitas. Form in general, then, is the individuating principle with Abelard. Thomas made matter to be this principle, matter designated by certain dimensions, by the here and the now. For Socrates we must say this flesh and these bones, not flesh and bones absolutely. The current expression in the school was "matter quantitatively determined."

Now comes Scotus, and changes all this, introducing a destructive factor into the system. The principle of individuation cannot be matter, for this is generic, and individuality must come from elsewhere. It cannot be a negation or a deficiency, as matter is according to the Thomist view, but must rather be something positive and a perfection. The individual unity must be grounded in a positive entity, which is added to the generic nature. Now, this positive entity cannot be a mere accident like quantity, according to Thomas, but, as form to matter, it contracts the species to individual being. Thus, in general, form plays the rôle of individuation in the Scotist system; and its principle is "the last reality of form." Nevertheless, this last element is not to be considered a thing added to the species as another thing, but it is "the last reality of being." To this ultimate element Scotus himself, in one place at least, gives the name *Hæcceitas*, and his scholars commonly use this term. Hæcceity, then, or thisness, is to Scotus the principle of individuation. But the individual form is not distinguished from the specific, as thing from thing; rather the distinction is between two realities of the same thing. Here, again, comes in his doctrine of formalities, for it is a *formal* distinction. Scotus thus shows again that the rubrics of matter and form are not sufficient to account for individual being. He virtually introduces a new substantial principle in the line of form, which yet is the last reality of being. Thus the question of Universals is of but little consequence to Scotus, compared to that of the individual. It is true he does not draw out the full result of this great innovation. Of the essential and the individual, Thomas emphasizes only the

essential. Occam holds only to the individual. Scotus, in holding to both, and with persistency to the latter, breaks up scholasticism, and gives us to see in the distant perspective of the future the modern idea of force as substantial. The hæccceity of Scotus is the precursor of this notion through Nicholas and Bruno and Leibnitz.

Through this *aperçu* of Scotus the light broke in upon Peter Aureolus, who said, Every thing actual is, as such, individual; also upon Durandus, who said, The primal cause which gives being to the thing, gives it, *eo ipso*, individual being. Occam but repeated this in saying, that being and individual being are coincident.

The significance of the question of Individuation to Leibnitz may be seen in the fact that he wrote a dissertation on the subject quite early in his career, and thereby gained his Baccalaureate. He criticises Scotus, it is true, who was bound in the hamper of scholasticism, and held on to matter and form. Leibnitz broke with them utterly, and hence his dictum on this question is essentially the same with Aureolus and Occam: "Every individual is individuated by his whole entity." The entelechy of Aristotle becomes the monad, and the substantial forms of the scholastics become forces.

4. A great advance of thought is seen in Scotus' doctrine of God. Thomas had never succeeded in freeing himself from the apprehension of the Divine as substance. To him God is absolute being. Thought and will are only subordinate factors in the divine essence. Being thus, not necessarily conceived as spirituality, is the very heart of the Divine Essence. He has not disentangled himself from the notion of the Pseudo-Dionysius of the essential incognizability of God, for no predicates are applicable to him. God can be known only by dim and distant reflection of the external world. Thus the emphasis of the transcendence of God leads to a representation of him, after the spirit of Spinoza, as the absolute substance, in relation to which all other things and beings are but accidents. The immanence of God in the human soul, by which knowledge of God and communion with him are mediated, is ignored. As he then is the only true being, all definite existence is a mode of the Divine Substance. The solvent word with Aquinas is *participation*. The creature participates in being. Even the

bad, so far as it is anything real, comes from God. But since it is a defect, a limit, it does not come from the Divine Causality. The line which divides such a course of thought from Pantheism, it is evident, is hard to be drawn.

Now, in marked contrast with all this, Scotus emancipates himself from the notion of substance as applied to God, and represents him mainly as cause. His three primalities in God are first cause, final cause, and perfect being, which imply each other. The highest efficient cause must work for itself as end, and thus will be the perfect being. This absolutely perfect being must be *one*. From this he proceeds to show that it is infinite, then absolutely simple, no combination of potentiality and actuality. So Scotus eliminates the category of substance as relates to God, and is thoroughly in earnest with the notion of cause. Substance is an inadequate thought. God must be considered as subject. Hegel claimed to do this, but many fail to see that he has raised this category to its highest potency, making him really a person; certainly Scotus does this, which Aquinas failed to do, because it was utterly inconsistent with his notion of substance. Over against the shibboleth of Aquinas, which was *participation*, the solvent word with Scotus was *creation*. The creature is a *product* of the divine act. Participation or any category of quantity is wholly irrelevant here.

Now there is much of the thinking of to-day which has not disentangled itself from the notion of substance as the highest. Hamilton gives us some of this folly, even when he is discussing causality. "When God is said to create out of nothing," he writes, "we construe this to thought by supposing that he evolves existence out of himself. We are utterly unable to realize in thought the possibility of the complement of existence being either increased or diminished." Nevertheless, we submit, this is just what we mean by creation, if we leave the notion of substance behind us. God, in creation, posits the world and is no less in himself after creation than before. Creation has added to the sum of being. There is no other way to escape Pantheism.

An important question raised by Scotus is that regarding the Divine perfections or attributes. Are they grounded in the Divine nature, or are they merely our subjective modes of

viewing him? He answers that they are distinct, grounded in the Divine nature and not merely relative to our thought. Here again his doctrine of formalities plays its usual part. The distinction of the attributes is not an absolutely real one, but *formal.* There is not a diversity as between thing and thing, although this formal diversity he declares to be between realities. The statement of the younger Dr. Hodge regarding the Divine attributes shows that he has conned the pages of Duns. "The attributes differ among themselves," says the Princeton theologian, "not as distinct things, but as different tendencies and modes of existence and action of the same thing," that is, the Divine Substance. Schleiermacher is a distinguished example in modern times of the counter view regarding the attributes. This diversity, however, according to Duns, does not destroy the simplicity of the Divine Being, for all these perfections are infinite, and being expressive of the whole Divine Essence, are in this reference one.

Let us pass now to Scotus' notion of the freedom of God. Intellect and will are both to be asserted of him. They are not diverse from his essence, but rather identical with it. He relates them also to his trinitarian thought. The ultimate principle of the Divine Son is knowledge: the principle of the Divine Spirit is will or love. But will is deeper than intellect in God. Duns says expressly, "The will in God is his very essence." Still more the will does not depend ultimately upon intellect, but, he asserts, "from the nature of the thing, will is in God." So also from the the contingency which we observe in the world, we infer contingent causality or freedom in God. For singular contingent things there is no other ground to be asserted than the will of God. To take any further cause or reason is to fall into absurdity. Scotus asserts of God that he is *causa sui.* On the verge of a great thought, he yet draws back from the logical result of his system. In some places he asserts that God is *a se* with no limitation, but in the *Reportata* he declares he is *causa sui* in the negative sense, that his *principium* is from no other. He denies it there in the positive sense, declaring that no being has its *principium* from itself. Here is one of the places, we believe, when he holds back from the ultimate truth. That is just what distinguishes God from all other beings, that he is *causa sui* in the fullest sense.

This distinction has been looked at askance by theologians, but it is not a fearful specter if we boldly confront it. Let us pause to peer down into this abyss. Mayhap we shall in our dredging bring up mud, and haply we may find goodly pearls. What do the theologians mean by ascribing to God underived existence? What else do they mean by asserting him to be absolutely unconditioned, independent, and therefore self-existent? Self-existence is simply a less frightful way of saying *causa sui*. The tremor that comes over us when we make the assertion arises from the suspicion that we mean by it that God came forth from non-being into being. Thus, John Howe argues in this way: "It is also evident that some being was uncaused, or was ever of itself without any cause. For what never was from another had never any cause, since nothing could be its own cause, nor did it ever of itself step out of non-being into being." So conservative a theologian as Van Oosterzee asserts, "In himself he has the cause, the source, the power of his life; he is *causa sui*, precisely *because* he is the absolute infinite being." Does any say this is absurd? What may be absurd on the creature plain is not such as to the divine. Tutor Wordsworth in his Bampton Lecture of last year on "The One Religion," speaks of the apparent incompatibility of the two attributes, infinite and personal, as applied to God. He says, "This mystery, then, is a perfectly credible one, though completely inexplicable; and it is credible also *because* it is to us inexplicable." He further says, the *Credo quia absurdum* of Tertullian has much of the soberest common sense at the bottom. Julius Müller goes further in the same direction, telling us directly we must change the negative view of mere independence held by the older theologians into the positive one of *causa sui*. "His essence," he tells us, "is wholly his own deed;" and again, "the original being in his innermost ground is to be considered as intelligence determining itself, that is, as absolute personality; and once again he says, "God, in the original ground of his essence, is nothing else than will and freedom." So also Thomasius tells us we must place this distinction at the summit of our doctrine of God, since he is *causa sui* in the exact sense.

There are three philosophic stages of the doctrine of God, which should be carefully discriminated, namely, those of sub-

stance, of subject, and of person. As we have already said, our theological thinking has not fully lifted us out of the first stage, still less transformed the second into the full notion of personality. Our Christian consciousness obliges us to esteem God a person, and in our practical bearing we are right. But in our philosophic thinking we are sadly hampered by a fall back into the stage of substantiality.

There is a sense in which the achievement of personality in ourselves is our own deed. The natural foundation for it is given us by the divine. In infancy we are animals, but with this marked difference, that we have the germ of personality. If we ever become proper persons it will be by a true self-assertion, by a distinction which is also a comprehension. This is what Fichte calls the Promethean deed. Is it, then, irrational to suppose that God makes himself a person, eternally grasping, in the focus of personality, his being, which is, in the last analysis, will?

Certainly we must admit that man is a creator in the moral world. His character is his own product, for he makes himself what he is, and freedom has its fullest play here. Ought we then to hesitate to say that the Divine Nature is self-constituted, is God's own deed, from all eternity? Do we not strike at the pure idea of the ethical in the Divine if we cling to the notion that any thing in the Divine Nature is to be considered as given him, as already found? Do we not thus strike at the very root of the absolute?

The fact is, our finite thinking hesitates to repose except in that which is given. We cannot reach the full thought of self-origination. In some way, deny it as we will, we ever fly back to the thought that God's nature is not self-originated, but comes to him ready made. *Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret.*

We come to the abyss of the *causa sui*, and start back affrighted. Our metaphysical notion of being, in general, keeps us back from thorough thinking here. Our philosophy is infected with the notion of a dead core of being, of substance and attributes, of thing and activities. The truth is, being is activity. We are what we do. The soul is activity, and this is its very substance. It is maintained by the divine, incessantly reproduced by him. He, the final source of all being, and all

life is the self-centered activity. We see for a moment the folly of asserting any dead core of being in him, and yet are ever smuggling in this supreme folly in asserting a nature, as it were, back of his activities. God is eternal activity, self-originated activity, activity ever reproducing itself; and what, pray, is this but *causa sui?* The philosophers have done good service here in showing that cause and effect need not be separated in time; that in God they are cotemporaneous and coincident. With the well-considered words of Ulrici, on this subject, we will close this discussion. "For God," says he, in his "God and Nature," "being is *not* given, determined in itself. The Divine Being is creative thought, power, and self-activity, productive and distinguishing. This being is not at first mere being (Stoff) and afterward distinguishing self-activity; but this self-activity is itself being or matter, (Stoff,) for in it *consists* the very being of God. Thus *through* his productive and distinguishing self-activity God *makes* himself the material (Stoff) of his self-apprehension, for only in and with this original self-activity does being (Stoff) have and keep its definiteness."—P. 705.

5. Let us now consider Scotus' doctrine of man. He breaks essentially with the scholastic theory of perception. According to the scholastic theory, perception is effected by species or forms, derived from the external object, which take on more and more of a spiritual character, until in the nidus of the soul the idea is born. There is first the sensible species, then abstraction is made by the active intellect, then results the intelligible species, and finally, in the passive intellect arises the idea of the object. That is, the sensible species modified by abstraction becomes idea. Thus perception is effected by means of the fiction of the species. Again, the distinction had come from Aristotle of the active and the passive intellect.

Now, Scotus had caught a glimpse of the truth on this subject, by realizing in some measure the function of *intuition*, which would have led him to see that the object and the knowing soul give all the elements of the process. He had already made the distinction between *intuitive* and *abstractive* knowledge, in saying that our knowledge of God is of the latter kind, and not the former. He thus has a divination that species and phantasmata are unnecessary entities which

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Occam's razor soon cut off relentlessly. But here Scotus does not draw the immediate consequence. Again, Scotus, with a little irresolution, it is true, abolishes the distinction between the active and the passive intellect. Here was a fertile thought destructive to the scholastic system, but pushed to its consequences only by his successors. In this connection, again, the doctrine of the Formalities, so significant in Scotus, makes its appearance. The faculties of the soul, not to be distinguished in reality from the mind itself, are to be distinguished "formally and from the nature of the thing." Again, and here was a most important distinction, Scotus insisted upon the activity of the mind in perception. The passivity of the intellect in perception was the current thought before him, and he broke really with this view. In so far as he admitted a species at all, he held that this was not a purely passive product of the intellect. Knowledge, he expressly declared, is brought about by a concurrent activity of the understanding. As the father without the mother, he says, cannot generate, so cannot the understanding generate knowledge without the object. By far the greater significance, according to him, attaches to the intellectual activity. He almost makes the external object a mere occasion of spiritual activity.

The immediate successors of Duns drew the consequences which flow from his positions, and banished species and phantasms from the field of philosophy. Peter Aureolus, the Scotist, who died only thirteen years after his master, declares the species unnecessary for the explanation of knowledge. His neat statement is as follows: "That which we behold (*intuemur*) is not any form seen as it were in a mirror, (*specularis*,) but the thing itself, having phenomenal being, and this is the concept of the mind, or objective knowledge."

Durandus, who lived at the same time, and even belonged to the school of Thomas, reduced *species* to the physical impression of the external object. Besides, he makes a definite distinction between intuitive and abstractive knowledge, and abolishes that between the active and the passive intellect, though cutting off the active. Occam, who, doubtless, attended upon Scotus' lectures, most decidedly throws overboard all species whatever, and abolishes the distinction between the active and the passive intellect. A most important addition

to the doctrine of perception made by Occam, and emerging by a scratch of the nail from Scotus, is this. He asks the question, In what consists the likeness between thought and thing in knowledge? The answer is, Our conceptions stand related to things as mere *signs*. As smoke indicates fire and groaning pain, so without any absolute likeness our perceptions guarantee the external world. He goes deeper yet, and asks after the nature of thought, as subjective fact in the knowing subject. There are three positions, he says, which may be taken here. It may be an *image* of the external object, or a certain *quality* of the soul, or, lastly, the act of thought itself. He decides for the last on the principle of parsimony. Still, further, his doctrine of signs is a most valuable one, and leads to a true theory of perception. There are three kinds of *termini*, as he expresses it, the written sign, the verbal sign, and the conceptual sign. This last is the *natural* sign of the object, and cannot be changed. Thus thought, the intention, is the sign of the thing thought, not an arbitrary but a natural sign. The mind, then, is constructive in perception, and so Scotus' thought has led Occam almost to the phenomenalism of Lotze. Pierre D'Ailly declares God could annihilate all objects outside our minds, and still produce the representations of the same within us, and we should not note the loss of the objective world; a statement which anticipates Berkeley by more than three centuries. All that it is needful to suppose is the constant divine activity and the uniform course of nature.

We pass now to his notion of human freedom. In Scotus' system, freedom, as we have seen, plays the largest rôle. Spontaneity is his shibboleth every-where. Here he stands in diametrical opposition to St. Thomas. The latter is a Necessitarian, the former the most decided and uncompromising advocate of freedom. He asserts the power of alternativity, or contrary choice, saying explicitly, "The will, in so far as it is first actuality, is free to opposite acts. The will is the total cause of its activity." Again he says: "Nothing other than the will is total cause of volition in the will." The object may be the condition *sine qua non*, our knowledge of it may be indispensable, but the necessitation of the understanding, such as it is, can never be carried over to the will. It is only in the sense that we must know the object of desire that it can be called the

partial cause of the will. He stands squarely against the modern statement of the strongest motive as determining the will, or of the higher good as that which must be a compellant motive. It is here that Scotus takes his ground against all Determinists. Edwards tells us, following Locke, that "Freedom is the power that any one has to do as he pleases." True, but what if the choice is a necessitated one and wholly beyond the spontaneity of the individual? It has been often said that the position of Edwards involves the clock-hammer freedom to strike and no more. The arrow flying through the air, says Spinoza, if conscious, would say, "Behold how freely I move." Professor Fisher, in his article on "The Philosophy of Edwards," rehearses the same irrelevant matter as his master Edwards. Liberty, he tells us, relates to matters subsequent to volition, and this is the only proper use of the term freedom as applied to personal agents. The relevancy of dragging in Professor Fisher here is seen in the fact that he quotes St. Thomas to fortify Edwards. Aquinas says, "God, in moving the will, does not compel it, because he gives it its own inclination." Again he says, "to be moved from itself is not repugnant to this that it is moved by another." But this being moved by God, and this acting from a derived inclination, is the very thing which the advocates of freedom deny. Thus Scotus denies any such secret spring in the will, back of consciousness, whereby *fata ducunt volentem.* The statement of Scotus is: "Nothing else than the will is total cause of volition in the will." Spontaneity in the fullest sense, over against the divine action, is the solvent word. The Necessitarian assertion of freedom in the will, certainly as asserted by Edwards, is the boldest example of promise to the ear which is broken to the heart. Dr. A. A. Hodge, in a recent statement on the subject of the will, asserts that "Edwards' infinite series remains a triumphant refutation of the old doctrine of the liberty of indifference." The sole answer to this, forever exploding the infinite regress, may be given in the words of Scotus himself: "If we should ask, why the will wills this, there is no cause to be given, except that the will is will." The will itself can throw the sword of Brennus into the scale and decide from its own autonomic center. This decides the question, then, as to the comparative rank of the intellect and the will. Thomas

declared that intellect has the primacy; Scotus ever assigns it to the will. Thus, while to the first, Theology is a theoretical science, to Scotus it is ever a practical one. The object of theology is not so much to enlarge our knowledge as to accomplish our salvation. We are not united to God perfectly in knowledge, but only through the activity of will in love. It is true the will alone cannot bring salvation, for the divine *charitas* must be infused. However, this is not without our co-operation. True, Christ is the door, but the door must be entered, and this implies synergistic activity on the part of the sinner. The vision of God, of which Thomas talks so much, does not satisfy the ideal of Scotus. *Delectatio* even smacks too much of Quietism. Even the knowledge of God, of which Scripture speaks, includes love.

We have treated Scotus mainly as a philosopher, and not as a theologian. In this latter province, and because of his thorough-going emphasis of freedom, he has, it is evident, somewhat lost his balance. We can only stop to signify a few points in the briefest manner. In asserting freedom of God, he goes to the extreme of arbitrariness. The foundation of moral obligation, according to him, lies so completely in the will of God, that, had he chosen to do so, he might have made wrong to be right. Utter arbitrariness is thus enthroned in the very bosom of God, and spiritual freedom sweeps over into blind nature. Again, while Scotus struggles like a very Hercules with the problem of personality in his doctrine of the incarnation, he shows a vicious emphasis of the notion of freedom in asserting that God could have become a stone as well as man. A valuable thought, on the other hand, is this, that the incarnation was not conditioned by human sin. Once again we see the same thing in his doctrine of the atonement, or the *acceptilatio*, according to which the work of Christ was accepted as the ground of human salvation without reference to its exact adjustment to the relationship between God and man. Thus, as God could have saved the sinner without Christ's offering, and have justified him without the infusion of grace, so fallen man, by his native powers, may or might, apart from what he calls the ordinate power of God, obey the Divine Will.

We close the study of this great man, so marked by keen-

ness of thought and originality full of the seeds of the future, by remarking that philosophy was in his day too deeply wedded to theology for Scotus to emancipate himself wholly from the rubrics of scholasticism. But he set to work a fermentation which began immediately to agitate thinkers. The image which Milton uses in his description of creation may be applied to Duns:

> "Now half appeared
> The tawny lion, pawing to get free
> His hinder parts."

He never pawed himself loose from scholasticism. Hence the imperfect solution of the antinomy between faith and knowledge, the theoretical and the practical, intellect and will. Still he worked well at the problem, of which we are now finding the definitive solution—this, namely, the perfect harmony of theology and philosophy, the rational vindication of the Christian Faith.

Art. II.—METHODIST DOCTRINAL STANDARDS.

What are the doctrinal standards of the Methodist Episcopal Church? What is their authority over the teaching and denominational standing of members of the Church? What does the word of God require as touching those who publicly dissent from the doctrinal standards of the Church? are questions of vital importance to its peace and prosperity?

I. What are the doctrinal standards of the Methodist Episcopal Church?

In ¶ 71 of the "Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church," we read:

> The General Conference shall have full powers to make rules and regulations for our Church, under the following limitations and restrictions, namely:
>
> § 1. The General Conference shall not revoke, alter, or change our Articles of Religion, nor establish any new standards or rules of doctrine contrary to our present existing and established standards of doctrine.

¶ 72 permits the General Conference, by a two thirds majority, and with the concurrent recommendation of three fourths of

the members of the Annual Conferences, present and voting, to alter any of the Six Restrictive Rules, "excepting the First Article."

Judging from these two sections of the "Discipline," the orthodoxical symbols of the Church are unalterable as "the laws of the Medes and Persians." Yet the multitude of contributions to the religious press, and the formal essays entrusted to magazines and reviews, postulate, for the most part, that it is a matter of entire uncertainty what the Methodist doctrinal standards are. Ask one of the writers what the authoritative creed of the Church is, and he replies that he does not know. Another answers that it is contained in the New Testament, and another in the Bible.

That the latter statement is true in the sense that the Bible is the depository whence all the materials for the fabrication of the Methodist doctrinal standards have been drawn, is beyond question; and for that reason all candidates for diaconal ordination are obliged "to unfeignedly believe all the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament." * For the same reason, candidates for presbyterial and episcopal ordination are required to profess their persuasion "that the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ," and they are "determined out of the said Scriptures to instruct the people committed to" their "charge, and to teach nothing as required of necessity to eternal salvation but that which" they "shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved by the Scriptures." † They are also required to pledge themselves to "be ready with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's word," † and further, in the case of bishops, "both privately and openly to call upon and encourage others to do the same." ‡

These requirements denote the high estimate placed by the Church on the maintenance of sound doctrine, and indicate the zeal with which all its ministers ought to labor for its preservation.

But the reply, that the Methodist doctrinal standards are to be found in the Bible is a mere evasion of the question. All are agreed that they ought to be in harmony with the teach-

* "Discipline," p. 344. † *Ibid.*, pp. 319, 334. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

ings of "God's word written," and that the creeds, confessions, and symbols of all branches of the visible Church are binding upon the conscience only to that extent in which they accord with them. "We believe," wrote Wesley in his "Character of a Methodist," "the written word of God to be the only and sufficient rule, both of Christian faith and practice. . . . We believe Christ to be the eternal, supreme God. . . . But as to all opinions which do not strike *at the root of Christianity* we think and let think."

But what does Methodism in our Church "think" of the doctrinal contents of the Holy Scriptures? "The Bible is of God; the confession is man's answer to God's word. The Bible is the *norma normans;* the confession the *norma normata.* The Bible is the rule of faith, (*regula fidei;*) the confession, the rule of doctrine, (*regula doctrinæ.*)" * What is the Methodistic confession? What are the symbols regulating the public teaching of ministerial officials? Protestant Episcopalians, Lutherans, Calvinists, have "summaries of the doctrine of the Bible, aids to its sound understanding, bonds of union among their professors, public standards and guards against false doctrine and practice;" and in these their interpretations of biblical teaching on the great subjects of theology, Christology, anthropology, the Church and the sacraments, soteriology, and eschatology, are more or less precisely defined. Has Methodism similar instruments, and if so, where and what are they?

Dr. Buckley says that "from the beginning till the present day Methodism has had, not indeed a confession, or a systematic creed, (for the absence of which we thank God and our fathers,) but a general backbone of theology, upon which its sermons, treatises, commentaries, catechisms, hymns, exhortations, and ritual, rest. Every person who becomes a minister among us knows what that spinal column is, and also that the Church claims the right to dispense with the services of those who attempt to break it." †

All of which is historically true; but where shall we find this "general backbone?"

Dr. Curry maintains "that there are no definite and ascer-

* Schaff's "Creeds of Christendom," vol. i., p. 7.

† "Christian Advocate," October 20, 1881.

tained set of documents which are to be accepted as embodying the legally protected doctrines of Methodism;" and that the "existing and established standards" recognized by the law of the Church "cannot be identified with"—he does not say *in* —"any given books or documents, and, therefore, it is left to those to whom the detection and punishment of heresy may be committed to find out and decide what doctrines are, in any case, contrary to the 'standards.'" *

"If it shall be asked what are those standards . . . and where may they be found?" he says that "the only possible answers are that they are the generally accepted doctrines of Methodism, established at its beginning, and perpetuated by the common consent of all concerned; and they are to be found in the memories and convictions of those upon whom the safe keeping of the body is devolved." † If this be an accurate statement, then the Methodist Episcopal Church has only an oral theology, and that as diverse as the manifold receptacles to which its keeping is confided. A system more flexible, fluctuating, and intractable of reduction to method could not be devised. But even then, the existence of documentary sources of the tenets held in memory and conviction is necessarily implied, Civilized theological associations have never been destitute of such primitive literature. Theological students need to know where and what it is, and if it take the form of creed, confession, symbol, or serial articles. In these latter forms the Methodist doctrinal standards can easily be studied; and even if they should be embodied in commentaries or sermons, it will be comparatively light labor to define and formulate them. But Dr. Curry denies the existence of any such authoritative fountains. "The Methodist Episcopal Church . . . is without any definite documentary system of belief by law established." † And yet he affirms that Methodist theology "recognizes certain great truths, which lie 'at the root of Christianity,' which must be held sacred." He further asserts that the Church, "according to definite rules of judicature" has power to determine what are these essential Christian doctrines, "and also to remove from the body all who reject them."

He next, as one of those in whose "memories and convictions" the essential doctrines of Methodism are preserved,

* "Independent," November 3, 1881. † *Ibid.*, December 1, 1881.

enumerates them in the following order: "the nature of sin, and of its results and entailments;" "God's free grace in Christ offering salvation . . . to all who, in penitence and faith, would call on God, through Christ, for pardon and salvation;" "the character and work of Christ, his person and sacrifice; "justification by faith;" "the necessity of 'the new birth;'" the certainty that rejecters of the proffered grace "cannot see the kingdom of God;" and "the assurance of the completeness of the work of the soul's practical redemption." "These several points, (themselves an indivisible unity, with their necessary and natural implications,) are the essential doctrines of Methodism—these and no others—which all of its ministers are bound in good faith to cherish and defend; but, beyond these, and if nothing repugnant to them is held or taught, it allows to all the utmost freedom of thinking and speaking." "The exposition and defense of these doctrines in Wesley's Sermons, and in his didactic and controversial writings, have been generally accepted as at once correct in substance and felicitous in manner; and, therefore, they are accepted as, in a secondary sense, "standards of doctrine;" although mingled with these are extraneous matters which nobody is required to believe, and which not a few decidedly and openly reject. For more than a hundred years the Methodist pulpit and press, its public prayers and exhortations, its "experiences," and its hymns have embodied its theology in living forms." *

These emissions from "memory and conviction," shed some light on the real answer to the question, "What are the Methodist doctrinal standards?" In a secondary sense, at least, we learn that they are to be found in Wesley's writings, in the issues of the Methodist press, and in Methodist hymns—all of which may be thoroughly studied at leisure.

Wise men change their opinions, and the learned critic seems to have changed his since April, 1879, at which epoch he held that the Methodist Episcopal Church had a "definite documentary system of belief, by law established," and "that whatever is contained in the 'Articles of Religon,' or the Ritual, (as it was in 1808,) is part of the creed of Methodism, which it is presumed that the whole Church agrees to as agreeable to the Word of God, and which every minister engages to teach, as of di-

* "Independent," December 1, 1881.

vine authority." But he did not then believe, nor does he now, that the "definite documentary system of belief, by law established," comprised in the Articles and Ritual of 1808, "contain all of the commonly accepted and well-ascertained doctrines of the Gospel, as held and taught by the Methodist Episcopal Church; and therefore that the proper guardians of the Church's orthodoxy must care for and protect other articles of faith than those formally legalized by the organic documents of the body." This earlier and more thoroughly considered deliverance in the editorial department of the "National Repository" of April, 1879, p. 363, is historically justifiable.

"Beyond the articles and the ritual, we certainly have no documents of any kind that can be referred to as decisively authoritative in matters of theological beliefs." The Methodist Episcopal Church has, from the beginning, held and taught more than is contained in any of its formally recognized standards." *

If we ask whether this surplus may not be found in John Wesley's Sermons and Notes on the New Testament, and whether those are not included among the doctrinal standards of Methodism, Dr. Curry makes answer that "other documents, as the 'Doctrinal Tracts,' Wesley's Sermons, and his Notes on the New Testament, once had a kind of official recognition as standards of doctrine; but they were never legally accepted as such, nor was there at any time general acceptance of some things taught in them, and they have ceased entirely to be so recognized." †

Wesley's writings are no longer standards of doctrine to American Methodists—"were never legally accepted as such," not even as to the doctrines which are distinctive of that form of evangelical Arminianism of which, under God, he was the founder! How much of historical credibility there is in this statement, we will shortly endeavour to point out. Meanwhile, if "one asks for the standards of Methodist doctrines, what must be the answer?" Dr. Curry answers his own query in the words: "First, we find twenty-five 'Articles of Religion.'" So far all is clear. All parties are agreed that among the Methodist doctrinal standards are:—

I. *The Articles of Religion.* These are first indicated as

* "National Repository," April, 1879, p. 360. † *Ibid.*

under the protection of constitutional law in the first Restrictive Rule. But the Articles are entirely silent on "such important subjects as the Christian sabbath, the Scripture doctrine of marriage, and the whole subject of eschatology, beyond the naked fact that there is to be a future life, judgment, and everlasting life after death." True—and they are also silent on the subject of the "Witness of the Spirit," and on "Christian Perfection," on both of which Methodist theology lays special emphasis. For these and other reasons we concur with the opinion that "it seems most likely that these articles were never intended to serve as a complete system of doctrine, and it is very certain that the accepted doctrines of Methodism have always been wider than the ground covered by them." *

So far as we can ascertain from the histories and biographies of Methodism, no corporate attempt has ever been made to formulate "a complete system of doctrine." Methodist preachers have always been too busy in disseminating what they hold to be the essential doctrines of Christianity to undertake an achievement of that kind. Scholarly divines, belonging to national Churches, may find congenial employment in fabricating complete doctrinal standards. Methodists have always found such a task to be supererogatory. They had expositions of all the essential doctrines of God's word in the writings of Wesley that satisfied their most pressing spiritual needs while only "United Societies," in other Churches; and when they organized themselves into an independent and distinct Church of Jesus Christ they adopted an Episcopal form of government, and with it an abridgment of the Articles of the Anglican Episcopal Church, and thus became the Methodist Episcopal Church. "Our Articles of Religion" were superadded to "our present existing and established standards of doctrine" at the Christmas Conference of 1784.

But some writers argue, and others impliedly admit, that the Articles constitute our sole denominational standards.

The Rev. J. Pullman, in an elaborate article on "Methodism and Heresy," insists that John Wesley and the General Conference of 1784 intended "the Articles of Religion to be the only authoritative creed of the Church under which a minister should be tried," and "that the law of the Methodist

* "National Repository," April, 1879, p. 359.

Episcopal Church knows no heresy outside of the Articles of Religion"! According to this theory, a Methodist preacher may deny the doctrines of the direct and indirect testimony of the Holy Spirit to the believer's adoption into the family of God, and also the doctrine of entire sanctification, and yet not be guilty of heresy. Both of the writer's postulates are discordant with the facts of history, and with the moral convictions and judicial procedures of the Church.

Henry and Harris, on page 69 of their admirable work on "Ecclesiastical Law and Rules of Evidence, with Special Reference to the Jurisprudence of the Methodist Episcopal Church," say:

> Again, ¶ 207 of the Discipline provides that when a minister or preacher holds and disseminates, publicly or privately, doctrines which are contrary to the Articles of Religion of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and will not solemnly promise to abstain from disseminating such erroneous doctrines, in public and private, [he] shall be dealt with preliminarily as when guilty of gross immorality. Yet, notwithstanding his promise not to disseminate such erroneous doctrines, he is liable to be dealt with canonically before the Annual Conference.

In the revised edition of the same work, (1881,) p. 68, after the words, "Articles of Religion," follows this clause: "or established standards of doctrine," thus taking the authors out of the class of theorists who identify our established standards of doctrine with the Articles of Religion, and who repudiate all others.

Dr. Miller, one of the clerical counsel of Dr. H. W. Thomas, whose self-sought expulsion from the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church has occasioned much discussion by the secular as well as by the religious press, rejects all authoritative standards except the Articles. In his demurrer to the validity of the charges against his client, he urged that there are no authorized standards in the Church in relation to the endless punishment of the wicked; that what are the established standards of doctrine, other than the Articles of Religion, has never been defined by any General Conference; and that there is no established standard of doctrine other than the Articles of Religion, or "such doctrine as the one clearly stated in the Book of Discipline, and protected by the first restrictive rule."*

* "Independent."

The fact that the General Conference has never formally declared that the doctrinal standards of the European Methodists are also the doctrinal standards of the American Methodists does not prove that they are not. The fact that they are has not been disputed until lately. Had the attempt to deny it been foreseen it might have been guarded against by formal enactment; but as it was not, the consecutive General Conferences rested on the self-evident truth.

Dr. D. A. Whedon also states that the General Conference of 1784 "received Wesley's abridgment of the Articles of the Church of England, which continue to be their standard of doctrine to the present day." * He does not, however, maintain that this abridgment is the only standard of orthodox teaching, but adds the following testimony:—

"The theology of the Church is thoroughly Arminian, as it has been from the beginning. In this it agrees with universal Wesleyan Methodism. . . . Wesley's doctrinal Sermons, Notes on the New Testament, and other writings, have been its standards of Arminian orthodoxy; while the rigid examination to which all candidates for the ministry are subjected is its chief security that only what is deemed correct and sound in doctrine shall be preached in its pulpits." †

The Methodist doctrinal standards include the first four volumes of Wesley's Sermons, his Notes on the New Testament, and also the "Large Minutes." This proposition will not be challenged so far as the Wesleyan Methodist Churches in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies are regarded. In Great Britain and Ireland the Trust or "Model Deed," of all the churches, which is slightly modified from time to time as social changes may render necessary, contains the following clause:—

Nevertheless, upon special trust and confidence, and to the intent that they and the survivors of them, and the Trustees for the time being, do and shall permit from time to time, and at all times for ever, such persons as shall be appointed at the yearly Conference of the people called Methodists, held in London, Bristol, Leeds, Manchester, or elsewhere, specified by name in a deed enrolled in Chancery, under the hand and seal of the Rev. John Wesley, and bearing date 28th of February, 1784, and no others, to have and enjoy the said premises, in order that they may therein preach and expound God's holy word, and perform all

* "McClintock & Strong's Cyclopedia," vol. vi, p. 157. † *Ibid.*, p. 171.

other acts of religious worship; provided, that the persons so appointed preach no other doctrines than are contained in Mr. Wesley's Notes upon the New Testament, and his four volumes of Sermons, by him published.*

By this "deed" Wesley's Notes and Sermons are made the legal as well as the ecclesiastical standards of the doctrines expounded in the Church edifices settled on Trustees for the use of the Wesleyan Methodists. The "Large Minutes" themselves, as well as the Sermons and Notes of Mr. Wesley referred to therein, may fairly be classed with the doctrinal standards of Wesleyan Methodism.

Prior to the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1784, the doctrinal standards of American were avowedly the same as those of European Methodism.

At the first Conference, held in Philadelphia, June, 1773, the following queries were proposed to every preacher, and answered affirmatively:—

Quest. 2. Ought not the doctrine and discipline of the Methodists as contained in the Minutes, [which specify Wesley's Notes and Sermons as the standards of doctrine,] to be the sole rule of our conduct, who labor in the connection with Mr. Wesley in America?

"*Ans.* Yes.

"*Quest.* 3. If so, does it not follow, that if any preachers deviate from the Minutes, we can have no fellowship with them till they change their conduct?

"*Ans.* Yes." †

Again, in the Minutes of 1781 the first question recorded is:

What preachers are now determined, after mature consideration, close observation, and earnest prayer, to preach the old Methodist doctrine, and strictly enforce the Discipline, as contained in the Notes, Sermons and Minutes published by Mr. Wesley, so far as they respect both preachers and people according to the knowledge we have of them, and the ability God shall give; and firmly resolve to discountenance a separation among either preachers or people?

Ans.‡ [Here follow the names of thirty-nine, (probably all who were present save one,§) out of fifty four preachers.]

* "Minutes of Several Conversations between the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., and the Preachers in Connection with him. Containing the form of Discipline established among the Preachers and People in the Methodist Societies." P. 65. These minutes are commonly known as the "Large Minutes."

† Emory's "History of the Discipline," p. 10. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

§ Stevens' "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. ii, p. 91.

In this practical unanimity the preachers were further strengthened by a letter from Mr. Wesley, dated at Bristol, October 3, 1783, and designed to guard the American preachers against foreign and domestic intruders who might attempt the "bringing in" of "new doctrines, particularly Calvinian." "Let all of you," he exhorted, "be determined to abide by the Methodist doctrine and Discipline, published in the four volumes of Sermons, and the Notes upon the New Testament, together with the "Large Minutes" of Conference.*

With this advice the May Conference, held at Baltimore in 1784, hastened to comply.

Quest. 21 asks, How shall we conduct ourselves toward European preachers?

Ans. If they are recommended by Mr. Wesley, will be subject to the American Conference, preach the doctrine taught in the four volumes of Sermons and Notes on the New Testament, keep the circuits they are appointed to, following the directions of the London and American Minutes, and be subject to Francis Asbury as general assistant, whilst he stands approved by Mr. Wesley and the Conference, we will receive them.†

The establishment of national independence had not, at that time, impaired the doctrinal and ecclesiastical unity of Methodism. But in the fall of the same year Mr. Wesley, pursuant to the indications of Providence and the desires of the American Societies, took measures to organize the latter into a distinct and independent Church. Assisted by presbyters of the Anglican Church he ordained Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey to act as *elders* among them, by baptizing and administering the Lord's Supper. He also ordained Dr. Coke as superintendent "over our brethren in North America," and signified his wish that Francis Asbury should be ordained as deacon, elder, and superintendent, and that he should be associated with Thomas Coke in the general oversight of the prospective Church. He further prepared an expurgated and abridged edition of the Anglican Liturgy, Ritual, and Articles of Religion, and submitted it to the American Methodists for adoption.

Hitherto what are called the "Large Minutes" of Wesley had been recognized as the authoritative Discipline of the American

* Bangs' "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. i, p. 148.

† Emory's "History of the Discipline," p. 22.

societies, with the special enactments of the American Conference superadded. The "Large Minutes" were a compilation made by Wesley from the Annual Minutes of the British Conference. In the preliminary deliberations at Perry Hall they were revised and adapted to the new form of the American Church, and being adopted by the Christmas Conference, were incorporated with the "Sunday service" and hymns, and published in 1785 as the Discipline of American Methodism. In this volume, therefore, we find the enactments of the Christmas Conference.*

But Wesley's Sermons and Notes "were never legally accepted" as standards of doctrine, Dr. Curry insists. What there was that was illegal in the acceptance of them by the Conferences of 1773, 1781, and 1784 he fails to point out. The legality of these Conferences and of their actions has not hitherto been impeached. The words of Asbury about the Conference of 1792, which he styles "the first regular General Conference," are construed by Dr. Sherman to mean that "the Conference of 1784 was irregular, partaking of the nature of a convention rather than of an established body. It was convened for the purpose of organizing the Church, and its recurrence not anticipated." † Irregular and unconventional as those assemblages might be, their decisions had all the binding force of law, and have received the sanctions of the great Head of the Church. They were not composed of constitutional lawyers, but of godly, sincere Methodist preachers, who knew what they intended and what they were doing, although comparatively unlearned in the science of ecclesiastical jurisprudence. Their actions have been acknowledged as legal by the tacit consent and by the uniform procedure of their successors. Their enactments in relation to the essentials of Methodist doctrine and discipline have neither been repealed nor virtually annulled by antagonistic legislation. All laws imposed by rightful authority are valid until repealed by rightful authority; and *as the law repeatedly accepting certain specified writings of Wesley as the doctrinal standards of American Methodism has never been repealed, it follows that they must be such at the present day.*

It was in all probability with this view, as well as from the manifest impropriety of transferring Wesley's English "Model Deed" from the "Large Minutes" to the American Discipline

* Stevens' "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. ii, pp. 196, 197.

† "History of the Discipline," p. 27.

that it, though containing the clause requiring all Methodist preaching to be in concord with the doctrine of his Notes and Sermons, was left out by the revisers at Perry Hall.

That the primary doctrinal standards of Methodism were wholly unchanged when the American societies formed themselves into an Episcopal Church is obvious in the light of the minutes of the Christmas Conference of 1784. Quest. 2 reads:

> What can be done in order to the future union of the Methodists?
>
> ¶ *Ans.* During the life of the Rev. Mr. Wesley we acknowledge ourselves his sons in the gospel, ready, in matters belonging to Church government, to obey his commands. And we do engage, after his death, to do every thing that we judge consistent with the cause of religion in America, and the political interests of these States, to preserve and promote our union with the Methodists in Europe.*

Could the pledge, unwise as it was in relation to Church administration, have been voluntarily made by those heroic and truthful men if they had not intended to embrace doctrinal matters within its scope? Could their engagement "to preserve and promote union with the Methodists in Europe" be construed in any other sense than that of continuous adherence to "our present existing and established standards of doctrine?"

The subsequent lives of the itinerant fathers demonstrated their own understanding of this solemn and artless pledge. They persisted in preaching the distinctive Wesleyan doctrines of prevenient grace, the salvability of all men, the direct witness of the Holy Spirit, and Christian perfection; none of which are incorporated with the articles, although always enumerated among the most precious possessions of Methodism, and as such very carefully discussed in the "Large Minutes," Notes, and Sermons.

Again, the venerable Wesley himself, who never ceased to display the keenest interest in the Church indirectly organized by himself to spread Scriptural holiness over these lands, and who was not a little grieved when his name was left off its minutes for prudential reasons, never suspected—what in fact did not exist—that his expositions of Christian doctrine had ceased to be the primary doctrinal standards of American Methodism.

* Emory's "History of the Discipline," p. 27.

In a letter to the Rev. Ezekiel Cooper, written only twenty-nine days before his death, after mentioning his growing infirmities, he says:

> Probably I should not be able to do so much, did not many of you assist me by your prayers. See that you never give place to one thought of separating from your brethren in Europe. Lose no opportunity of declaring to all men that the Methodists are one people in all the world, and that it is their full determination so to continue,
>
> "Though mountains rise, and oceans roll,
> To sever us in vain."
>
> This proves that he did not consider us [in any thing essential to Methodist solidarity] as separated from himself or from our European brethren.
>
> The same sentiment has been since officially avowed both by the British and American Conferences. . . . Of this state of unity and affection every friend of this great work will cordially say, May it be perpetual.*

The notes to the Discipline appended to the edition of 1796, and which received the implied sanction of the General Conference of 1800, contain the following statement, which certainly implies the doctrinal unity of universal Methodism: "We are but one body of people, one grand society, whether in Europe or America; united in the closest spiritual bonds, and in external bonds as far as the circumstances of things will admit." †

The conclusion reached by this review of our Church history is, that the primary doctrinal standards of the American Methodists were not revoked, altered, or changed in any particular when they passed from the status of societies in a Church to that of distinct and independent churchhood.

When the American Methodists were organized into a separate and distinct Church, they did not cease to be what they had previously been, namely, Methodists; but they did become what hitherto they had not been, namely, the Methodist *Episcopal* Church. As persistent Methodists, they retained the old doctrinal standards; and, as newborn ecclesiastical Episcopalians, added to them twenty-four other standards abridged by Wesley from the standards of the Anglican Church, and purified from every vestige of Popery and Calvinism; and

* "Emory's "Defense of our Fathers." p. 132.

† Sherman's "History of the Discipline," p. 369.

also a twenty-fifth standard, fabricated by themselves, and suited to the national relations of the new Church. *

Thenceforth the doctrinal symbols of the Methodist Episcopal Church have consisted of the old beloved standards common to Methodism *plus* the articles supplied by Wesley and the Church-organizing Conference.

Had the American Methodists remained in a mere societary relation to the Anglican Church, or assumed such relation to the Protestant Episcopal Church, its claimant successor in this country, it is in no wise probable that the articles would ever have been formally adopted into the number of our "established standards of doctrine." Their verbal primacy in the legal enumeration of the first Restrictive Rule is due to the suffrages of the General Conference, that is to say, of the Church which placed them there.

In the "Discipline," the Americanized form of the "Large Minutes," we find the following among other references to the old Methodist doctrines:

¶ Are you going on to perfection? do you expect to be made perfect in this life? are you groaning after it? "Let us strongly and closely insist upon inward and outward holiness in all its branches."

Let all the preachers carefully read over Mr. Wesley's and Mr. Fletcher's tracts.

We have received as a maxim, that a man is to do nothing in order to justification. Nothing can be more false. Whoever desires to find favor with God should cease from evil and learn to do well. So God himself teacheth by the prophet Isaiah.

We are every moment pleasing or displeasing to God according to our works; according to the whole of our present inward tempers and outward behavior.

If preachers and exhorters cannot attend, let some person of ability be appointed in every society to sing, pray, and read one of Mr. Wesley's sermons.

* "At the organization of the Church, in 1784, it was the first religious body in the country to insert in its constitutional law (in its Articles of Religion) a recognition of the new government, enforcing patriotism on its communicants." In 1800 the General Conference, by a motion of Ezekiel Cooper, "struck out all allusion to the 'Act of Confederation,' inserting in its stead 'the Constitution of the United States,' etc., and declared that 'the said States are a *sovereign* and independent *nation*.' Methodism thus deliberately, and in its constitutional law, recognized that the 'Constitution' superseded the 'Act of Confederation,' and that the Republic was no longer a confederacy but a *nation*, and, as such, supreme and sovereign over all its States.'" Stevens' "History of M. E. Church," vol. iv, pp. 180, 181.

Be active in dispersing the books among the people.

From four to five in the morning, and from five to six in the evening, meditate, pray, and read the Scriptures with Mr. Wesley's Notes, and the closely practical parts of what he has published.

Let us strongly and explicitly exhort all believers to go on to perfection.

Whoever will advance the gradual change in believers should strongly insist on the instantaneous. *

There is no evidence to prove the theory that "our fathers" ever imagined that the Articles of Religion, superadded at Mr. Wesley's suggestion to the recognized standards, either superseded or in any way took precedence of them. If such a thought every entered their minds, they were singularly careful not to voice it in word or written document.

The assertion of the Rev. J. Pullman, that Wesley designedly procured the substitution of the Articles of Religion in place of his own Notes, Sermons, and the "Large Minutes" as the authoritative doctrinal standards of the Methodist Episcopal Church, unintentionally charges that great divine, "whose genius for government was equal to that of Richelieu," with the commission of a great absurdity. "It is true," writes Mr. Pullman, "that prior to the organization of the Church in 1784, 'The Notes, Sermons, and Minutes of Mr. Wesley' were, by special enactment, (Annual Minutes of 1781, and April, 1784,) declared the standard of doctrine; but it is equally true that at the Christmas Conference, in 1784, when the Church assumed an organic form, the Articles of Religion were adopted, at the request of Mr. Wesley, as the authoritative doctrinal standard of the Church, and ever since they have had a conspicuous and sacred place in the Book of Discipline; and it is also true that from the time of their adoption there has been no mention of Mr. Wesley's Notes and Sermons;"—from which he infers that the Methodist doctrinal standards, universally binding up to that epoch, ceased thenceforth to possess any constitutional force. In other words, Mr. Pullman maintains that John Wesley deliberately substituted the purified and abbreviated doctrinal symbols of the Anglican Church for the "existing and established standards of doctrine" hitherto obligatory on Methodist preachers, exhorters, and stewards; and that the pious

* Bangs' "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. i., pp. 182–211.

and intelligent members of that epochal Conference knowingly accepted the substitution.

This assertion is all the more startling in presence of the fact so forcibly stated by Dr. Stevens:

> But what is most noteworthy in the negative character of the American Articles, is the fact that the opinions which are deemed most distinctive of Wesleyan theology have therein no expression, if indeed any intimation. Wesley eliminates the supposed Anglican Calvinism, but he does not introduce his own Arminianism; unless the thirty-first Anglican Article on the "Oblation of Christ" be admitted to be Arminian in spite of the seventeenth article on "Predestination." In like manner we have no statement of his doctrines of the "Witness of the Spirit," and "Christian Perfection." And yet no doctrines more thoroughly permeate the preaching, or more entirely characterize the moral life, of Methodism than his opinions of the universal salvability of man, assurance, and sanctification.*

Yet, notwithstanding these omissions, the thinkers of Mr. Pullman's school contend that Mr. Wesley intended to establish a *Methodist* Episcopal Church, with all, or nearly all, that is distinctive of evangelically Arminian Methodism left out of its doctrinal Constitution. We venture to doubt whether this was the opinion of Bishop Simpson, when he told Dean Stanley, at the reception given to that distinguished churchman in St. Paul's Church, New York, that the Methodist Episcopal Church "reflects" John Wesley's "mind better than any other on earth."

The rapid extension and growth of the Church, the difficulty of assembling all the preachers in General Conference, and the need of securing the assent of all to requisite legislation, induced the Conference of 1789 to order the creation of the ephemeral "Council," which was invested with authority "to preserve the essentials of the Methodist doctrines and discipline, pure and uncorrupted."† In 1792 the O'Kelly secession, and its concomitant evils, led to the Conferential passage of the following rule:

> If a member of our Church shall be clearly convicted of endeavoring to sow dissensions in any of our Societies, by inveighing against either our doctrine or discipline, such person so offending shall be first reproved by the senior preacher of his cir-

* Stevens' "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. ii, pp. 208, 209.

† Bangs' "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. i, p. 303.

cuit; and if he afterward persist in such pernicious practices, he shall be expelled from the society.*

This enactment is revelatory of the jealous care with which the fathers guarded the doctrines of the Church, and the judicious promptitude with which they dealt with incorrigible heretics.

Not until the session of the General Conference at Baltimore, in 1808, were the doctrinal standards of the Church placed under the protection of constitutional law. Up to that time the General Conference, in which the several Annual Conferences were of necessity unequally represented, "possessed unlimited powers over our entire economy," and "could alter, abolish, or add to any article of religion or any rule of discipline." "This depository of power was considered too great for the safety of the Church and the security of its government and doctrine," † and the expediency "of limiting the powers of the General Conference, so as to secure forever the essential doctrines of Christianity from all encroachments," was generally and deeply felt.

By the General Conference of 1808, the delegative principle was introduced into its future composition, and the Constitution of the Church was adopted. This Constitution is contained in the Six Restrictive Rules, which state what the General Conference may not do, leaving it free to adopt any other measures not therein prohibited. But to these restrictions was appended the proviso, "that upon the joint recommendation of all the Annual Conferences, then a majority of two thirds of the General Conference succeeding, shall suffice to alter any of the above restrictions." ‡

In their form, at this time, they leave open to change the fundamental interests of the Church, even its theology and terms of membership, without representation of the laity; but in 1832, the proviso giving this power was modified, making the Articles of Religion [and, if our views be correct, "our present existing and established standards of doctrine"] unalterable, and requiring a vote of three fourths of the members of the Annual, and two thirds of the General Conferences, to effect any of the specified changes.§

* Bangs' "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. i, p. 351.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 177, 178. ‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 233.

§ Stevens' "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, vol. iv, pp. 441, 442.

Of these unalterable standards of doctrine, Methodism has just reason to be proud. Wesley's "Notes on the New Testament, with a New Version of the Text,"—"remarkable as having anticipated many of the improved readings of later critics,"*—a work unrivaled among Biblical commentaries for its terseness, condensation, and pertinency,† is still a "recognized standard of theology" throughout the Methodistic world. For "conciseness, spirituality, acuteness, and soundness of opinion," it has won glowing commendations from the best judges.

His Sermons, so "remarkable for the terseness and purity of their style, in which not a word is wasted; the transparency and compactness of their thoughts; and a logical force which is not subtle, but the fruit of a 'keen, clear insight,'" merit equal praise. "No thinker in the modern Church has excelled Wesley in the direct logic, the precision, the transparent clearness, and popular suitableness with which he presented the experimental truths of Christianity. Faith, justification, regeneration, sanctification, the witness of the Spirit, these were his themes, and never were they better defined and discriminated by an English theologian.‡ Although Wesley's Sermons and Notes on the New Testament are, in the opinion of Dr. Schaff, (a great *Presbyterian* authority,) "legally binding only on the British Wesleyans, . . . they are in fact as highly esteemed and as much used by American Methodists, and constitute the life of the denomination." "These sermons are fifty-eight in number, and cover the common faith and duties of Christians, but contain, at the same time, the doctrines which constitute the distinctive creed of Methodism." "Creeds of Christendom," vol. i, p. 890.

Among the Methodist doctrinal standards of secondary character, not indicated (or but secondarily) in any section of the Discipline, and between which and the legalized standards there must be *consensus* to give them doctrinal weight, are the commentaries of Benson, Clarke, Whedon, and other expositors, and the "Doctrinal Tracts," with other familiar treatises. Among those indicated by the Discipline are the works included by the Bishops, under authority from the General Conference, in the course of study prescribed for traveling and local preach-

* Stevens' "History of Methodism," vol. ii, p. 504.
† *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 372. ‡ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 147.

ers. For example, Pope's "Compendium of Christian Theology," Wesley's "Plain Account of Christian Perfection," Foster's "Christian Purity," Harman's "Introduction to the Holy Scriptures," Fletcher's "Checks to Antinomianism," Whedon's treatise on "The Will," Watson's "Theological Institutes," Butler's "Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion," Wakefield's "Christian Theology," Merrill's treatise on "Christian Baptism," and others whose titles "are to be found in the memories and convictions of those upon whom the safekeeping of the body is devolved." *

The agreement of opinion with John Wesley, on all doctrines distinctive of Methodism, and not presented in the Articles of Religion, constitutes a secondary standard of appeal in doctrinal controversies that possesses weighty authority. "Any doctrine clearly within the *consensus* of the Church is protected by the common law of the Church without special enactment." † From this proposition we utter no dissent, but argue that all the doctrines of Methodism, if our *resumé* of its theological history be correct, are under the protection, not only of the "common," but also of the statute law of the Church.

Wesley's opinions of the immortality of brutes, baptismal regeneration, and the materiality of the Gehenna fire, were never numbered by him, or any other Methodist writer of credit, among the essential and characteristic doctrines of Methodism. "Our main doctrines, which include all the rest," wrote Wesley, "are repentance, faith, and holiness. The first of these we account, as it were, the porch of religion; the next, the door; the third, religion itself." ‡

Methodists may accept or reject the great divine's notions of brute immortality, or of the materiality of the Gehenna fire, without any liability to impeachment for heterodoxy. The first are mainly embodied in his sermon on "The General Deliverance," which is numbered sixty-five in the American edition of his works, and which was never included—so far as we understand—in the first fifty-three, or fifty-eight, (authors differ as to the number,) of his Sermons, which were legally made part of the standards of Wesleyan orthodoxy.

* Dr. Curry in the "Independent," Dec. 1, 1881.

† Dr. Curry in the "National Repository," Dec., 1878.

‡ "Principles of a Methodist further Explained," Works, vol. v, p. 333.

The doctrine of baptismal regeneration, "that vanguard of Popery," as Mr. Pullman rigorously styles it, was never held in its naked unscripturalness by John Wesley; not even in the very zenith of his High-Churchliness. That his treatise on baptism, written in 1756, contains expressions at variance with his later opinions cannot be denied. But even in that treatise he supplies a "guarded corrective" to its misleading utterances in the words: "Baptism doth now save us, if we live answerable thereto; if we repent, believe, and obey the Gospel: supposing this, as it admits us into the Church here, so into glory hereafter." *

When John Wesley prepared his abridgment of the Thirty-nine Articles for submission to the American Methodists, his powerful mind had shaken off that last vestige of Romanism. The twenty-fifth of the Anglican Articles reads: "Sacraments ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace and God's good will toward us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us," etc. Wesley omitted from the definition the words "sure witnesses and effectual." See Article XVI.

More significant is his emendation of the twenty-seventh article, "Of Baptism" given in the seventh, [seventeenth,] American article. The former declares baptism to be "a sign of regeneration, or the new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the Church; the promises of the forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed; and faith is confirmed and grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God." All this phrase after "the new birth" is omitted in the American articles, though the concluding part of the original article is retained with amendments. The omission is the more remarkable as the original article presents little or nothing that is offensive to the general faith of Protestant Christendom. Evidently the reason for this cautious change was his apprehension that it might be supposed to favor, however indirectly, the doctrine of baptismal regeneration.†

Wesley was not infallible. The keenest, largest, strongest minds are defective at some point; as the biographies of Augustine, Luther, Calvin, and other great leaders amply attest.

* Wesley's "Works," vol. vi, p. 15.

† Stevens' "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. ii, p. 208.

Wesley was not an exception to the general rule; but he did emancipate himself from bondage to error on this point as he subsequently did in matters of Church polity. The Articles of Religion are the carefully guarded expressions of Wesley's belief on the subjects to which they refer; and, judging by them, he must logically be excluded from the number of believers in the doctrine of baptismal regeneration.

The distinctive doctrines of Methodism not comprised in the Articles, but to be found in the *consensus* of acknowledged theological authorities are:

1. PREVENIENT GRACE.—"The freedom of will, as a gift of prevenient grace, which is given to every man as a check and antidote to original sin." *

"No man living," says Wesley, "is without some preventing grace, and every degree of grace is a degree of life. There is a measure of free will supernaturally restored to every man, together with that supernatural light which enlightens every man that cometh into the world." "That by the offense of one judgment came upon all men (all born into the world) unto condemnation, is an undoubted truth, and affects every infant as well as every adult person. But it is equally true that by the righteousness of One, the free gift came upon all men, (all born into the world—infants and adults) unto justification."—D. D. Whedon, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1862, p. 258. "Under the redemptive system, the man is born into the world, from Adam, a depraved being. It is as a depraved being that he becomes an Ego. But instantly after, in the order of nature, he is met by the provisions of the atonement."

"Every human being," says Warren, "has a measure of grace (unless he has cast it away,) and those who faithfully use this intrusted gift will be accepted of God in the day of judgment, whether Jew or Greek, Christian or heathen." †

With these representations of doctrinal belief, Clarke, Watson, Bunting, Fisk, and all acknowledged Methodist theological authorities concur; nor is there any doctrine which "so irresistibly and universally appeals for its confirmation to the common conscience and judgment of mankind."

"Original sin and original grace met in the mystery of mercy at the very gate of Paradise." ‡

2. THE WITNESS OF THE SPIRIT. This is another characteristic doctrine of Methodism.

* Schaff's "History of Creeds," pp. 897. † *Ibid.*, p. 897, 898.
‡ Pope's "Comp. of Christian Theology," vol. ii, p. 61. See also p. 359 *et seq.*

With Wesley's definition of the doctrine all his Methodistic contemporaries and successors substantially agree. "By the testimony of the Spirit," he writes, "I mean, an inward impression on the soul, whereby the Spirit of God immediately and directly witnesses to my spirit, that I am a child of God: that Jesus Christ hath loved me, and given himself for me; that all my sins are blotted out, and I, even I, am reconciled to God." "The immediate result of this testimony is 'the fruit of the Spirit;' namely, love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness; and without these the testimony itself cannot continue." *

This testimony of our spirit, as St. Paul calls it, or "indirect testimony of the Holy Spirit, by and through our own spirit, is considered confirmatory of the first testimony."

The Spirit's evidence, based on the Word and Sacrament, is guarded by the ethical and moral testimony of the life. Wherever the assurance of the Spirit is mentioned there is to be found hard by the appeal to the resulting and never-absent evidences of devotion, obedience, and charity.† Assurance is the fruit, not the essence, of faith. . . . Perfect faith must be assured of its object. . . . The internal assurance of faith is a privilege that all may claim and expect; seasons of darkness and depression and uncertainty are only the trial of that faith of assurance.

3. Christian Perfection is another doctrine eminently characteristic of Methodism; its "last and crowning doctrine." ‡

In the minutes of 1744 we find it defined by the process of question and answer:

Quest. What is it to be sanctified?

Ans. To be renewed in the image of God, in righteousness and true holiness.

Quest. What is implied in being a perfect Christian?

Ans. The loving God with all our heart, and mind, and soul; Deut. vi, 5.

Quest. Does this imply that all inward sin is taken away?

Ans. Undoubtedly; or how can we be said to be "saved from all our uncleannesses?" Ezek. xxxvi, 29.

The promises, commands, prayers, and illustrations contained in the Holy Scriptures abundantly warrant the Methodistic reply to the inquiry, "What is Christian Perfection?"

* "Works," vol. i, sermon xi.

† Pope's "Compendium of Theology," vol. iii, p. 121.

‡ Schaff's "History of Creeds," p. 900.

"*Ans.* The loving God with all our heart, mind, soul, and strength. This implies that no wrong temper, none contrary to love, remains in the soul; and that all the thoughts, words, and actions are governed by pure love."

"Do you affirm that this perfection excludes all infirmities, ignorance, and mistake?" it was asked, in substance, if not in words. "I continually affirm quite the contrary, and have always done so," was Wesley's rejoinder. "The humble, gentle, patient love of God and our neighbor, ruling our tempers, words, and actions," "is the whole and sole perfection"* taught by him from the pulpit and the press.

He cherished this "last and crowning doctrine" as "the peculiar doctrine committed to our trust," and advised that "all our preachers should make it a point of preaching perfection to believers, constantly, strongly, explicitly." Asbury, like the great majority of Methodist preachers, felt "divinely impressed with a charge to preach it in every sermon."

The Methodist *consensus* on this doctrine is apparent in all our theological standards and highly prized biographies. Wesley, as many of his preachers have since done, held one opinion of the different constituents of a human being at one time, and a contrary opinion at a later period, but his testimony to Christian perfection was uniformly the same. Methodist orthodoxy is indifferent to the trichotomy or dichotomy of man; "it allows a liberal margin for further theological development," but is zealous and uncompromising in its insistence on the privilege and duty of all believers in Christ to enter into and retain the state of entire sanctification.

The doctrine of eternal rewards and punishments is not a distinctively Methodist tenet, but the agreement of Methodist writers and preachers in the exposition and defense of this revealed truth is so positive and unvarying as to leave no room for doubt as to the faith of the Church in its Scripturalness and obligation.

Neither can the possibility of falling from grace, and perishing forever, be distinguished as a distinctively Methodist doctrine. It does receive deserved prominence in the pulpit and the press, and its vital importance is recognized by the Methodist Episcopal Catechism No. 3, p. 37, which says: "It

* Wesley's "Works," vol. vi, pp. 530, 531.

is the privilege of every believer to be wholly sanctified, and to love God with all his heart in the present life; but at every stage of Christian experience there is danger of falling from grace, which danger is to be guarded against by watchfulness, prayer, and a life of faith in the Son of God."

This quotation from the catechism of the Church raises the question in what sense and to what extent it is to be accepted as one of the Methodist doctrinal standards. Dr. Schaff † assigns to it conspicuous authority as one of them. ¶ 259 of the Discipline makes it "the duty of our preachers to enforce faithfully upon parents and Sunday-school teachers the great importance of instructing children in the doctrines and duties of our holy religion; to see that our catechisms be used as extensively as possible in our Sunday-schools and families," etc. The language of this section evidently conveys the impression that the catechism contains a summary of all the essential doctrines of Christianity as held by the Methodist Episcopal Church. The General Conference of 1848 intended that it should be so when that body ordered its preparation. Their instructions were carried out by the Rev. Dr. Kidder, assisted by other divines, and their work was approved and adopted by the General Conference of 1852. The series Nos. 1, 2, 3, does not consist of three separate catechisms, but of *one*, in three stages of development, the language of the basis being unchanged in the different numbers. No. 3 presents something like a system of Christian doctrine in condensed form, and is designed "for an advanced grade of study."

This summary of Church doctrines enjoys the acceptance of the Methodist Episcopal Church, represented by the General Conference, and its use is obligatory, "as extensively as possible," upon ministers and members. Assuredly the Church has not spoken in any uncertain tones about her doctrinal beliefs. She has nothing to conceal, no set of opinions for private study and ministerial subscription, and one altogether different for pulpit use and prudential ministration. What she believes is proclaimed with fervid boldness. The Catechism is as explicit as, and infinitely more credible than, the Westminster Confession and the Longer and Shorter Catechisms.

Nor did the General Conference of 1852 exceed the limits

† "History of Creeds," p. 882.

of constitutional authority in the approving adoption of the catechism, for it neither revoked, altered, nor changed our Articles of Religion, nor established "any new standards or rules of doctrine *contrary* to our present existing and established standards of doctrine." All the definitions of the catechism are in concord with the Methodist *consensus* of creed, commentary, treatise, and discourse; nor has any Methodist preacher the legal right to impugn or attack them, unless he can show their *dissensus* from the other standards.

ART. III.—SHAKESPEARE: HIS WORKS AND HIS EDITORS.

The Dramatic Works of Shakespeare. Revised by GEORGE STEVENS 20 vols., Folio. London: Printed by W. Bulmer & Co., Shakespeare Printing Office. For John and Josiah Boydell, George and W. Nichol. From the Types of W. Martin. 1802.

The Works of William Shakespeare. In Reduced Facsimile. From the Famous First Folio Edition of 1623. With an Introduction by J. O. HALLIWELL PHILLIPS. 8vo, pp. 993. London: Chatto & Windus. Piccadilly. 1876.

Shakespeare's Comedy of the Merchant of Venice, etc. Edited with Notes by WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M., Formerly Head-Master of the High School, Cambridge, Mass. With Engravings. 37 vols., 12mo, square. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

The Works of William Shakespeare. The Text Revised by Rev. ALEXANDER DYCE. In Nine Volumes. Third Edition, 8vo. London: Chapman & Hall, 193 Piccadilly. 1875.

The Dramatic Works of William Shakespeare. With a Glossary. A New Edition, Corrected and Improved. 8vo, pp. 1124. London: Henry G. Bohn. 1863.

The Complete Works of Shakespeare. From the Original Text. Carefully Collated and Compared with the Editions of Halliwell, Knight, and Collier. With Historical and Critical Introduction and Notes to each Play; and a Life of the Great Dramatist, by CHARLES KNIGHT. 3 vols., Royal 8vo, pp. 1725. New York: Johnson, Wilson & Co.

CRITICS have spoken at times extravagantly of Shakespeare's songs and sonnets. There is much that is admirable in both; but the gems which give to "Venus and Adonis" and "The Rape of Lucrece" their radiant beauty are not the foundations on which his fame is built. If he had only sung in these songs and charmed in these sonnets he would never have "lifted us over all seas and mountains"—he would never have taken us, as he has, to the very summit of the highest heaven of genius-inspired and genius-inspiring rapture.

Shakespeare's fame, undying, overwhelming, transforming,

radiates from the dramatic portions of his works: his thirty-five or thirty-seven well-authenticated plays. These are usually divided into three divisions: comedies, historical, and tragedies. By whom this division was first made we know not. It is not, we think, the happiest arrangement that might have been devised. It is not a sufficiently discriminating one. There are histories that are also tragedies, and tragedies in which the soberest facts of history are mixed with comic elements of the broadest kind. The idea of the framer of this plan seems to have been that a play in which the events issue happily for the principal characters, must, for that reason, be regarded as a comedy, whereas a play the events of which come to a calamitous issue must, therefore, be regarded as a tragedy. In like manner, one in which the events happen in chronological order must be historical, though it might not be distinct from either tragedy or comedy. In noticing these divisions we will reverse the order in which they have been named.

The thirteen tragedies are to be distinguished from the other plays by their continuous sublimity and massive grandeur. Of these tragedies, ten are associated with countries which, so far as is known, Shakespeare never visited. Two of these, "King Lear" and "Cymbeline," belong to English history, and one, "Macbeth," has its scenes in Scotland. In "Hamlet," "Macbeth," "Othello," and "King Lear," we have an illustration of Shakespeare's power in unveiling and depicting the baser, the most unlovable, of human passions.

In "King Lear," Taine tells us, "we have curses more than sufficient for all the madmen in an asylum and for all the oppressed of earth. Lear was the subject of ungrateful, savage, and diabolical cruelty in an age when vice reigned with lawless and gigantic power. He is a picture of human misery that has never been surpassed, and as an illustration of disordered reason, a portraiture beyond all reach of rivalry."

The dreaded suspicion that he was becoming insane dawns upon him in the midst of a dreadful tempest. Kent finds him on the heath in front of a hovel:

Kent. Here is the place, my lord; good my lord, enter:
The tyranny of the open night's too rough
For nature to endure.
Lear. Let me alone.

Kent. Good my lord, enter here.
Lear. Wilt break my heart?
Kent. I'd rather break mine own. Good my lord, enter.
Lear. Thou think'st 't is much that this contentious storm
Invades us to the skin; so 't is to thee;
But where the greater malady is fix'd
The lesser is scarce felt. Thou 'dst shun a bear;
But if thy flight lay toward the roaring sea,
Thou 'dst meet the bear i' the mouth.
When the mind's free
The body's delicate; the tempest in my mind
Doth from my senses take all feeling else,
Save what beats there.

He then curses the ingratitude of his daughters, and exclaims:

But I will punish home:—
No, I will weep no more. In such a night
To shut me out! Pour on; I will endure:—
In such a night as this! O Regan, Goneril!
Your old kind father, whose frank heart gave all,—
O, that way madness lies! let me shun that;
No more of that! *

"Troilus and Cressida," "Julius Cæsar," "Coriolanus," "Timon of Athens," and "Pericles" are based upon Greek and Roman histories, as is "Antony and Cleopatra." The characters included in these plays have been limned by Plutarch and Homer; but in neither case do they bear the slightest comparison with the same characters as drawn by Shakespeare. He individualizes them as neither the historian or poet had the ability to do. This is remarkably apparent in the play of "Julius Cæsar." We feel that Cassius, Brutus, Cæsar, and Antony are living men. They stand and speak in our presence as only real men can. The play is intended to be an artistic development of the motives that influenced Brutus to aid in the assassination of Cæsar, and of the result of that action. "Brutus is," says Swinburne, "the very noblest figure of a typical republican in all the literature of the world."

As in "Julius Cæsar" so in "Coriolanus." The principal character is not of Plutarch's painting. Plutarch makes Coriolanus to have been a cold, haughty patrician. Shakespeare's Coriolanus is a coarse soldier, a man of the people. He is an

* "King Lear," Act iii, Scene iv.

athlete. He has a voice like a trumpet. He is proud and terrible. A lion's soul in the body of a steer.* He fights and drinks, and drinks and fights again. His military prowess is unrivaled. His character is severely sublime. He has an undisguised contempt for every thing base, vulgar, pusillanimous.

It has been affirmed that "Macbeth" is the greatest effort of the poet's genius, and that it is the most sublime and imposing drama the world has ever seen. In the opinion of the profoundest critics, Macbeth is represented as being too great and good to fall under common temptations; hence supernatural agencies are employed to subvert him. He is exposed to the suggestions of hell on the one side, and to those of his fiend-like wife on the other. Originally brave, magnanimous, gentle, he falls a prey to the idea of FATE. This was first suggested by the weird sisters. To this suggestion was added the ferocious and sarcastic eloquence of Lady Macbeth. She clothes with splendor the issue of the deed; she taunts him with cowardice and irresolution; and, maddened, he rushes into the snare. As soon as the deed is done, conscience awakes. It accuses and condemns him. Horrified, he becomes the victim of agonizing remorse. He feels that he is deserted by God and man.

With what wonderful dramatic power does Shakespeare depict the beginning of Macbeth's misery. As soon as the murder was committed, Macbeth rushes into the presence of Lady Macbeth, and falters out:

Macbeth. I have done the deed. Didst thou not hear a noise?
Lady Macbeth. I heard the owl scream and the crickets cry.
Did not you speak?

. . . . . .

Macbeth. This is a sorry sight. (*Looking on his hands.*)
Lady Macbeth. A foolish thought, to say a sorry sight.
Macbeth. There's one did laugh in's sleep, and one cried, "Murther!"
That they did wake each other. I stood and heard them:
But they did say their prayers, and address'd them
Again to sleep.
Lady Macbeth. There are two lodg'd together.
Macbeth. One cried "God bless us!" and "Amen" the other;
as they had seen me with these hangman's hands,
Listening their fear. I could not say "Amen,"
When they did say, "God bless us!"

* Taine.

Lady Macbeth. Consider it not so deeply.
Macbeth. But wherefore could not I pronounce "Amen"?
I had most need of blessing, and "Amen"
Stuck in my throat.

After reproaches from Lady Macbeth, and her departure, he hears a knocking, and thus:

Macbeth. Whence is that knocking?
How is't with me, when every noise appals me?
What hands are here? Ha! They pluck out mine eyes.
Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
Clean from my hand? No; this my hand will rather
The multitudinous seas incarnadine,
Making the green one red.*

After this Macbeth becomes distrustful, treacherous, cruel. He sweeps away all those whose talents, virtues, sufferings, pretentions, endanger his life. He hourly becomes more and more desperate and wretched.

In no other of Shakespeare's characters do we see so clearly the debilitating effect of a fear-creating conscience.

In "Timon of Athens" we have a most admirable satire on the folly and ingratitude of mankind. Timon, in thoughtless profusion, scatters his gifts on poets, painters, warriors, statesmen, only to find that men may buy flattery but not friendship. In the hour of trial his flatterers desert him, and he becomes misanthropic. Apemantus taunts him, and he replies:

> I am sick of this false world; and will love nought
> But even the mere necessities upon it.
> Then, Timon, presently prepare thy grave;
> Lie where the light foam of the sea may beat
> Thy grave-stone daily: make thine epitaph,
> That death in me at other's lives may laugh.

The historical plays commence with "King John," and end with "Henry the Eighth." These plays give evidence of an almost inspired insight into human character. We have in them a subtle analysis of the motives which control men in every possible position. Taking the dramatic incidents of any reign, Shakespeare crowds them together, and, regardless of the unities, he makes us to see and understand the political and social state of the people.†

* "Macbeth," Act ii, Scene 11.

† Drake, Hudson, Rolfe. All the critics, in fine.

The fourteen comedies are, and ever will be, the best known of all the poet has ever written. No man could have uttered them who had not a marvelous familiarity with nature, or who did not tenderly, sweetly, appreciate it in all its varied phases. They display, also, a power to paint the weaknesses and follies of men—such as all other men have aspired to in vain.

The necessity for quotation is here so great, that this paper can be kept within reasonable bounds only by exercising a heroic self-denial. It is in this division of his plays that Shakespeare gives us Falstaff, Mercutio, Touchstone, Jaques, Bassanio, Puck, Caliban, the Gobbos, and a hundred others all akin. For wit, imagination, and vividness of description, these are the most wonderful creations of which human genius can boast. If space would allow, we would quote the feats of the fairy Oberon, Mercutio's description of Queen Mab; Clarence's dream; the gossip babble of the nurse in "Romeo and Juliet;" Biondella's description of Petruchio's horse; Falstaff's personification of Prince Hal's father; the same worthy's interview with his page on the occasion of his visit to the doctor and the haberdasher Dombledon; his wonderful description of Bardolph's nose; his still more wonderful description of himself and his soldiers when about to march through Coventry; nor would we omit, but for the reason named, Dogberry's oration on the failure of the sexton to "write him down an ass." These plays bring into view and describe with inimitable fidelity over *nine hundred* characters, all wonderful, some of them not only unsurpassed, but unequaled, in literature.

No question is so often put to those who are supposed to have studied Shakespeare, as a specialty, than the one which usually is formulated on this wise—"Which of the plays do you regard as Shakespeare's greatest, and which is the most striking passage in that play?" Some say that "Macbeth," "Hamlet," "Richard the Third," "Romeo and Juliet," and "Julius Cæsar" are all equally great. Taine says that the most powerful passage in all Shakespeare's works is the scene between the three queens in "Richard the Third." If we would go with the multitude we must make our choice out of the well-known passages commencing: "The quality of mercy is not strained;" "All the world's a stage;" "To be or not to be," etc. We choose to elect to the highest honor the beautiful paraphrase

of our Lord's words, given in the first act of "Measure for Measure." Read the words of the blessed Saviour on the impolicy of hiding the talent, and then read the duke's address to Angelo:

> *Duke.* Angelo,
> There is a kind of character in thy life,
> That to th' observer, doth thy history
> Fully unfold. Thyself and thy belongings
> Are not thine own so proper, as to waste
> Thyself upon thy virtues, they on thee.
> Heaven doth with us as we with torches do;
> Not light them for themselves: for if our virtues
> Did not go forth of us, 'twere all alike
> As if we had them not. Spirits are not finely touch'd
> But to fine issues: nor Nature never lends
> The smallest scruple of her excellence,
> But, like a thrifty goddess, she determines
> Herself the glory of a creditor,
> Both thanks and use.*

It is specially worthy of notice that *Shakespeare mades constant reference in all his works to a life to come.* The poet seems to be constantly making an effort to unite men to two states of existence. This is especially true in "Henry the Sixth," "Hamlet," "Measure for Measure," and "Macbeth." Too much, in our opinion, has been made of Shakespeare's indebtedness to the Bible. That he was familiar with the Scriptures, and that the revelations made therein lay at the foundation of his belief in a future life, is, without doubt, true, very true; but his philosophy embraces science and the loftiest thoughts of uninspired men. It is worthy of remark that Shakespeare uses the word "conversion" in the old-fashioned Methodist sense. But there is no such use of the Bible as is implied in the statement that the Scriptures suggested his religious thoughts. Bishop Wilberforce has said: "If we take the entire range of English literature, and put together what our best authors have written upon subjects not professedly religious or theological, we shall not find in all united so much evidence of the Bible having been read as we find in Shakespeare." This is the proper way of putting the matter. Shakespeare was a reader, it may be a lover, of the Bible. But the man is narrow, if not fanatical, who bases upon these admitted facts an

* "Measure for Measure," Act i, Scene 1.

argument to prove that Shakespeare was a *pious* man or a religionist in any sense. He was, doubtless, endued with religious sentiment, and had penetration enough to see in the word of God a wonderful corroboration and illustration of those truths to which he was most anxious to give universal currency. There are in Shakespeare some most remarkable adaptations of inspired thought. In addition to the passage already quoted from "Measure for Measure," who does not call to mind the speech of Ulysses in "Troilus and Cressida"?

> *Ulysses.* But when the planets
> In evil mixture, to disorder wander,
> What plagues, and what portents? what mutiny?
> What raging of the sea? shaking of earth?
> Commotion in the winds? frights, changes, horrors,
> Divert and crack, rend and deracinate
> The unity and married calm of states
> Quite from their fixure?

This is almost a paraphrase of Luke xxi, 25–26. In fact, Shakespeare is always reminding us of the Bible. No wonder that careless readers confound their quotations, and seek to extenuate their inexcusable ignorance by the plea, "I was sure it was either in Shakespeare or the Bible." Shakespeare reminds us of the Bible, not by his direct quotations, but by a similar simplicity of diction.

Of all the poets who have enriched our vocabulary, we owe the most to Shakespeare.

Our great poet, Milton, has remarkable opulence of expression, but we are told that his vocabulary is limited to eight thousand words; Dante has only five thousand eight hundred; whereas Shakespeare has fifteen thousand! Look into Mrs. Cowden Clarke's "Concordance," and stand amazed. Forty per cent. of his words are from the Latin, and some of those he has incorporated into our mother tongue are very choice. The greater part, however, are Saxon and monosyllabic. A late writer in "Lippincott's Magazine" says that of these fifteen thousand, six thousand only appear once. "On every average page of Shakespeare," he says, "you are greeted and gladdened by at least five new words that you never saw before in his writings, and that you will never see again—speaking once and then for ever holding their peace. Each

not only rare, but a nonsuch. Five gems just shown and then snatched away."

Shakespeare unlocks to us a vast store-house of epithets, and it is only by a careful study of this greatest master of the language that we can know the richness and copiousness of the mother tongue. The *marvelous suggestiveness* of these epithets is what will strike every thoughtful reader.

In one short passage of four lines, we have epithets that do the work of a painter:

> *Duke S.* Come, shall we go and kill us venison?
> And yet it irks me the *poor dappled fools*,—
> Being *native burghers* of this desert city,
> Should, in their own confines, with *forked heads*
> Have their *round haunches* gor'd.

Let the student take a few of the abstract nouns, and see what he makes of them. Sighs are *blood-consuming;* disdain is *sour-eyed;* gentleness is *milky;* despair is *black;* rage is *tiger-footed;* pomp, *painted;* fear, *shuddering;* jealousy, *green-eye'd;* scorn, *salt;* sorrow, *gnarled;* envy, *lean-faced;* discontent has *murmuring lips;* virtue, *steely bones;* emulation, *pale and bloodless;* a flatterer is *glass-faced;* a powerless man has *corky, pithless* arms; hypocrites are *onion eye'd;* pestilence is *red;* the winds *scold;* winter is *sap-consuming;* fortune has *an ivory hand;* ambition *vaults;* slow men have *leaden legs;* homely men are *tripe-visaged;* reputation is *a bubble;* hills are *heaven-kissing;* death is *dusty.* The writer has made a list of thousands of these epithets, and they are a continual marvel to him. They would have been published, but the fate of Holofernes, the learned school-master, and the still sadder fate of Sir Nathaniel, the wise curate, have, in an admonitory way, stayed the compiler's hand. These worthies, it will be remembered, charge each other with having been to "a great feast of languages," and as having "stolen the scraps" of Nathaniel, thus:

> *Hol.* He draweth out the thread of his verbosity finer than the staple of his argument. I abhor such fanatical fantasms, such insociable and point-devise companions; such ruckers of orthography, as to speak, dout, fine, when he should say, doubt; det, when he should pronounce debt d, e, b, t; not d, e, t; he clepeth a calf, cauf; half, hauf. . . . This is abhominable (which he would call abominable): it insinuateth me of insanie."

On the return of Titus Andronicus from a successful campaign, Marcus is represented as exhorting him to put on the white robe of those named for the empire:

> *Mar.* Titus Andronicus, the people of Rome,
> Whose friend in justice thou hast ever been,
> Send thee by me, their tribune, and their trust,
> This palliament of white and spotless hue;
> And name thee in election for the empire,
> With these our later deceased emperor's sons:
> Be candidatus, then, and put it on,
> And help to *set an head on headless Rome.**

With such a source the phrase we have italicised ceases to be slang.

Lear, when addressing Gloucester, says:

> *Get thee glass eyes;*
> And, like a scurvy politician, seem
> To see the things thou dost not.†

Similar advice has been given in our day, and those who gave it allowed the multitude to suppose it new. Phrases which some of us were sure had their birth in our own day, are some of them more than two hundred years old. We recognize one such in Henry the Eighth. The king, frowning on his flatterers, says:

> But know I come not
> To hear such flattery now, and in my presence;
> They are *too thin* and bare to hide offenses.‡

The most astounding feature of these plays is the almost incredible number of subjects that the writer has touched with his wonder-working wand. In his "Student's Shakespeare," lately published, the writer of this article has collated Shakespeare's thoughts on no less than five thousand subjects, and the rich mine is far from being exhausted. The most astounding thing about it all is that *there is no repetition*, either of thought or phraseology. No ringing of the changes on a few favorite ideas or characters. It has been said that Byron could only paint two portraits. The one was a *rake*, the other a *misanthrope*. So with the great living authors. They have a few characters with whom they seem to be in love, and they

* "Titus Andronicus," Act i, Scene 2. † "King Lear," Act iv, Scene 6.
‡ "Henry the Eighth," Act v, Scene 2.

repeat them with slight variations again and again. It is said of Dickens that he had to keep within the smoke of London, and that he was lost outside. Scott had to keep on his native heather, but Shakespeare sweeps through all lands and ages, and gives us pictures of all of human kind.

A distinction must be made between the plays of Shakespeare as they were written by him and as they are rendered on the stage. Swinburne tells us that the best passages in "Hamlet" are *never* given on the stage. Lear, as acted on the boards, has a miserable love story, written by one Nahum Tate, running all through it. It has been affirmed that there are not twenty consecutive lines from the great poet to be found in any version used by "the profession." His plays, we are told, *have to be cut down to the level of the actors.* Many of the things to which exceptions are taken at times, it is suspected, were never written by Shakespeare. The interpolations, in stage parlance, are called "gags," and were extemporized by actors to suit the tastes of their audiences.

There are some things which Shakespeare has treated originally and almost prophetically—certainly he has treated them in advance of his times. It will be remembered that Shakespeare died more than half a century before Newton gave to the world his theory of gravitation. Yet he makes Cressida say:

> The strong base and building of my love
> Is *as the very center of the earth,*
> *Drawing all things to it.**

Before Harvey made his name immortal by proclaiming his great discovery of the circulation of the blood, Shakespeare's Brutus said to Portia:

> You are my true and honorable wife;
> As dear to me, *as are the ruddy drops*
> *That visit my sad heart.*†

It is only as yesterday that even scholars began to use with any degree of frequency the word *heredity*, but how much of it we have in Shakespeare. So with regard to insanity. The greatest of our modern physicians have recourse to Shakespeare for instruction in the diagnosis of this mysterious state. So, in regard to conscience, both the platform and the pulpit

* "Troilus and Cressida," Act iv, Scene 2.

† "Julius Cæsar," Act ii, Scene 1.

are his debtors. Joseph Cook's rendering of some passages from "Richard the Third" is like a new revelation from the sky. The dream of Richard on the eve of the battle, as given by him, thrilled us to the very core.

There are many who object to the realistic pictures with which our great artist's works abound. And yet the objectors are perhaps the very persons who listen admiringly to lascivious Italian songs, or read with undisguised satisfaction the nastiest French novels. Consistency is worth something, but these hypocrites ignore it. Every objection in this direction lies with measurable force against the Bible as translated under the patronage of King James. As compared with much that is read without a blush or an uttered protest, Shakespeare lies

> Upon the wings of night
> Whiter than new snow on a raven's back.*

In selecting an edition of this great master of English thought and expression, the student will, of course, be guided by his tastes, his means, and by the end he seeks to gain in his studies.

There are several editions that are utterly beyond the reach of all but millionaires. The Boydell edition of 1802 is without question the most sumptuous ever given to the public. The paper is heavy, the type larger than any we have elsewhere seen. The illustrations have a world-wide fame. It is difficult to obtain this edition at any price. It can be seen in some public libraries. We have not space to dwell upon other and equally rare editions, nor need we, as it would take the price of a principality to buy the cheapest of them.

A writer in the "Quarterly Review" (Eng.) in 1859 tells us that the works of Shakespeare have passed through three stages. In the first, they were printed with care. In the second, conjectural criticism prevailed. In the third, ancient readings were more thoroughly ascertained, and the Elizabethan literature ransacked to clear up the allusions and the language. They have now reached a fourth and, it may be, a final one—a stage of digestion and comparison. This stage was inaugurated by Knight, who had perhaps an undue faith in the readings of the first folios. In 1843 Mr. Collier entered the lists, and he put his confidence in the quartos. Then came

* "Romeo and Juliet," Act iii, Scene 2.

the Dyce editions. That of 1875 is remarkable for the purity of its text. The notes are few, and they are marked by brevity and pointedness. The type is magnificent, it has broad margins, and is correspondingly expensive.

Furness' "New Variorum," (Phil., 1873,) is as yet incomplete, and belongs to the luxurious class. It bids fair to occupy a very enviable position among scholars, but its cost places it out of the reach of men of ordinary means. Nothing of this kind can be said of the Globe, and numerous other cheap editions. They are, however, printed in small type and often on inferior paper, and to most they would be dear at any price.

Much might be said in commendation of Hudson's edition, but upon the whole we give decided preference to the one in course of publication for Mr. Rolfe, of Cambridge, by the Harper Brothers. Twenty-five of the thirty-seven plays are already before the public. They are profusely illustrated, and in the highest style of typographical art. They are marvels of careful collation and painstaking accuracy. If "Rolfe's Edition" was not sufficiently distinctive, we would call it the "Friendly Edition," the edition which we can make a companion of. It is not a fatiguing book to hold, a play can be selected and put in our pocket, or it will lie modestly at the bottom of the smallest traveling-bag, furnishing just such a dainty morsel as an intellectual lunch should ever be. The compactness of the notes entitles it to the position of a standard "Variorum" edition. It contains a vast amount of incidental information illustrative of the times of the poet, the manners of the people, and of contemporary writers. As to Shakespearian localities, this edition is far in advance of all others. It is surprising how ignorant some English editors seem to have been of the topography of their own country. Mr. Rolfe not only avoids all errors of this kind himself, but exhaustively corrects the errors of others. For instance, in "Richard the Third" we do not know of a single English editor who seems to know the truth as to what "Crosby House" was or is. Their statements are as various as the authorities on which they depend. The same and more is true of "Baynard's Castle," and "The Blue Boar." Of all editions, this for the teacher and the student is the best. To say more would be "wasteful and ridiculous excess."

ART. IV.—PERSIAN POETRY.

Gulistán. Sheikh SADI Shirazi. Munshi Newul Kishore Press, Lucknow. 1881.
Bostán. Sheikh SADI Shirazi. Munshi Newul Kishore Press, Lucknow. 1881.

"POETRY has ever been held in the greatest veneration in the East. If the ancient Greeks and Romans gave to their poets all the honors they lavished on their inferior divinities, the Persians have ranked them with their Imams and Prophets, and have as willingly abided by their commands as by the injunctions of their Holy Writ. The Persians are enthusiastically devoted to poetry. It forms the very essence of their religion. The meanest artisan, the rudest soldier, the proudest noble, and the tyrant king, are alike charmed by the strains of the minstrel who sings a mystic song of divine love. They may forget the words of Mohammed, they may neglect the maxims of their Sharehs, but the verses of Sadi and Hafiz are indelibly impressed on their memory."

Centuries, long and busy and full of change, have passed since Ferdusi, Sadi, and Hafiz delighted the people of the country they adorned, but to-day, throughout Persia, India, and the lands that lie between, they are appealed to and their words quoted with a readiness and frequency difficult to describe. In street-preaching among Mohammedans we often hear the verse from Sadi,

> Darogh i maslahat-amez bih az rást i fitna-angez.
>
> A lie purporting good is better than a truth exciting disturbance.

This is quoted with the greatest possible assurance, and the verse is used in its widest signification. In the year 1792, when the embassadors of Tippoo Sultan were at Madras, engaged in their mission of raising an insurrection against the British Government, one of them, in his letter to his master, advises him to agree to a proposal "upon the principle recommended by the sage and worthy Khivaja Hafiz Shirazi, (on whom may the mercy of the Lord forever rest,) *With friends cordiality, with enemies dissimulation.*"

As has been well remarked by Sir William Jones, the verses which justify vice are oftener quoted than those in praise of virtue—so weak, alas! is human nature, especially in Oriental

lands. On the other hand, however, instances are not wanting. It is related that one of the kings of Persia, a man of acknowledged talents, being out one Friday to attend service at the royal mosque, one of his attendants struck a poor Christian who ventured to approach the cavalcade, accompanying the blow with an awful imprecation: "Begone to hell, O cursed dog; this is not your church!" The injured youth with much presence of mind replied in a couplet from Hafiz:

> I have been to the temple, the mosque, and the church,
> And the same God I found worshiped in all.

The king smiled with admiration, and extended his hand to the young man, who went home richer by two hundred rupees.

Hafiz especially is constantly resorted to by Mohammedans when seeking for an omen. Owing, no doubt, to the ambiguous nature of many of the couplets in his "Diwán," this book is regarded as the one of all others from which to draw an augury. The female members of the Mohammedan household make it the constant court of appeal in deciding the grave questions of every-day life. This practice is not confined to the *zenanas;* it is said that the king, Nadir Shah, chose a passage from the odes of Hafiz before undertaking a siege.

The oldest extant specimen of Persian poetry is the romance of Wamik and Asra, which appeared in the latter part of the sixth century, while as yet the worship of fire had not been superseded by the religion of Mohammed. The theme of the poem is:

> Old as the rose, first into beauty blowing,
> Old as the sun himself first into passion glowing.

Wamik and Asra, the Glowing and the Blowing, are personifications of the two great principles of heat and vegetation, the vivifying energy of heaven and the corresponding fertility of earth.

After the Moslem conquest of the country in 636, literature declined, and thus remained until the tenth century, when the language was restored, and there was hardly a prince or governor of a city who had not poets and *literati* in his train. One of the most distinguished of these patrons of letters was Mahmud of Ghazni, famous also as being the first Mohammedan ruler who successfully invaded India. To his court

repaired the peasant Ferdusi, to whom the sultan committed the execution of a long-cherished project—the composition of a poetical history of Persia from the foundation of the monarchy till the Moslem conquest. A mass of materials, consisting of oral traditions collected by a previous poet, was placed at his disposal, and his reward was to be a *dinár* for every distich. The task occupied thirty years; the work, entitled the "Shahnamah," included sixty thousand distichs, and secured for its author the title of "the Homer of Persia."

Of this production (which is still popular throughout India, where it is read in the original and in an Urdu translation) so eminent an authority as Sir W. Jones has declared that "the plan of the 'Shahnamah' was in some respects finer than that of the 'Iliad;'" but, as has been pointed out by later writers, the two plans cannot be compared because they have nothing in common. The "Shahnamah" cannot properly be styled an epic. "There is not from beginning to end so much as an endeavor to delineate character. Rustum, the hero, is no more of a human being than the Iron Man in Spenser's "Faerie Queene." He is simply a machine in the form of a man, and possessed of almost unlimited force. At the age of five he kills with one blow of a club a mad white elephant. When he puts his hand on the backs of the strongest horses they sink down and roll upon the earth incapable of enduring the pressure." The author excels, it is true, like the Homer with whom he is compared, in his descriptions of battles.

On the completion of his work the poet was paid with sixty thousand pieces of silver instead of gold. Indignant at this evasion of the contract, Ferdusi distributed the money on the spot to the people about him, and vowed to avenge himself in a manner worthy of a poet. He left Ghazni, but before his departure he committed to the monarch's private secretary a carefully sealed packet, desiring him to present it the first time his master happened to be in a melancholy mood. The packet contained the following bitter satire:

> What could one expect from the son of a slave,
> But that, sooner or later, he'd turn out a knave?
> Let his head with a crown be encircled about,
> The meanness will somewhere be sure to peep out.
> Plant in Eden's fair garden a bitter-fruit tree,
> Let its waters of heavenly purity be;

Let rich dropping honey bedew the young root—
Still, still you will find that bitter's the fruit.
Bring the heavenly peacock, and cause it to brood
O'er the egg of a raven; and then let the food
Of the nestling be fig-seeds from Eden's fair tree,
And let Gabriel breathe on it—holy is he!
Let it drink of the water of sweet Salsebil—
What does it avail?—'tis a hoarse raven still!
Deposit a viper in that rosy bed;
With the choicest of luxuries let it be fed—
Is it tamed by your kindness, or softened its spite?
O no! it turns on you with venomous bite.
By night, bring an owl to your elegant bowers;
Let it perch on the rose-bushes, sport 'mid the flowers;
But as soon as the day spreads its wings on the sky,
So soon will the owl stretch its pinions to fly,
And seek the tall forests in darkness to lie.
So sure as our garments catch odorous smell
In a shop of rich perfumes—and so far 'tis well—
They will borrow as surely a dark dusty hue
If we stand by a forge—you allow this is true;
Then wonder no more if a dark, evil deed,
From a dark evil man spontaneous proceed.
No more can the Ethiop make himself white,
Than a soul of mean birth can emerge into light,
And show itself generous, noble, and wise—
So let not the poets throw dust in our eyes.
O king! if I sooner this lesson had learned,
I should not be mourning my hopes overturned.

From the tenth century to the fourteenth was the Golden Age of Persian literature, the Mohammedan princes maintaining a kind of literary rivalship in the patronage of letters, so that to excel in poetry was the surest way to fame and fortune. Of all the cities of Persia none gave birth to more distinguished poets than Shiraz, "the Athens of the East." This classic city was so fertile in luxuries of every kind as to give occasion to a popular saying that "if Mohammed had tested the pleasures of Shiraz he would have begged of Allah to make him immortal there." It was the birth-place of Sadi and Hafiz, two of the brightest stars that shine in this constellation.

Hafiz was born in 1300. He led a life of poverty, which he considered inseparable from genius, and which, according to his creed, was the only medium of salvation. Unlike most poets of his age, he refused all invitations to courts. Gheias Ud Din, Emperor of India, sent him a pressing request to visit

him, but the poet politely declined. He replied in a poem which concluded as follows:

O Hafiz, why conceal the desire that possesses you of visiting Sultan Gheias Ud Din?
It is your business to complain of the distance that separates you

The poetry of Hafiz is entirely lyrical; his strains are noted for their music and eloquence. He was gifted with an imagination remarkable for its creative fancy. A recent writer praises him as follows: "Hafiz is a genuine poet—so far as we know, the sweetest of all Persian poets. There is in his poetry a freshness and a fragrance as of early spring flowers, a careless outpouring of joy as free from any after-taste of bitterness as the caroling of a bird among the leaves of summer." The same author says, and the words but too plainly indicate the saddest defect of Persian poetry, "All problems of life and thought he pushes to one side by a simple reference to fate, and dwells upon an earth where 'no cold moral reigns.' Roses, wine, and women, spring, summer, sunshine, these things are all pleasant surely; and 'who knoweth what thing cometh after death?' Such is the beginning, middle, and end of Hafiz's philosophy."

The following renderings of some of this poet's verses may be quoted:

Be patient, O my heart! be not vexed; verily the morn is succeeded by the night, and the night is succeeded by the day.

Some labor in the paths of love; others leave every thing to fate. But place no reliance on the permanency of the world; it is a tenement liable to many changes.

Be not sorry if a day of calamity should come; pass on, be thankful, lest greater ill betide thee.

His celebrated ode on the "Maid of Shiraz" is not worthy a place in the pages of the Quarterly. The following may suffice:

ODE BY HAFIZ.

Veiled is my soul in this material clay;
Blest be the hour that tears the veil away!
The imprisoned bird in sadness pours her strains,
So pines my soul to join her native plains.
Where am I come? or whence had I my birth?
Alas! I know not, nor aught else on earth.

Confined and bound in this material state
How shall I soar to purer realms of fate?
Yet will I hope the promised world of bliss;
And, with such hope, who would remain in this?
What if my heart reveal its longing woes?
The musk of Khotun must its sweets disclose.
The glittering tissue on my outward vest
But ill conceals the flame within my breast;
Come, then, transcendent source of life divine!
To thee the life thou gavest I resign;
Thou only livest; Hafiz is but thine!

It has been made a subject of discussion whether the poems of Hafiz should be taken in a literal or in a figurative sense. Strange as it may seem, the question is not capable of an easy solution. According to Jones, it "does not admit of a general answer. The most enthusiastic Sufis allow that there are some passages in the Odes of Hafiz which may be understood literally, and which are void of mystery as the words of God, while there are some entire odes which breathe the very essence of their philosophy, and to the general reader appear confused and obscure." *

* To give an account of Sufism—which has exercised so powerful an influence over the greatest minds of Persia and India—would require too lengthy a digression. Intimately connected as it is with the subject in hand we cannot pass it without a few words. It is an attractive and very popular species of Pantheism. The following passage from the "Bostán" of the poet Sadi helps to an understanding of it in its more moderate form:

"The love of a being composed, like thyself, of water and clay, destroys thy patience and peace of mind; it excites thee in thy waking hours with minute beauties, and engages thee in thy sleep with vain imaginations. With such real affection dost thou lay thy head at her feet, that the universe, in comparison with her, vanishes into nothing before thee; and since thy gold allures not her eye, gold and mere earth appear equal in thine. Not a breath dost thou utter to any one else, for with her thou hast no room for any other. Thou declarest that her abode is in thine eye; or, when thou closest it, in thy heart. Thou hast no fear of censure from any man; thou hast no power to be at rest for a moment; if she demands thy soul, it runs instantly to thy lips. Since an absurd love, with its basis on air, affects thee so violently, and commands thee with a sway so despotic, canst thou wonder that they who walk in the true path are drowned in the sea of mysterious adoration? They disregard life through affection for its giver; they abandon the world, through remembrance of its maker; they are inebriated with the melody of their amorous plaints; they remember their beloved, and resign to him both this life and the next. Through remembrance of God they shun all mankind; they are so enamored of the cup-bearer that they spill the wine from the cup. No panacea can heal them, for no mortal can be apprised of their malady; so loudly has rung in their ears, from eternity

The countrymen of Hafiz regarded him with mixed feelings. At the time of his death there were many who considered his works sinful and impious. They remonstrated against his being buried in consecrated ground; but his followers maintained that Hafiz never acted contrary to the leading tenets of the Koran, and that his life deserved every honor that could be bestowed on the life of a saint. "His opponents went even so far as to arrest the procession of his funeral. The dispute became hot, and blows were imminent, when it was agreed that a line of his own should settle the dispute. If it were to be in favor of religion his friends were to proceed with the bier; if the verse were calculated to promote immorality, the corpse was to be removed to such quarters as are intended to receive the remains of the infidels. The odes were produced before a person whose eyes were bound, and seven pages were counted back, when the inspired finger pointed to the following couplet:

Qadam daregh madár az janáza e Hafiz,
Agarchi gharq i gunah ast mirawad rah bihisht.

Or, in other words,

Grudge not your steps to Hafiz' funeral train;
Though sunk in sin, his way to bliss is plain.

A shout arose; the admirers of the poet took up the bier, and those who had doubted joined them in carrying it for interment. To this day honor is done to the sacred spot, and to the memory of the great bard, by strewing flowers and pouring out libations of the choicest wines on his grave."

During the last four hundred years no names have appeared in Persia worthy to rank with those of Ferdusi, Sadi, and Hafiz. Persian literature became almost extinct in the sixteenth century, and has had little opportunity for revival, owing to the oppression and social disorganization under which the country has labored.

Something should be said of the forms of poetic composition

without beginning, the divine query addressed to myriads of assembled souls, 'Art thou of God?' with the tumultuous reply, 'We are.' They are a sect fully employed, but sitting in retirement; their feet are of earth, but their breath is a flame: . . . like stone, they are silent, yet repeat God's praises. At early dawn their tears flow so copiously as to wash from their eyes the black powder of sleep. So enraptured are they with the beauty of Him who decorated the human form, that with the beauty of the form itself they have no concern."

among the Persians. These are (1) the "Rubai:" this consists of four hemistichs or two stanzas, and bears some resemblance to the epigram of the ancients; it is in great favor among Persian poets. (2) The "Ghazal:" this corresponds to the ode of the Greeks and Romans. The most common subject of which it treats is love; other subjects are also dwelt upon, such as the delights of the season of spring, the beauties of the flowers of the garden, and the tuneful notes of the nightingales warbling among the rose-bushes; the praise of wine and hilarity, with an occasional pithy allusion to the brevity of human life. The first couplet is called the "Matla," or "the place of rising," (of a heavenly body,) and the rule is that both hemistichs of this couplet should have the same meter and rhyme; the remaining couplets must have the same meter, and the second hemistichs of each (but not necessarily the first) must rhyme with the "Matla." The concluding couplet is called the "Makta," or "the place of cutting short." In the "Makta" the poet manages to introduce his own name, or rather his *nom de plume*. As a general rule, the Ghazal must consist of at least five couplets, and not more than fifteen. (3) The "Kasida," which resembles the *idyllium* of the Greeks; its subjects are generally praise of great personages, living or deceased; satire, elegy, and sometimes burlesques, also moral and religious reflections. When the subject is panegyric, in the concluding couplet the poet finishes with a benediction or prayer for the health and prosperity of the person addressed, such as, "May thy life, health, and prosperity endure as long as the sun and moon revolve!" (4) The "Kita;" this resembles the "Kasida." (5) The "Masnavi," a kind of epic poem, generally on amorous subjects or on the pleasures of the spring. The verses are not confined by any rule, as in the Ghazal; the poet alone determines the length of the poem.

Regarding the merits of Persian poetry, critics differ widely. Sir William Jones, the distinguished Oriental scholar, was profuse in praise. A century ago he wrote: "It has been my endeavor for several years to inculcate this truth, that if the principal writings of the Asiatics which are reposited in our public libraries were printed, with the usual advantages of notes and illustrations, and if the languages of the Eastern nations were studied in our great seminaries of learning, where every

other branch of useful knowledge is taught to perfection, a new and ample field would be opened for speculation; we should have a more extensive insight into the history of the human mind; we should be furnished with a new set of images and similitudes, and a number of excellent compositions would be brought to light which future scholars might explain and future poets might imitate."

We doubt if such sentiments are entertained by any eminent critic of to-day. Most would rather indorse the assertion of a recent writer in the "Calcutta Review," that "good poetry among the Persians might almost be designated as accidental." The cloudless sky of Persia and the serenity of its summer nights make it natural for its poets to indulge in frequent allusions to the beauty of the heavenly bodies; the profusion of flowers and the richness of their perfume impart a grace to some of the rural images which, it is urged, we can hardly appreciate. But, making due allowance for all this, we venture the opinion that the world would have lost but little had all Persian literature been destroyed centuries ago.

As compared with the poetry of Europe, Persian poetry cannot but be assigned a lower place. The following words of a recent writer are to the point: "A poem was not regarded by the Persians as something one and organic, to be molded and developed in accordance with some preconceived idea. Certain things, for example, roses, nightingales, wine, and women with black moles on their cheeks, are considered poetical in so special a sense that a man who rings the changes on these writes poetry of necessity. Strong in this conviction, the Persian poets sing out all that is in them, careful only for the construction of the verse and a due garniture of the recognized poetic imagery. The poet only hits upon excellence, as it were, by an accident. It is but a passing flash which illuminates the darkness."

Persian poets as a rule are very egotistical. At the conclusion of one of his finest odes Hafiz thus speaks of himself:

> What can the minstrel sing at the banquet of a prince
> If he singeth not the verses of Hafiz?

The childish habit of incorporating their names in their verses, which the Persian poets adopted, evidences both

weakness and vanity, and calls forth our severest disapproval. Imagine the Poet Laureate closing a poem in some such fashion as this:

Rather think of death than life, O my Alfred Tennyson;
When thou goest from this world leave thy friends thy benison!

Passing by the charge of puerility, which may be fairly urged against these gifted but dreamy poets, we pause to speak briefly of the indecency which marks their writings. They often indulge their humor in what was coarse and immodest. Sadi not only wrote a volume called "The Book of Impurities," which he said was designed to give a relish to his other works, but allowed violations of decency to disfigure the "Gulistán" and the "Bostán." In our mission schools we find it desirable to use these Persian classics, but are obliged to obtain expurgated editions, and these are published only at our mission presses. Native readers and publishers are alike blind to their blemishes. Comment here is needless.

The "Musnavi," so highly praised by Jones, "is a medley of pathos and sublimity, the purest ethics mingled with the grossest obscenity, utter doggerel interspersed with passages of the finest poetry." This criticism is applicable indeed to all Persian poetry.

This sad failure to attain the high level of purity of thought and grandeur of aim is not to be wondered at. The teachings of the Koran and the Mohammedan theory of the unseen world make any other result impossible. We would emphasize the words of a writer already quoted:

"It is absolutely impossible to conceive of English literature if purged from the admixture of Christian thought; of a Shakspeare, for example, without one thought of Him 'who, eighteen hundred years ago, was nailed for our advantage to the bitter cross;' or a Milton with no other conception of the celestial beatitudes than those compatible with black-eyed damsels and flowing cups of wine. The East and the West have reflected in their literature the image of the rock whence they were hewn, and, in so far as Christ was a greater power and more complete a being than the Prophet, in so far at least the poetry of the West must be superior to that of the East. If to this we add the absence of freedom and national life which mark

the annals of the East, and the debasing tendencies of a social system which degrades woman into 'a soulless toy for tyrant's lust,' we shall have said enough to account for the unspiritual and passionless character of Persian poetry." *

We have reserved for the close our mention of Sadi, who is considered the greatest of Persian poets after Ferdusi. He was born in Shiraz in 1194. He early embraced a religious life, and is said to have performed fifteen pilgrimages on foot to Mecca. He further proved himself a good Mohammedan by bearing arms against the Crusaders of Europe. He was taken captive and was employed in digging trenches before Tripoli, where he was recognized and ransomed for ten *dinárs* by a rich merchant of Aleppo. His benefactor afterward gave him his daughter in marriage with a dowry of a hundred dinars; but she proved a termagant, and one day tauntingly asked him whether he was not the fellow her father had released from slavery for ten *dinárs*. "Yes," replied Sadi, "but only to enslave me to you for a hundred."

The principal works of Sadi are the "Gulistán," the "Bostán," and a collection of odes and sonnets arranged in a "Diwán." The "Gulistán," (Rose Garden,) which is his most celebrated work, is a collection of moral and political precepts, philosophical sentences, moral maxims, epigrams, and *bonmots*, in verse of various measure, each being generally introduced by a short anecdote or fable in prose. The work is divided into eight chapters, as follows: On the Morals of Kings; on the Morals of Darweshes; on the Excellency of Contentment; on the Advantages of Taciturnity; on Love and Youth; on Imbecility and Old Age; on the Effects of Education; Rules for Conduct in Life. Of this very popular book it is no exaggeration to say that in India alone hundreds of thousands of copies are published every year. In vernacular schools as well as among the *literati* it is considered a *vade mecum*.

We subjoin a few translations (mostly in prose and, therefore, truer to the original) from this Rose Garden:

I. The Flag and the Curtain.

In hikayat shano ki dar Bagdad
Raiyat o parda rá Khiláf uftád

* R. D. Osborn.

Raiyat az gard i rah o ranje rakáb,
Guft ba parda az tarikh e itáb,
Man o to har do Khwája tá shánem
Bande bárgáh e Sultánem.
Man zi khidmat dame na ásudam,
Gáh o begáh dar safar budam,
To na ranj azmudai na hisár,
Na bayabánon bad e gard o gubár,
Qadam i man ba sayi peshtar ast,
Pas charra rahat e to beshtar ast,
To bar e bandagán i mahrui,
Bá gulámán e yásaman bui,
Man fitádá badast i shágirdán,
Ba safar pacband o sargardán.
Guft man sarbar ástár dáram,
Na cho to sar bar ásmán dáram.
Har ki behudá gardan afrázad
Kheshtan rá ba gardan andázad.

TRANSLATION.*

Attend to the following story: In the city of Bagdad there happened a contention between the flag and the curtain. The flag, disgusted with the dust of the road and the fatigue of marching, said to the curtain in displeasure, "You and myself are schoolfellows, both servants of the sultan's court. I never enjoy a moment's relaxation from business, being obliged to travel at all seasons; you have not experienced the fatigue of marching, the danger of storming the fortress, the perils of the desert, nor the inconveniences of whirlwinds and dust; my foot is more forward in enterprise; why, then, is thy dignity greater than mine? You pass your time among youths beautiful as the moon, and with virgins odoriferous as jasmine; I am carried in the hands of menial servants, and travel with my feet in bands and my head agitated by the wind." The curtain replied: "My head is placed on the threshold, and not, like yours, raised up to the sky. Whosoever, through folly, exalts his neck, precipitates himself into distress."

II. Prosperity and Adversity.

A king was sitting in a vessel with a Persian slave. The boy having never before seen the sea, nor experienced the inconvenience of a ship, began to cry and lament, and his whole body was in a tremor. Notwithstanding all the soothings that were offered, he would not be pacified. The king's diversions were interrupted, and no remedy could be found. A philosopher who was in the ship said, "If you will command me I will silence him." The king replied, "It will be an act of great kindness." The philosopher ordered them to throw the boy into the sea, and

*Gladwin's.

after several plunges, they laid hold of the hair of his head, and dragging him toward the ship, he clung to the rudder with both his hands. When he got out of the water he sat down quietly in a corner of the vessel. The king was pleased and asked how this was brought about. The philosopher replied, "At first he had never experienced the danger of being drowned; neither knew he the safety of the ship. In like manner he knoweth the value of prosperity who hath encountered adversity."

III. Lip Service.

A rich miser having a son that was sick, his friends represented that he ought either cause the Koran to be read from beginning to end, or else offer sacrifice, that the high God might restore his son to health. After a little consideration he said: "It is better to read the Koran, as it is at hand, and flocks are at a distance." A holy man, hearing this, said: "He preferred reading the Koran because the words are at the tip of his tongue and the money is in the inside of his heart. Alas! if the performance of religious rites was to be accompanied with alms, they would remain like the ass in the mire; but if you require only the first chapter of the Koran, they will repeat it a hundred times."

IV. On a Miser.

Were heaven's bright spheres placed in the miser's hands,
To roll obsequious at his high commands;
If all the wealth of Crœsus were his own,
Or this huge globe became the wretch's throne;
Fortune, his slave, could not produce one claim,
To crown her lord with Fame's exalted name.
What are their hoards of gold but dross the whole,
Who lack that glowing mine, a feeling soul?
Poor sordid worms may crawl for years in pain,
By land or sea, and look to heaven in vain.
Religion says: "Sure nought avails his store,
Whose aching heart is craving still for more."
While noble minds wealth's purest fruits enjoy,
Gold's growing cares the miser's peace destroy.
Those live indeed—*these* life's rich harvest blast,
Nay, daily starve, and die of want at last.

The "Bostán" (Tree Garden) is a work wholly in verse, divided into ten books, and embodying chiefly the religious sentiments of the author. A short selection from the third book may suffice:

The wise select the kernel, not the husk,
And fools are all beside. He the pure wine
Alone has drunk, who, by remembering God,
Has all things else in both worlds clean forgot.

In conformity with such sentiments as these, Sadi built for himself, in his declining years, a hermitage near the walls of Shiraz; and here he lived absorbed in religious meditation. He received both visits and gifts from persons of exalted rank, but after appropriating to himself what was necessary to a bare subsistence, he distributed the rest to the poor. He is said to have lived to the age of 116, and to have been buried on the spot where his last days were spent. His tomb is still pointed out to travelers.

ART. V.—REV. EGERTON RYERSON, D.D., LL.D.

1. Educational Reports; 2. Letters to Foreign Ecclesiastics; 3. Letters to the Hon. George Brown; 4. Civil Government—A Discourse; 5. First Lessons in Agriculture; 6. Christian Morals; 7. The Loyalists of America and Their Times. Vols. I, II.

IT was at the Methodist Conference in Canada, held at Saltfleet, or Fifty-Mile Creek, in 1825, that Egerton Ryerson was received on trial into the Methodist ministry. It is a somewhat singular coincidence that at the said Conference six were received on trial, six others remained on trial, and six more were received into full connection. The total number of the members of Conference, including the above, was thirty-three. Of this number Dr. Ryerson was the last survivor, and he now has also passed on before.

Of those admitted on trial, two besides Mr. Ryerson became men of more than ordinary celebrity: James Richardson, afterward Dr. Richardson, Bishop of the Episcopal Methodist Church in Canada, and Anson Green, afterward Dr. Green, who was three times president of Conference, and for many years book steward, and was often sent as representative to other ecclesiastical gatherings; he was a constant associate with Dr. Ryerson. They spent the evening of their lives together, and often walked to the house of God in company. When Dr. Ryerson preached the funeral sermon for his friend Green, he said that he "now felt lonely in the world, as he had outlived all the companions of his youth and the friends of his riper years." But

after three more years he, too, has been called to his final rest in heaven. The event took place on Sunday, February 19, 1882, in the city of Toronto, Ontario, on which day one of the most distinguished men that was ever connected with Methodism in Canada passed away. His age was 79. He had been connected with all the doings of the Church, and had taken part in many of the stirring events that had occurred in the country.

Dr. Ryerson belonged to a family in which there were six sons, five of whom became ministers in the Methodist Church: one traveled only a few years; another, on being sent as a delegate to England, became a follower of the late Edward Irving, and is now, though more than ninety years of age, "the angel of the Apostolic Church" in Toronto. Of the others, William was for many years the most popular preacher in Canada. It is the opinion of some that at no period in the history of Methodism in Canada has there ever been one to excel him for pulpit oratory. To see him at a quarterly meeting in the olden time, or at a camp-meeting, was a sight never to be forgotten. Dr. John Carroll says: "We can remember masses of people being moved by his word, like forest trees swayed to and fro by the wind." A public controversy was held on "the Clergy Reserve Question and Voluntaryism," in which Mr. W. Ryerson and several others took part. The late Bishop Cronyn declared that "Mr. Ryerson's sarcasm was unequaled by all that he had ever heard, and that it was worth the journey from London to Simcoe to hear it." For several years he was presiding elder, on two occasions was president of Conference, and was occasionally chosen as representative to the General Conference.

John, the elder brother of Egerton, was a great ecclesiastical leader. He was a shrewd man, and at an early period of his ministry he was appointed by the venerable Bishop Hedding to the office of presiding elder. An amusing incident occurred in connection with this appointment. The ordination class was being examined, and one of the members, having heard of the Bishop's design, was asked by Mr. Ryerson, "Brother Black, who was Polycarp?" "Polycarp, Polycarp, your reverence? I think I have heard that he was presiding elder of Smyrna." The poor examiner, though usually one of the

gravest of men, was unable to suppress his smiles, while the rest of the company was thrown into convulsive laughter. The class, of course, greatly enjoyed the wit of their brother, and passed through the remainder of the ordeal successfully. As a preacher, Mr. John Ryerson excelled in beauty of thought and chasteness of diction. He was truly apostolic, as he always used "sound speech that could not be condemned." He was, also, often intrusted with important duties which required more than ordinary tact and skill to perform. He filled the presidential chair with great dignity. He was several times sent to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and to the Wesleyan Conference, England. He was, also, a member of the Evangelical Alliance which met in London in 1846. He was associated with Dr. Green on that important occasion, at which they were the representatives of Methodism in Canada.

But we must return from this digression. Egerton Ryerson, like most of great men, was much indebted to his mother, who was a strong-minded woman and exerted great influence for good in her family. He was converted in the eighteenth year of his age, and joined the Methodist Church, as his elder brothers had done. His father disapproved of his doing so, as he intended him to follow the profession of law, and, in a fit of anger, he commanded him to "either give up the Methodists or leave home." His brother George had established a grammar school near London. Egerton went thither, and for two years acted as usher in his brother's school, and at the same time pursued the study of classics.

From early life he was an earnest student, and as the country did not afford many educational facilities he made up for the lack by intense application. His father called him home; he obeyed the mandate, and for some time was engaged with the duties of the farm, but he often rose at three o'clock in the morning that he might study a few hours before commencing his daily labor.

In those days it was customary for the minister to call upon some one to exhort after the sermon. Soon after his conversion, Egerton Ryerson was summoned to this duty. The poor young man obeyed, but he was so timid that he broke down, and, as a consequence, was very sad and discouraged, but he

was assured that this was no ill augury. Through life he was always tremulous as he began his discourses, but there is no mention of his ever breaking down after the first effort. He became a most fluent speaker, and was always popular, though, as he never wrote any thing for the pulpit before preaching, he was at times too diffuse, though always impressive and often eloquent. He invariably commanded large congregations, and was soon in great demand.

In the year 1825 his brother William's health failed, which was the occasion of his being sent to supply the vacancy thus created. Egerton took for his first text the words, "He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him." Psa. cxxvi, 6. A passage prospective of his future success. There were many discouragements in his path, but he persevered, believing that he was where God intended him to be. For eleven years he performed the duties of circuit preacher. Some of his circuits embraced several townships, but he had put his hand to the plow and never looked back. He had his share of the hardships and privations peculiar to the pioneer work of those early days. A lady states that she remembers that when he lodged at her father's house, in one of his early circuits, he was accustomed to gather a heap of pine-knots, by the light of which he pursued his studies in the morning before the household were awake.

Elder Case, "the father of Indian missions in Canada," made choice of him for the Indian work, as he was an adept in the study of languages, and was one of the best educated young men in the Connection. He remained only one year in the Indian work, but through life he was accustomed to speak of this appointment with no small degree of pleasure, as he enjoyed more quiet and real happiness and contentment than was his lot in city appointments and positions of greater emoluments. He labored with his usual zeal and diligence, and set the Indians an example of labor in the field, clearing and plowing the land. He kept up all the religious services, and studied hard to make himself familiar with the language of the people. A new church was also erected on the Indian reserve, largely through his instrumentality. More important fields of labor demanded his services, or else he would doubtless

have spent many years among the aborigines. During those years he was four times elected Secretary of Conference.

Egerton Ryerson next appears as editor of the "Christian Guardian." This was in 1829. The Canada Conference was separated from the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States in 1828, and now it was deemed necessary to have a connectional organ, and a capital of $2,000 was created, mostly by the preachers taking shares of $20 each. Mr. Ryerson wrote the first editorial, and when the journal had attained its jubilee, he wrote a suitable article detailing many reminiscences respecting its career. He was comparatively young when he ascended the tripod, but he wielded a vigorous pen, and during the years he was connectional editor he wrote many powerful articles which were of immense value to the Methodist Church, and greatly aided the cause of civil freedom in the country.

During the first year of his probation, when only 23 years of age, he was unexpectedly drawn into controversy with Archdeacon Strachan, who afterward became the first Bishop of the Anglican Church in Upper Canada. That gentleman, with a view to secure increased aid from England on behalf of his Church in Canada, had published a gloomy account of the condition of the morals of the country, and greatly misrepresented other denominations, but especially the Methodists. Mr. Ryerson and his superintendent were accustomed to meet once a month with a few friends in a social gathering. At one of these social meetings the "diatribe" of the archdeacon was read, when all present thought that an answer should be prepared immediately. It was agreed that the two preachers should each prepare something against their next meeting, and out of what they should write something might be compiled that would be deemed suitable. When the next monthly meeting was held, the junior preacher only had complied with the request of the previous meeting. He read his paper, and the meeting demanded that it should be forthwith published. The author protested, but he was overruled and the essay was issued in pamphlet form, signed, "By a Methodist Preacher."

A wonderful sensation was produced by this little *brochure*. No previous publication had ever defended the Methodists of Canada, and nobody had presumed to question the arrogant

claims of the Established Church. In the course of a fortnight, four answers were published, three by clergymen of the Church of England, and one by a layman. All were full of bitterness. For a year the controversy thus begun was continued, during which the public mind was greatly excited. Public meetings were held in various places, and petitions were sent to the Legislature demanding that an investigation should be made as to the allegations respecting the effects produced by the teachings of the Methodist preachers, who were said to be "preaching the Gospel out of idleness," they were "uneducated and preached without any preparation," and above all, the Imperial Parliament must come to the rescue, as "republican principles will be instilled in the minds of the people by the religious teachers who come almost universally from the republican States of America." "The Methodist Preacher" denied this last allegation, for "out of the whole body of Methodist itinerant preachers there are only eight who have not been *born and educated in the British dominions.* And of those eight, all except two have become naturalized British subjects, according to the statute of the province." The other allegations were answered in an equally clear and conclusive manner.

The controversy on the Clergy Reserve Question was now fairly inaugurated. One seventh portion of the public lands had been set apart for the maintenance of "the Protestant clergy, and the Anglican clergy claimed that they were the Protestant clergy," of whom there were then fifty-three in the British Colony of Canada, for whose special benefit nearly ten thousand pounds sterling were appropriated by the British Parliament, and the Propagation Society for the support of the Church of England in Canada; and yet a piteous outcry was made for more money to save the Church of England from being swallowed up by "sectaries," and the country from becoming "republican." All this while the Methodist ministers were not only denied the right of solemnizing matrimony, but the Methodist people were without a law to enable them to hold a foot of land on which to erect a place of worship or in which to bury their dead.

A Parliamentary Committee was appointed, which not only took into consideration the allegations previously named, but also "a Letter and Chart which had been sent to the Imperial

Parliament to procure additional grants for the support of the Church of England in Canada and a charter for a university." Fifty-two witnesses were examined; among whom were ministers of various denominations, members of Parliament, and private citizens. The committee of "the House," after a careful examination made their report, on which an address was drafted to the King of England which makes respectful mention of the "Methodist preachers." "The tendency of their influence and instruction is not hostile to our institutions, but, on the contrary, is eminently favorable to religion and morality; their labors are calculated to make their people better men and better subjects, and have already produced in this Province the happiest effects."

One benefit which resulted from this controversy was that "the House" of Legislature passed an Act allowing all Christian denominations to hold land for public purposes. Land could now be conveyed to trustees for a congregation, not exceeding five acres for the site of a church, meeting-house, or chapel, or burying-ground. For this benefit the Methodist Church is largely indebted to Egerton Ryerson.

The controversy on the "Clergy Reserve Question" was continued for many years, and called forth numerous combatants, but it was acknowledged that none wielded a more vigorous pen than Egerton Ryerson, "the Methodist Preacher." The question was finally set at rest, and though the finale might not be in every respect such as he and those associated with him desired, still, all denominations now enjoy equal rights and privileges. Since 1831 the Methodists have been allowed to perform the marriage ceremony, and for many years the ministers were accustomed to appropriate the fees thus received to the funds of Upper Canada Academy.

Canada owes a debt of gratitude to the United States for planting Methodism in the country. For many years, at great personal sacrifices, its ministers followed the hardy settler to his humble home. When missionaries were sent out by the Wesleyan Missionary Society it soon became manifest that two bodies of ministers preaching the same doctrines could not work harmoniously together. To avoid such an undesirable state of things, the late Rev. John Emory, afterward Bishop Emory, was sent to the English Conference in 1820 to effect

such a settlement of matters as might prevent collision and strife. It was agreed that Lower Canada, now the Province of Quebec, should be wholly given to the English Wesleyans, and Upper Canada be left to the care of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

For some years this plan worked admirably, but, by misrepresentations sent to England, the arrangement thus entered into was broken, and soon after the Church in Canada was declared to be independent of that in the United States. Missionaries were again sent out from England, and churches were erected in opposition to each other. Methodism in Canada again presented a divided condition, but, mainly through the influence of Egerton Ryerson, a union was effected between the Wesleyan Conference in England and the Conference in Canada.

When the said union was effected it was stipulated that the name of the Church should be "Wesleyan Methodist," instead of "Methodist Episcopal." Instead of "Bishops," Presidents of Conference were to be elected annually. "Chairmen of Districts" were to be no longer designated "Presiding Elders," and local preachers were not to be ordained, and were thus denuded of all ministerial functions in respect to administering the ordinances and performing the ceremony of marriage. Some dissented from the terms of the agreement with the British Conference, and indeed they claimed to be the original Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada, and contended that the unionists had by their own act given up all their Church property, which was now claimed by the dissentients. Several cases of litigation respecting Churches took place. Able counsel was employed by both parties, but it devolved mainly on the Rev. Egerton Ryerson to supply the counsel for the Wesleyan body with the necessary information. To acquire this he traveled thousands of miles and procured testimony from witnesses who could not attend the various trials. The great question on which the dissentients mainly rested their case was, that the Church had no right to change its form of government from that of Episcopacy to an annual presidency; but Dr. Fisk and others declared that "Episcopacy" is not a doctrine or matter of faith—it is not *essential* to the existence of a Gospel Church, but it is founded on expediency, and may be desirable and proper in some circumstances of the

Church and not in others. Only in one case were the Wesleyans defeated, which decision was reversed by a higher court; they, therefore, held all the Church property, and the Episcopal Methodists went on in their own course, and it must be admitted that, considering all the circumstances in which they have been placed, their success has been marvelous. A better state of feeling now obtains between the two bodies, and they hold fraternal relations with each other. The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States regards both bodies as its legitimate offspring.

The union between the English and Canadian Conferences so happily consummated in 1833 was dissolved in 1840, but was again effected in 1847. Tliese were years of agitation and uneasiness, arising mainly from the different views held by the Wesleyan Missionary Society in England and the Methodist Church in Canada. The former were generally conservative in their views, and greatly in sympathy with the Established Church of England. This was well known to the High-Church party in Canada, which was resolved by all means to retain the "Clergy Reserve" lands for religious purposes. Dr. Ryerson, as editor of the "Christian Guardian" during some of those years, resolutely fought against this view, and in so doing he was sustained by a majority of the Methodist ministers and people in Canada.

The Wesleyan Missionary Committee and the Wesleyan Conference resolved that the editor should abstain from discussing questions of a political character, but the editor had fought too long for civil and religious liberty to act otherwise than as he had hitherto done. Happily a delegation went to England in 1847, and, after mutual explanations, the union between the Conferences was renewed, to the delight of the majority on both sides. Dr. Bunting, who for many years was the most influential man in the Wesleyan Conference, acknowledged, at the period of the re-union, that they (the English) had been mistaken respecting their brethren in Canada, who understood their position and duty on public questions better than their English brethren. The union thereafter worked very harmoniously until 1874, when it was dissolved by mutual consent, and the present Methodist Church of Canada was organized by the amalgamation of the Wesleyan Con-

ferences in Canada and Eastern British America, and the Methodist New Connection Conference, which were again divided into six Annual Conferences, with one General Conference to meet once in four years. The first president of the General Conference was Dr. Ryerson, who had now become venerable in years, and received this appointment as a mark of approval of the course which he had pursued during the eventful years in which he had so nobly defended the Church of his youth against all assailants.

The history of Methodism throughout the world has always been closely allied with the cause of education. Its founder was one of the best educated men in his day. No wonder, therefore, that the sons of John Wesley should always be the advocates of educational institutions. As early as 1830 the Methodists of Canada took steps to have an institution of their own to be known as Upper Canada Academy, for the higher education of the youth of both sexes. In this noble enterprise Mr. Ryerson was an active agent. The corner-stone was laid in 1832, and the building was completed and the institution commenced operations in 1835. Mr. Ryerson went to England and secured liberal aid for the academy, and when, in 1841, it was deemed advisable to change the institution into a college with university powers and the name of the Queen of England, as its designation, he was appointed its first principal.

On this occasion the Middletown (Conn.) University conferred upon him the degree of D.D. Thenceforth Dr. Ryerson was known as an educator, and under his wise guidance some who were under his care reached great influence in their various professions. The university, of which he was the head for three years, has sent out about 1,500 graduates, and it is worthy of remark that one of Dr. Ryerson's pupils, the Rev. Dr. Nelles, has for the space of more than a quarter of a century occupied the position which his revered tutor so nobly filled. Another of Dr. Ryerson's pupils, the Rev. Dr. Ormiston, is Presbyterian minister in New York; while a third, Dr. Hodgins, has for many years been Deputy Superintendent of Education in the Province of Ontario. Dr. Ryerson has always taken the deepest interest in Victoria University, and both by his advocacy and pecuniary aid, he has labored to the utmost of his power to promote its welfare. Since his death

it has been resolved to endow a chair of "Mental and Moral Philosophy," to be called "The Ryerson Chair." Efforts are being made to raise the sum of $35,000. Such an object will be a noble monument to the memory of the first principal of the university.

During the years in which there was great agitation in Canada on the subject of university reform, the object of which was to secure a share of the public moneys set apart for the purposes of higher education to be equally distributed among all denominational colleges, in proportion to the work done by each, Dr. Ryerson was again in the field of conflict, and was ever ready to take part in the hottest fight. He assisted at conventions, addressed public meetings, went before Parliamentary Committees, and also published pamphlets in advocacy of the liberal views held by himself and his friends. In 1860, when a committee of the legislature sat on the subject of university reform, the address of Dr. Ryerson was one of the most powerful that was ever delivered on such an occasion, and created such a sensation that all the corridors leading to the committee-room were crowded by members of Parliament. Several who did not agree with the sentiments which he enunciated were, nevertheless, captivated by his eloquence. His speech was partly in reply to statements made by gentlemen connected with another university, which was enjoying a liberal endowment from public funds. Space forbids, or we would make some extracts from this memorable speech.

The Hon. Senator Ferrier, of Montreal, when referring to this occasion, said: "Dr. Ryerson spoke with more than his usual ability and clearness for two hours and forty minutes the first day, and for one hour and forty-five minutes the second day, producing the deepest conviction on the minds of those who heard him of the correctness of his position. So overwhelming was the influence of his address, that one honorable member of the Upper House of Legislature, a pillar of the Church of England, came to me and said, 'I wish he belonged to our Church.' Another member of the Legislature expressed his feelings by saying, 'My! what a good bishop he would make.'"

Some men who have been elevated to influential positions have not been slow to use their influence in favor of friends.

The most virulent opponent with whom Dr. Ryerson ever contended could never charge him with acts of this kind. It is not known that he ever sought an office for a relative in his life. Positions of great influence were placed at his disposal, but he always preferred to dwell among his own people. At one time he might have been Vice-Chancellor of Toronto University; at another time a noble lord in England offered him a lucrative situation under the English Government; and when but a young man he was more than once approached with overtures to enter the Anglican Church. He never sought for emoluments; the love of money was not a sin of which he was guilty. To do good, and to labor for the welfare of his country, was the highest ambition of his life.

It is not the design of this paper to place Dr. Ryerson before our readers in any other than his true position. There were acts in his life which occasioned his friends some uneasiness, and no doubt some felt themselves unable to defend his course, but all gave him credit for sincerity in what he did: He was no time-server, but always pursued the even tenor of his way, acting, as he believed he was doing, for the best interests of his country. When he undertook to defend Sir Charles Metcalfe, then Governor-General, for some high-handed measures, he brought upon himself the indignation of many who had been his intimate friends; but as he never courted favor or reward for his public acts, neither did he ever seek to merely do such things as would be pleasing to his friends. Some of his acts might appear very strange when compared with the course he had pursued in former years, but he always argued that posterity would approve his acts, and, whether or not, he had endeavored to do right. There was nothing vindictive in his nature, nor was he ever actuated by fear in his actions; though often a counselor of public men, he was never afraid to attack their policy and plead for those whom he thought to have been injured. The course which he pursued toward some who had been implicated in the M'Kenzie Rebellion of 1837 will illustrate this. The discourse, "Civil Government," named at the head of this article, was preached at this time. He was a far-seeing man, and as he was guided by principle in all things, he was often at variance with some with whom he would gladly have labored in harmony.

The monument of Dr. Ryerson is the public-school system of Ontario. From 1844 to 1876 he occupied the position of Chief Superintendent of Education. During those years he was unremitting in his exertions to perfect the school system. For several years his labors were Herculean. He made extensive tours in various countries, that he might become acquainted with the systems of education which prevailed there. The result was, that he drafted a bill which, by various amendments and revisions that were added during the years of his administration, became the school law of the country. Its chief features are "compulsory attendance of children, local assessment, government aid, thorough inspection, complete equipment, graded examinations, and separate schools."*

This system became so complete under his molding hand that it has been universally admired. Distinguished educationalists have pronounced it the most complete they have ever seen, and not a few Ministers of the Crown in the Colonies of Great Britain, when drafting educational bills, have borrowed largely from the system which owes its existence to Dr. Ryerson. During the years that he sustained the important office of Chief Superintendent he was under the necessity of writing much. Happily he always wielded a ready pen, and one who knew him well told the writer that it was always a marvel to the clerks in the educational establishment how the chief could do such an amount of desk work. Night and day, when he had important matters to engross his attention, he would plod through piles of papers, until more than once his health was in peril. He was the author of about sixty different volumes and pamphlets, the titles of which are given in the "Bibliotheca Canadensis." Some were intended for school books, as the "First Lessons in Agriculture," and "Christian Morals," and others were the annual reports of the public schools.

He was not in favor of "separate schools," but when they were granted by the Legislature, to satisfy the Roman Catholic portion of the community, he was in duty bound to see that

* Since the death of Dr. Ryerson it has been determined to erect a bronze statue in the grounds of the Normal School, to defray the expense of which a subscription has been commenced among the teachers and scholars of the public schools, to which Archbishop Lynch (Roman Catholic) not only gave his approval, but also gave his own personal subscription toward perpetuating the memory of a worthy man.

the provisions of the "School Act" were faithfully carried out. In the discharge of his duty he sometimes found himself in collision with the dignitaries of the Romish Church, but he was not afraid, when necessity was laid upon him, to measure swords even with an archbishop. A pamphlet now lies before us, and is also mentioned at the head of this article, which contains a correspondence entitled: "Dr. Ryerson's Letters in Reply to the Attacks of Foreign Ecclesiastics Against the Schools of Upper Canada, Including the Letters of Bishop Charbonnel, Mr. Bruyere, and Bishop Pinsoneault." Those attacks make an octavo pamphlet of 104 pages, and are characterized, on the one hand, by deep duplicity, insinuations, misrepresentations, and a determination at all hazards to secure the control of the education of Roman Catholic children by the Church without making reports to the government; and on the other hand, the letters are characterized by that cogency of reasoning, incisive argument, and clear, terse language which distinguishes all Dr. Ryerson's writings.

During the same period, Dr. Ryerson addressed a series of letters to a leading politician, who was at one time a great power in the land. The doctor was of the opinion, right or otherwise, that the said gentleman was becoming allied to those who were resolved to break up the school system of Ontario. Their object professedly was to reform existing abuses, but, as he conceived, it was neither more nor less than to adopt measures whereby "more power to the pope" would be the result. He felt it to be an imperative duty to buckle on his armor and go forth to meet the Goliath who once was a strong advocate of Protestantism. No controversial letters that have come in our way are at all equal to those now under consideration. They are not surpassed even by those of "Junius."

While the controversy between Dr. Ryerson and his honorable opponent was in progress, some of the doctor's friends believed that it was probable the honorable gentleman's political party would soon be at the helm of affairs in Ontario, and they were anxious, therefore, that he should not so far commit himself that, even should such an event occur, he would be likely to be removed from his office as Chief Superintendent. It was well known that at the time of his appointment there

were those of the High-Church party who were greatly indignant that a "Methodist Preacher" should be elevated to such an honorable position in the land; but Dr. Ryerson was never in the least alarmed about the consequences resulting from his course of action. He said to the writer, when conversing on the subject, "They may do as they like," and in his concluding letter to the honorable gentleman he thus refers to the supposition:

It is possible, sir, that you may attain the object of your political ambition, when, as a Minister of the Crown, you will doubtless endeavor to carry your threats against me into execution. It is possible, in the mysteries of Providence, and the freaks of unsuspecting credulity, that you may yet be able to undo and trample to dust the work I have been endeavoring to construct and build up, and that you may be able to avenge yourself upon me by reducing my family and myself to poverty; but as I have never indulged the desire for wealth, so I do not fear poverty. Your threats of loss of salary and office do not, therefore, terrify or disturb me. I have confidence in the justice of my native country, which I have endeavored to serve from my youth, that it will not leave me a prey to your machinations in old age. But be that as it may, though you may reduce me to want, you cannot make me a slave; though you may cause me to die a very poor man, you cannot prevent me from dying a *free man*, or from defending, as long as I am able, the right of individual choice in regard to schools and religious instruction on the part of both Protestants and Roman Catholics, the rights of school electors, of trustees, and of municipalities against the subversive attempts of Mr. ——— and yourself.

In 1876 Dr. Ryerson resigned his position as Chief Superintendent of Education, and spent the evening of his days in comparative quiet, though he did not cease to take a lively interest in all public affairs. The government dealt with him most generously by continuing his full salary of $4,000 until his death, and on his demise awarded a gratuity of $10,000 to his widow. Such a magnanimous act entitles them to the grateful remembrance of all classes of the community. He wrote a series of Essays on "The Epochs and Characteristics of Methodism in Canada," which were published in the "Methodist Magazine," and have now been collected and embodied in one volume. They are a full repertory of facts and incidents, which will be of immense value to the future historian of Methodism.

Dr. Ryerson also, in his later years, completed his "History of the Loyalists of America and Their Times," which was published by the Methodist Book Room in Toronto, in two handsome large volumes, which will be perused with pleasure by all who take an interest in the history of their country, and especially of that important class who made such immense sacrifices and endured such great sufferings on behalf of the empire. They were truly heroes, and the author, who was himself a son of one who took part in the scenes of the American Revolution, was, therefore, familiar with the narrative of their hardships, as they made themselves homes in the wilderness of Canada. He was justly proud of his ancestry, and was never weary of rehearsing the incidents connected with their eventful history.

It is more than probable that some of our readers may not agree with some things which they will find in the author's history, as, for instance, the manner in which he speaks of the Puritans, who claimed the most "ardent attachment to their 'dear mother,' the Church of England, and yet had not been long on this side the Atlantic before they not merely adopted Congregationalism, which they had a perfect right to do, but commenced a violent persecution upon Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Quakers. It was made an offense to use the 'Book of Common Prayer,' even in private families. Roger Williams and his fellow Baptists were driven out into the wilderness, and found a refuge in Rhode Island. Banishment, fines, imprisonments, and confiscations were the normal weapons of these apostles of liberty. . . . Truly, the history of New England Puritanism is not edifying."

Many of the descendants of the loyalists became valuable citizens of Canada, and not a few of them to-day occupy important positions in their native land. They are to be found in all the professions, and, in connection with their fathers, have taken an active part in the affairs of the country, and are justly proud of the noble position which it now occupies among the nations of the earth. In preparing this historical work Dr. Ryerson spared neither expense nor labor that he might make it as complete as possible. For this purpose he crossed the Atlantic and spent several months in London, that he might avail himself of the rich treasures of literature to be

found in the British Museum. His style is always vigorous and perspicuous, and while he never forgets that he is the narrator of events, he always takes care to express his own opinion on all the matters which come before him.

While Dr. Ryerson loved his country, he never forgot the Church of his youth. No matter what might be the perplexities of his office, he was always in his place in the sanctuary on the Lord's Day, and his pastor, the Rev. John Potts, D.D., testifies, "that there was no more sympathetic hearer in the Metropolitan Church than he was." As long as he was able he went to and fro preaching the Gospel; and it is computed that he preached not less than 10,000 sermons, and no matter how much his journeys might cost him, when doing Church-work for more than thirty years past he did not even charge his traveling expenses. The Church honored him by assigning him to posts of honor and responsibility, and allowed him to be chief superintendent of education, though he always declared that he was ready at any moment to obey the call of his brethren and return to circuit work.

Dr. Ryerson was a many-sided man. He was truly progressive. On the question of class-meetings some thought him to be a little erratic, and when he introduced his resolutions to the Conference, several years ago, on this subject, there was considerable commotion, and some of his brethren in the ministry took strong ground against him. There were others, however, and the writer claims to be of the number, who were of opinion that the doctor did not receive the fair play at that time to which he was justly entitled. Those who wrote and spoke against him assumed that he was desirous to do away with class-meetings altogether, whereas he merely desired that attendance at class-meeting should not be a test of membership, but that it should be a prudential means of grace; and it is a remarkable fact that, as time advances, a vast number of "the people called Methodists," as well as the ministers, are beginning to be of the same opinion. We do not see any necessity why class-meetings should not be continued in the Church; they should be held every-where; but appearances in all branches of the Methodist family seem to indicate that attendance on class-meeting will soon cease to be a test of membership. The Lord's Supper is a script-

ural ordinance instituted by Christ, and why should attendance on this ordinance not be the test of membership in all Churches?

Dr. Ryerson was a great man, and yet he was as humble as a child; he was beautiful in his simplicity. At the Conference love-feasts he always spoke with deep emotion, and as he advanced in years he ripened for heaven. Four years before he died he wrote the following sentences, which were found after his decease:

March 24, 1878.

I am this day seventy-five years of age, and this day fifty-three years, after resisting many solicitations to enter the ministry, and after long and painful struggles, I decided to devote my life and all to the ministry of the Methodist Church. The predominant feeling of my heart is that of gratitude and humiliation—gratitude for God's unbounded mercy, patience, and compassion, in the bestowment of almost uninterrupted health and innumerable personal, domestic, and social blessings, for more than fifty years of a public life of great labor and many dangers; and humiliation under a deep-felt consciousness of personal unfaithfulness, of many defects, errors, and neglects in public duties. Many tell me that I have been useful to the Church and to the country, but my own consciousness tells me that I have learned little, experienced little, done little in comparison of what I might and ought to have known and done. By the grace of God I am spared; by his grace I am what I am; all my trust for salvation is in the efficacy of Jesus' atoning blood. "*I know whom I have trusted*," and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day. I have no melancholy feelings or fears. The *joy* of the Lord is my strength. I feel that I am now on the *bright* side of seventy-five. As the evening twilight of my earthly life advances, my spiritual sun shines with increasing splendor. This has been my experience for the last year. With an increased sense of my own sinfulness, unworthiness, and helplessness, I have an increased sense of the blessedness of pardon, the indwelling of the Comforter, and the communion of saints.

Here, upon bended knee, I give myself and all I have and am afresh to Him whom I serve, but very imperfectly, for more than threescore years. All helpless myself, I most humbly and devoutly pray that Divine strength may be perfected in my weakness, and that my last days on earth may be my best days—best days of implicit faith and unreserved consecration, best days of simple, scriptural ministrations and public usefulness, best days of change from glory to glory, and of becoming meet for the inheritance of the saints in light, until my Lord shall dismiss me from the service of warfare and the weariness of toil to the glories of victory and the repose of *rest*. E. RYERSON.

His death was eminently peaceful. For about three months his health had been precarious. The strong man was bowing himself. But he was not afraid. The sting of death was taken away. Due preparations had been made for this event; hence he met the last enemy with the most perfect composure. Until a few hours before he passed away he was perfectly conscious, and often conversed with his friends. He frequently repeated his favorite hymn, "Rock of Ages, cleft for me," etc. On Sunday morning, February 19, 1882, at about seven o'clock, his spirit went home to God. The intelligence of his death was communicated to the various congregations of the Churches in Toronto, and on Monday the daily journals had lengthy articles respecting his busy life and happy death. Among the earliest messages of condolence received by his widow was one from his Excellency, the Governor-General of Canada, Lord Lorne, who greatly esteemed him. At the time of the last visit of his Excellency to Toronto he spent an hour in Dr. Ryerson's sick-chamber.

The funeral was probably the largest ever seen in the chief city of Ontario. Most of the places of business were closed, and the House of Assembly did not hold its usual afternoon sitting, but all the members attended the funeral. In the procession, which was of immense length, we observed his Honor, the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, J. B. Robinson, Esq.; Sir W. H. Howland, G. S. Gyowski, A.D.C. to the Queen; the Professors of the University College, Trinity College, and St. Basil's College; the Anglican Bishop and Roman Catholic Archbishop of Toronto; the Protestant ministers of the city, and hundreds of Methodist ministers. Next to the chief mourners in the procession were Principal Nelles and the Faculty and Senate of Victoria University, and a deputation of students representing the various classes in arts, theology, law, and medicine. The boys of the Ryerson, Dufferin, and Wellesley schools occupied the rear of the procession.

Religious services were conducted at the house and at the Metropolitan Church, which was crowded to overflowing, by the Rev. S. G. Laird, President of Toronto Conference, R. Jones, G. Cochrane, D.D., Chairman of Toronto District; Dr. Rose, Dr. Sanderson, W. Scott, and E. A. Telfer. Dr. Douglas, the President of the General Conference, was unable to

reach the city. The funeral oration was delivered by the Rev. John Potts, D.D., pastor to the deceased. The choir sung the anthem, "Brother, thou art gone before us." The closing hymn, "Rock of ages, cleft for me," was sung with such solemnity and pathos that the vast audience was deeply affected and many wept aloud. Of the many floral tributes on his coffin one of the most beautiful was a crown from the pupils of the school which bears his honored name—Ryerson. His happy end was symbolized by another—a cluster of wheat and a floral sickle, for, like a sheaf fully ripe he was gathered to the harvest of the skies. The sable drapery of the church, the solemn music, the touching prayers, and the beautiful, appropriate address, and the deep emotion of the vast audience, produced a service which will never be forgotten.

Funeral sermons were preached on the following Sabbath by the Rev. Drs. Nelles and Potts, when the church was again crowded to overflowing. Truly,

> The memory of the just
> Smells sweet, and blossoms in the dust.

The venerable Doctor Ryerson was seventy-nine years of age when he died, and

> He was a man, taking him all for all,
> We shall not look upon his like again.

Among the many articles which were published at the time of Dr. Ryerson's death none were more appropriate than the following by the writer's esteemed friend, the Rev. Dr. Withrow, editor of the "Canadian Methodist Magazine:"

Dr. Ryerson was one of the most lovable men we ever knew. Few men grow old so gracefully as he. He had been, we may say, a man of war from his youth, and was the hero of many a hard-fought fight, yet he was without a particle of bitterness or guile. Some of his foes became some of his best friends—for instance, the late Bishop Strachan. He was fond of telling to youthful listeners stories of his youth, and by the young who knew him he was greatly revered and beloved. To the last he retained his sympathy with the young. No one could feel his lingering shake-hands without perceiving how much heart there was in it. We never knew a man so simple in his greatness, so generous in recognition of merit in others, so tender in the bestowment of sympathy, so wise in the giving of counsel. Above all, he was the simple, earnest, cheerful, sunny-minded Christian. We have often heard him say that not when receiving the high-

est dignities and honors that were conferred upon him has he experienced such rich enjoyments as in preaching the Gospel to the Indians, or to the scattered settlers of the backwoods. While enjoying life to the full with a genial hilarity of spirit that never could grow old, the thought of death was a familiar and not an unwelcome one. We have often heard him converse calmly and cheerfully of the decease which he must shortly accomplish, and then address himself ardently to the duties of the hour. His religion had nothing ascetic in it. It was a calm, confident, holy trust. When apparently very near his end, he held the hand of the writer long, and spoke of that unfaltering trust. He said he was "simply resting by faith on the atonement."

"I the chief of sinners am,
But Jesus died for *me*."

ART. VI.—THE RELIGION OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA.

[FIRST PAPER.]

Records of the Past; being English Translations of the Assyrian and Egyptian Monuments. Twelve volumes. London. 1874–1881.

Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology. Seven volumes. London. 1873–1881.

The History of Herodotus. By GEORGE RAWLINSON. Four volumes. New York. 1880.

The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World. By GEORGE RAWLINSON. Three volumes. New York. 1880.

Lectures upon the Assyrian Language and Syllabary. Babylonian Literature. Assyrian Grammar. By Rev. A. H. Sayce.

The Chaldean Account of Genesis. By GEORGE SMITH. A New Edition, with Additions. New York. 1881.

The Ancient History of the East. By F. LENORMANT. Two volumes. Philadelphia. 1871.

Chaldean Magic: Its Origin and Development. By F. LENORMANT. London. 1877.

An Archaic Dictionary from the Egyptian, Assyrian, and Etruscan Monuments and Papyri. By W. R. Cooper. London. 1876.

Studies on the Times of Abraham. By Rev. HENRY GEORGE TOMKINS. London. 1878.

THE discovery of a literature from twenty-five hundred to four thousand years old, which had been buried more than two thousand years in the ruins of the dead cities of Babylonia and Assyria, the recovery of the lost languages in which it is written, and their translation into modern tongues, are remarkable triumphs of nineteenth century scholarship. The geographical position of these mighty empires, the richness of the soil, the size and magnificence of their great cities, the wide-

ness of their sway in the days of their glory, the influence they exerted upon early Eastern thought and in molding and modifying religions and mythologies, the place they fill in Oriental history, and their intimate relations with the chosen people of God—these lend importance to any new discoveries which may be made concerning their early history and the thoughts which moved the hearts of their people. Here was the home of Abraham, "the friend of God," and, in the light of recent Assyrian discoveries, we may now believe that he carried with him in his migration to Canaan the contents of the sacred books of the kingdom of Ur, embracing the earliest traditions of the creation, the fall, the flood, the tower of Babel, and other facts recorded by his descendants, under the guidance of the Spirit of God, in the book of Genesis.

By public and private liberality and enterprise, the literary treasures of these mighty nations have had a resurrection, and Layard, the Rawlinsons, Norris, Hincks, Smith, Sayce, Talbot, Menant, Oppert, Pinches, Houghton, Guyard, Boscawen, Lenormant, Schrader, Delitzsch, Haupt, Hommel, and others, have breathed into them the breath of life, and they speak to us to-day and reveal wonderful secrets concerning the political, social, and religious history of many peoples. The language in which this history is written, with its difficult syllabary and strange cuneiform characters, is being slowly yet surely and thoroughly deciphered and interpreted, and already we have grammars, contributions to a dictionary, reading books, texts, commentaries, translations, organized classes, and a "Society of Biblical Archæology" devoted to the recovery of the meaning of hieroglyphic and cuneiform records of Egypt, Assyria, and other Bible lands of the East, several volumes of whose transactions show commendable learning and activity.

The labor of decipherment and interpretation is but fairly in progress. What may be revealed in the future cannot be predicted. We may, however, rely upon present results, and, whatever may be the progress of Assyrian scholarship in the future, it is probable that the main results hitherto determined, as far at least as they have reference to the Assyrian religion, will not be materially changed. It is time to gather from many sources, and put into popular form, valuable material concerning Assyrian gods and religious beliefs and practices.

The Assyrians used a mode of writing borrowed from the Accadians, who spoke a Turanian tongue. To adapt a Turanian hieroglyphic, ideographic, and syllabic alphabet to a Semitic language was found most difficult. That the mode of writing was originally hieroglyphic cannot now be questioned. "The Turanian cuneiform writing, as science has now proved," says Lenormant, "was originally hieroglyphic, that is, composed of pictures of material objects; and these forms can in some cases be reconstructed. An inscription entirely written in these hieroglyphics exists at Susa, as is positively known; but it has not yet been copied, and is therefore unfortunately not available for study."

The Accadians entered Accad from Elam at a period far back in the mists of antiquity. At first they seem to have used papyrus as writing material, but the earliest recovered monuments of their language are written or stamped clay tablets. They were conquered by the less cultured Semites, who appeared in Sumir or Shinar previous to 2000 B.C. These Semites were called Casdim, or "conquerors," (Assyrian, *casidi*,) in the Old Testament. Their language was Babylonian, with which Assyrian is closely allied; their religion resembled that of the authors of the Himyaritic inscriptions.

For some time the Semites dwelt with the Accads on terms of tolerable friendship, in general confining themselves to north-western Chaldea, while the Accads kept nearer the sea. From the latter the Semites borrowed not only their mode of writing, but also much of their religion and many of their arts and sciences. After some centuries the Accads were completely subdued, and their language ceased to be spoken probably not later than 1600 B.C.

The archaic literature has been preserved on clay tablets. After having been stamped with the arrowhead characters, the tablets were baked, and sometimes covered with a clay coating and baked the second time. Upon the removal of the outer coating a double impression of the writing is revealed. The tablets are of all sizes, "from an inch long to over a foot square." They are most frequently found in a fragmentary condition, and the task of restoration is very great. They were arranged according to subjects in libraries, had titles stamped upon them, and were carefully catalogued.

In the royal library of Nineveh there were more than ten thousand volumes or tablets.

The first library of Chaldea, according to Berosus, was established in the antediluvian Pantibiblia, the capital under Amelon, the third fabulous king. Sisuthrus, the Chaldean Noah, by command of Kronos buried his books at Sippara to be recovered after the deluge. The library of Erech, to which belonged the epic of Izdubar and the story of the flood, was the most ancient of which we possess any positive knowledge. The library of Cutha gave a legend of the creation and war of the giants; that of Larsa or Senkereh has yielded a number of mathematical tablets. Sargon I., ("the genuine rightful king,") who bore the title "king of justice," (cf. *Melchizedek*,) was a noble patron of learning, 2000 B.C. He conquered the whole of Babylonia, and established his capital at Aganè. Here he founded a great library celebrated for its works on astronomy and astrology, one of which consisted of no less than seventy-two books. Berosus seems to have translated it into Greek. There was another important library at Calah. The royal library at Nineveh, belonging to Assurbanipal, which has yielded most of the rich literary treasures now being deciphered in the British Museum, was the most celebrated. Assurbanipal encouraged the study of the dead Accadian language, and caused grammars and dictionaries to be compiled and translations to be made. It has been remarked that the Assyrians anticipated the Hamiltonian method of teaching languages by many centuries. Copies of the works to be found in the library at Aganè were made and distributed among the libraries of Assyria. During the period of great literary activity many new works were also produced.

This royal library was most thoroughly organized, and must have been extensively patronized. We have even recovered some of the rules of the librarian. Chiefly through the labors of Mr. George Smith these tablets were unpacked, examined, ticketed, and pieced together. "Historical and mythological documents, religious records, legal, geographical, astronomical and astrological treatises; poetical compositions, grammatical and lexical disquisitions, lists of stones and trees, of birds and beasts, copies of treatises, of commercial transactions, of correspondence, of petitions to the king, and of royal proclama-

tions, such were the chief contents of this strange old library. The larger portion of the religious and poetical works were translations from Accadian, the original text being generally given side by side with the Assyrian rendering." *

The library at Babylon may have been founded by Khammuragas, the first of the Kossaean kings, who overthrew the Sargon dynasty. Sennacherib carried most of its contents to Assyria when he took the city, 695 B.C. Assyriologists have awaited with great interest literary discoveries in Babylonia, the home of Assyrian art, science, and religion. They have not been disappointed. In his expedition of 1880–81, Mr. Hormuzd Rassam recovered records and copies of religious texts from the ruins of temples and palaces of Babylon, Borsippa, Sippara, and Cutha. The records found in Jumjuma in 1874 prove this mound to be the site of the great commercial exchange of Babylon.

"These tablets show that for a long period, probably several centuries, the family of the Beni Egibi were the leading commercial firm of Babylon, and to them was confided all the business of the Babylonian Ministry of Finance. The building, whose ruins are marked by the mound of Jumjuma, was the *chancellerie* of the firm, and from its ruins come the records of every class of monetary transactions. The documents being all most carefully dated and compiled, are of great value to the chronologist and histo rian; while to the student of Babylonian civilization they are of the highest importance. From the tax receipts we learn how the revenue was raised by duties levied on land, on crops of dates and corn, on cattle, by imposts for the use of the irrigation canals and the use of the public roads. The insight into the component elements of social life, ranging from the king and princes, the priests and soldiers, down to the lowest peasant and slave, is such as is hardly afforded by the records of any other nation. By the aid of these records we can almost picture the motley crowds of citizens and countrymen who gathered in the court-yard of the great Babylonian bankers. Then, as now, in the same land, the tax-gatherer was an extortionist; and many a petition was lodged against his claims." †

* "Babylonian Literature," p. 16.

† The London "Times," Aug. 27, 1881.

"Egibi, the founder of the firm, probably lived in the latter part of the reign of Sennacherib." *

A great triumph of Mr. Rassam in his last expedition was the identification of the mounds of Abu Hubba with the antediluvian Sippara, and the proof that the priests of this ancient city were worshipers of the solar disk and solar rays, and had a creed resembling that of the disk-worshipers of the Eighteenth Egyptian dynasty. There was a second city of Sippara, and the two cities may be identified with the cities of Sepharvaim. Cutha, another religious center, was also identified. We await with interest the results of the present season's explorations.

The Assyrian religion, as we have it in the monuments, is the product of the fusion of the two religious systems of the Accadians and Semites. This religious reformation took place in the time of Sargon I. We cannot study these systems separately throughout, but it will serve our present purpose best to give, in the beginning of our discussion, some account of the Accadian system. "There is a complete world of malevolent spirits, the distinguishing characteristics of which are strongly marked, and their attributes determined with precision; while the hierarchy to which they belong is classed in a most learned manner. At the top of the scale are placed two classes of beings, which partake more nearly than the others of the divine nature, and are genii or demi-gods, a sort of inferior deities. The first bear the Accadian name, *Mas*, 'soldier, warrior,' which is substituted in the Assyrian by *Sed*, 'genius;' the second, the Accadian name of *Lamma*, 'giant,' translated in Assyrian by *Lamas*. In the religious texts these names often designate propitious and protecting genii, under whose shelter people placed themselves; but, at other times, wicked and hurtful genii, whose power had to be charmed away." Whether there were good and bad genii at first, or the genii possessed a double character, does not appear. The spirits of inferior orders were demons, and decidedly malevolent. They were "destroyers, warriors, ensnarers." Generally each class was divided into groups of seven.† The rank of each god in the hierarchy was designated

* Boscawen, in "Transactions Society of Biblical Archæology," vol. vi, p. 9.

† Among the Jews there were seven principal angels, one of whom was Raphael. Tobit xii, 15.

by a whole number from one to sixty; the rank of each demon by a fractional number with sixty for the denominator. The *Maskim*, "ensnarers," which were cosmical demons, had the power to disturb the order of nature. They dwelt in the abyss. Their antagonist was "the God of Fire." Their destructive power is thus described:

From the four cardinal points the impetuosity of their invasion burns like fire.
They violently attack the dwellings of man.
They wither every thing in the town or in the country.
They oppose the freeman and the slave.
They pour down like a violent tempest in heaven and earth.

There were also elementary malevolent spirits, the production of the infernal regions, which were present every-where, and greatly to be feared.

On high they bring trouble, and below they bring confusion.
Falling in rain from the sky, issuing from the earth,
They penetrate the strong timbers, the thick timbers;
They pass from house to house;
Doors do not stop them,
Bolts do not stop them;
They glide in at the doors like serpents,
They enter at the windows like the wind.*

These Accadian spirits dwelt in the deserts, mountains, marshes, and sea, from which they visited and tormented men.† When they possessed the body of a man they were expelled by exorcisms, and favorable demons were invited by incantations to take their place.‡ All diseases were thought to be the work of different demons, which possessed different parts of the body and were cast out by exorcisms, incantations, philters, and enchanted drinks. A complete knowledge of the system of Chaldean magic belonged only to the few, yet every one must needs know something of the incantations which pertained to the common exigencies of life. There were many purifications, and mysterious rites and magic knots possessed great potency. Still more mighty was the power of numbers. To insure a good harvest the Accadians sung:

* "Chaldean Magic," pp. 23–30.

† Cf. Isaiah xxxv, 13, 14.

‡ Cf. Matthew xii, 27; Acts xix, 13–16; Tobit vi, 7, 16, 17; Josephus, "Antiq.," viii, 2, 5; Justin Martyr, Dial. cum Tryph., c. 85.

The corn which stands upright shall come to the end of its prosperous growth;
The number (to produce that) we know it.*

Seven was a magic number of great power, perhaps also three and four. But the highest power was possessed by the divine name known only to Hea. Every thing must yield to that name, and it was even made a distinct person. We may profitably compare the power which the Talmudists and Cabbalists believed was hidden in the name of God. The Chaldeans had great faith in the power of talismans and the efficacy of sacred texts like the Jewish phylacteries. Amulets, with sacred formulæ chiefly in the Accadian language, were worn about the neck as charms. Talismanic images were supplied with food and drink, and protected their houses. Sometimes a most monstrous image of the demon was made for a talisman. It was believed that the demon would be frightened away by his own hideous likeness. Many gnostic gems also contain such monstrous representations. To cure a man of the plague, let his face be turned toward the setting sun, and apply "to the living flesh of his body" a talismanic image, and the plague demon will flee. To protect against the deadly influence of the south-west wind, its frightful image—"the figure of a horrible demon in an upright posture, with the body of a dog, the feet of an eagle, the claws of a lion, the tail of a scorpion, the head of a skeleton but half decayed, and adorned with goats' horns, and the eyes still remaining, and lastly, four great expanded wings"—was placed at the door or window, and it dare not enter. Many such images have been recovered, and are to be found in the museums.† Tihamat, the primordial sea, was thus represented, and the first imperfect beings created were of this monstrous character. The winged lions and bulls so numerous about palaces and temples probably possessed this talismanic character. To secure the constant defeat of evil demons, representations of battles in which the gods were victorious over them were placed upon the walls of the dwelling. Similar representations preserved the inscribed cylinders from diabolical influence. By conjuring, the Chaldeans professed to have supernatural power over

* "Chaldean Magic," p. 42. Cf. Horace, Carmen, xi, 2, 3.

† "Chaldean Magic," pp. 51, 52.

all spirits, both good and bad. They could by choice ally themselves with divine or demoniacal powers. Hence sorceries and witchcraft were most important in their religious rites. Hea and the sun were the chief protectors against the influence of sorceries. Through fear of their influence the practices of sorcerers were described in mysterious language only to be understood by the initiated, though the Assyrian translations of Accadian originals were more explicit. The sorcerer could bring all sorts of evil upon a man, and by magic spells could even destroy his life.

The malicious imprecation acts on man like a wicked demon,
The voice which curses has power over him;
The voice which curses has power over him;
The malicious imprecation is the spell (which produces) the disease of the head.
The malicious imprecation slaughters this man like a lamb;
His God oppresses him in his body;
His goddess creates anguish in him by a reciprocal influence,
The voice which curses covers him and loads him like a veil.*

Similar magic spells are familiar in all lands.

We cannot here enter fully upon the discussion of the philosophy of magic. It is a most interesting subject. Magic probably arose from an interpretation of the power of nature as the power of individual personal spirits, which could work for man, weal or woe. The sorcerer was the man who lived nearest nature's heart, and could control these spirits. Hence he became a priest. A great majority of the people had not this familiar access to nature, and could not control the spirits. They must resort to the sorcerers, whose services were imperatively necessary. When the good and evil spirits were formed into hierarchies, there might result a theurgy, as Neo-Platonism. Sorcerers were looked upon as almost superior beings. Their actions and mutterings were mysterious and full of awful meaning. They were feared, and their power dreaded. They could control the people and make them slaves. Sometimes they were openly and professedly in league with the devil, willingly taking service with evil spirits, and depending on their protection. The priesthood became an all-powerful tyranny.

It will be seen that if the Accads might be said to worship

* "Chaldean Magic," pp. 64, 65.

at all, it was the worship of elementary spirits, which seemed frequently to have blended with material objects. These spirits were innumerable, and filled the universe. They were definite and distinct personalities, and were connected with every object. Of all the operations of nature they were the active cause. There was no recognition of one supreme God, but the unseen was recognized every-where. The people scarcely loved the beneficent spirits; they were in great terror of the malevolent. A great and deadly warfare was constantly waged between these two classes. The benefits which bless and the plagues that afflict humanity were their victories and defeats. They did not dwell separately, but a bad and a good spirit was connected with every element, every object, and struggled for its mastery. War was a necessity, peace impossible. Physical discords were battles. Sin, with the Accads, was neglect of religious rites or communion with malevolent spirits. This vast dualistic spiritualism, the very basis of the Chaldean magic, tyrannized mightily over men. All good and evil were connected with good and evil spirits. Every motion of moving cloud, waving grass, falling leaf, driving storm, every sound, the murmur of brook, the roar of ocean, the whisper of breeze, the voice of thunder, was caused by a spirit. It was impossible to do otherwise than to communicate with spirits.* Evil spirits must be driven away. Good spirits must be gained and strengthened against the evil. This could be accomplished by employing mysterious rites, charms, and talismans. Powerful secrets were mighty weapons in this warfare. The magician must be sought to protect man, to prevent direst calamities, and to control the forces of the unseen world. This was the only way of happiness and peace.

God and evil spirits were classified,† and at the summit of the hierarchy certain gods were placed; and yet they were no gods, but only possessed a higher range of the same power as the inferior orders of spirits. *Ana* was the spirit of the heavens; he was also the material heavens. *Hea* was the soul of the inhabited earth; he was also the dwelling of all animated beings. Hea was the god of science, the foe of evil spirits, the

* The Jews believed that angels could fall in love with beautiful women. Tobit vi, 14; Augustine, "De civ. Dei," c. 23.

† Cf. Book of Enoch lxviii, lxxvii.

protector of men, and the guardian of the world. His spouse, Davkina, was the personification of the surface of the earth. Their union produced the waters of the earth. They were translated bodily into the later Assyrian religion. *Mulge* was the god of the solid earth, and especially of the lower world, "the temple of the dead." In that gloomy realm there was no marked distinction of rewards and punishments, yet some were permitted to drink of the spring of water of life, when they could again visit the earth. Namtar, the god of plague, and Nandara, the god of war, were sons of Mulge. Nandara was also the god of mineral treasures, and possessed many precious gems which were the repositories of great magic power. The belief in spirits which preside over minerals is characteristic of Turanian, and is common also among many other, peoples. The demons of the under-world loved darkness. They came forth in the night seasons to torment men and do them mischief. Because of this the early Accads dreaded the night and darkness. The sun was their protecting god against black spirits, and was victorious over them every morning. While the Accads dreaded the night, the Chaldeans loved to behold the glories of the starry sky.

Diseases were considered punishments for sin. The good demons would withdraw their influence from the man who did evil, and leave him for a time to the power of the demons of disease. The sun was the principal god invoked for deliverance. By his superior power he could overcome and drive away the demons of disease. In an incantation against "the disease of the head" the prayer is offered that the diseases may fly away "like doves to their dovecotes, like grasshoppers into the sky, like birds into space," and be dissipated "like a nocturnal dew," or "be carried away into the heavens like a violent wind," and swallowed up in the earth "like passing waters."

Fire, as a material god, was thought to be even superior to the sun. We quote a hymn to the god Fire:

Fire, supreme chief, rising high in the country!
Hero, son of the ocean, rising high in the country!
Fire, with thy pure and brilliant flame, thou bringest light into the dwellings of darkness, thou decidest the fate of every thing which has a name;
Thou mixest copper and tin, thou purifiest gold and silver.
May the works of man, son of his god, shine with purity!

May he be high as heaven!
May he be holy and pure as the earth!
May he shine as the midst of heaven! *

Fire was called "warrior, hero, illuminator of darkness." As the god of the hearth he was called "god of the house, protector of the house, protector of the family." When sacrifice was offered he was god of the flame. He was the god of the cosmic fire which is distributed throughout nature. He it was who shone in the stars, and he who was worshiped as the son of Ana. It was important in magic rites to hold most intimate communication with so powerful a god.† The Accads used the "fire-stick" in kindling fires for their temple worship. The elements of this fire-stick are shown in the old hieroglyphics. Fire was believed to be self-producing, as shown by the word for the fifth month of the calendar, *Nenegar*, "Fire fire make"—a month under the patronage of a deity named "Lord of the wood of life." Heavenly fire was discovered by "the great heavenly fire-stick," the lightning, whose Accadian name was "the piercer of heaven." ‡

Silik-mulu-khi, a mediator between Hea and man, was frequently addressed in the incantations. § We give a hymn:

Who can escape thy hail?
Thy will is the sublime cimeter with which thou rulest heaven and earth.
I commanded the sea, and the sea became calm;
I commanded the flower, and the flower ripened into grain;
I commanded the girdle of the river of Sippara, and, by the will of Silik-mulu-khi, I overturned its course.
Lord, thou art sublime, what transitory being is equal to thee?
Silik-mulu-khi, among all the gods who are named, thou art the remunerator. ‖

We may compare this god with the Assyrian Merodach and the Zoroastrian Sraosha. We add one of the benignant spells:

The noble *cupbearer* of Hea, the scribe of Merodach (am) I,
Like fire have I blazed, (and) I rejoice;
(Like) fire have I burned, (and) I grow;

* "Chaldean Magic," p. 185. † *Ibid.*, pp. 184–189.

‡ Houghton and Boscawan in "Transactions Society Biblical Archæology," vol. vi, pp. 280, 281, 467.

§ Comp. "Book of Enoch," ix, 3; xl, 6; "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," iii and v.

‖ "Chaldean Magic," p. 192.

The corn I purify and make heavy.
Like fire have I blazed, (and) will rejoice;
(Like) fire have I burned, (and) will grow;
The corn will I purify and make heavy.
O nadir (and) zenith, the light of god and man,
May the store he collected, be delivered.
May the store of (his) heart, whosoever he be, ye his god
And his goddess, be delivered.
May his gate be *kept fast* on that day,
May they enrich him, may they deliver him.*

No one can fail to observe, even in an English translation, the peculiar characteristics of Hebrew poetry. The rhyme of sense is strongly marked. The Hebrews must have borrowed their rules for poetic composition primitively from the Accads.

The Accads probably believed in the primal innocency of the human race; at least sin was introduced in the world by the successful temptation of the dragon *Tihamat*. They believed in vicarious punishment, in Silik-mulu-khi as mediator and redeemer, and that the dearest object should be given for the sin of the soul. Human sacrifices, even sacrifices of the first-born, were offered by fire. The bloody sacrifices offered to Moloch were an inheritance from the Accads. The Accadian hymns formed a collection which has been compared with the *Rig-Veda*, and which "became the authorized prayer-book of the Accadian Church," and "the authoritative text-book of the priesthood." "Its sacred scriptures" afterward became "the venerable ritual of both Babylonia and Assyria." "A superstitious reverence seems to have been attached to the mere letter and pronunciation of the sacred text," so that the language became sacred, like the Sanskrit to the Hindus, and the Latin to the Roman Catholic Church. †

The Accads had made considerable progress in science and law. The great astronomical work of the library of Aganè shows considerable knowledge of astronomy. Therein are discussed eclipses, conjunctions of the sun and moon, spots on the sun, Venus, the Pole Star, comets; there were also predictions of the weather as determined by changes of the moon. It was supposed that the same weather was repeated after cycles of twelve years, and that the eclipses of the moon were repeated after two hundred and twenty lunations. The

* Sayce on "Times of Abraham," p. 40.
† "Babylonian Literature," pp. 46, 47.

night was divided into watches of four hours each. From the Accads we get the signs of the zodiac, the week of seven days, and the Sabbath, "the day of rest for the heart." Names had already been given to many stars and constellations, and the phases of Venus had been detected. The ecliptic, or "yoke of the sky," had been divided into three hundred and sixty parts, and the year into four seasons, twelve lunar months, and three hundred and sixty days. Intercalary months were introduced to correct the calendar. The month was divided into two parts of fifteen days each, and these again into periods of five days. It has been thought that the Accads, or early Assyrians or Babylonians, must have been acquainted with the use of some kind of optical instrument. Perhaps all of this had been accomplished before the Semites entered Shinar. If this be so, the latter received a goodly intellectual heritage from their Turanian predecessors in Chaldea. The oldest code of laws in the world comes from ancient Chaldea. This is full of instruction. Rare commercial documents, though belonging to a period later than Sennacherib, we have already noticed. In reading these legal treasures one might almost imagine he was reading pleas of modern lawyers and decisions of modern judges. There were the same tedious formality, the same citing of precedents, and the same care in drawing up, signing, sealing, and witnessing documents. It was believed that the gods favored the just judge, and that divine punishments were inflicted upon those who received bribes or extorted unlawful tribute. These laws exist in both the original Accadian and the Assyrian translation. From legal documents we may learn much concerning the real life of the people and their position in the scale of civilization. An oath was required of the judge each day by which he bound himself to judge according to the law and testimony; his decisions became precedents for the future. The slave and his children had certain rights in which they were protected; descent was counted through the mother; she held the highest rank in the family; divorce on the part of a wife was more blameworthy than divorce on the part of a husband; "whatsoever a married woman incloses shall be her own property;" sacrilege was a very grave offense; fine and imprisonment were the penalties for contempt of court; the high-roads and brick-yards were placed under the

care of commissioners; the empire was divided into districts for purposes of taxation; careful records were kept of the purchase and sale of property; awful curses were pronounced upon those who removed landmarks, and endowments were bestowed upon literary men for celebrating the praises of the sovereign. If all these laws have not their origin among the Accadians, they certainly belong to a most ancient period. The high esteem in which women were held among the Accadian inventors of the syllabary is shown by the ideograph for mother, which means "deity of the house." This is far different from the esteem in which women were held among the Assyrians, to be mentioned hereafter. The ideograph for father means "maker of the nest," builder of the house.*

The Accadian worship has not remained stationary during the centuries covered by our review. There are evidences of an advancement toward solar worship even before the influence of Semitism was felt. The old spirits of fetish worship were reorganized in the time of Sargon. The spirits which had been worshiped as spirits of earth, heaven, and other objects, became deities instead of *zi* or spirit of fetish. The remainder of the spirits were divided into spirits of heaven, or angels, and spirits of earth, or demons. These classes were only invoked collectively, and were regarded as the children of the greater gods, and the subjects of Anu and Hea. The old Accadian magic still remained, but was remanded to a subordinate position. In the Accadian inscriptions the great gods of the Assyrian pantheon are not mentioned, and sidereal deities receive but slight notice. The sidereal gods themselves were not invoked, but rather their spirits, which were considered as independent. The organized Chaldean hierarchy, with the development of the system of mythology and astro-theology, must have been the result of long study on the part of a learned priesthood. We present two liturgical prayers which will enable us to contrast the Accadian and Assyrian systems:

I.

From the curse, O Spirit of heaven, protect us! O Spirit of earth, protect us.
O Spirit of the lord of lands, protect us.
O Spirit of the lady of lands, protect us.

* "Transactions Society of Biblical Archæology," vol. vi, pp. 474, 483.

O Spirit of the lord of stars, protect us.
O Spirit of the lady of stars, protect us.
O Spirit of the lord of the holy mound, protect us.
O Spirit of the lady of the holy mound, protect us.
O Spirit of the lord of the light of life, protect us.
O Spirit of the lady of the light of life, protect us.

II.

May Bel, (pardon,) the king my creator.
May Beltis, queen of Bit-*zida*, (?) pardon.
May Bel-zida pardon my fault.
May Hea pardon, may Davkina pardon.
May Hea, lord of chaos, pardon.
May the Abyss, the house of wisdom, pardon.
Zeige, pardon ; the watery deep, may it pardon.
Merodach, king of the angels, may he pardon.

And so on for twenty-five lines more, calling on various gods.* These prayers mark a great step in advance.

In entering upon the discussion of the Assyrian religion we do not part with the Accadian. We shall meet with its influence again and again. After the court religion had become decidedly Assyrian, the Accadian probably lived long among the common people, and was never entirely abandoned. Religions, even the poorest and beggarliest, are tenacious of life, and die not without many a struggle. "The astrologers, the Chaldeans and the soothsayers" in the time of Nebuchadnezzar were the legitimate religious successors of the Accadian magicians. The religion of the Etruscans, so powerful in its influence throughout the history of Rome, probably came from a source common with that of the Accads. The Etruscan and Accadian languages may show upon comparison genuine affinities.

The Assyrians believed in one supreme being, *Ilu*, "the god," formerly a hearth god, whose manifestations were at length identified with the planetary and sidereal systems. Ilu is found as an element in the word *Bab-Ilu*, Babylon, "the gate of Ilu," which in ironical alliteration the Hebrews called Babel, "the gate of confusion." Since the word *Ilu* is common to all Semitic tongues, Ilu must have been the god of the Semites before their dispersion.

"Next to Ilu, the universal and mysterious source of all things, came a trinity composed of his three first exterior and visible

* Boscawen in "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology," vol. vi, pp. 539, 540.

manifestations, which were placed at the summit of the scale in the popular worship; Anu, the primordial chaos, the god of time and the world, (both χρόνος and κόσμος,) uncreated matter issuing from the fundamental and unique principle of all things; Hea, the intelligence, or we would willingly say, the WORD, which animated matter and rendered it fertile, which penetrated the universe, directed and inspired it with life, being at the same time the king of the element of the water; in one word, the spirit which moved upon the face of the waters;" and lastly, Bel, the demiurgus and ruler of the organized universe. "These three co-equal and co-substantial divine persons were not of the same degree of emanation, but they issued, on the contrary, one from the other: Hea from Anu, and Bel from Nuah.*" From these gods came a female trinity; Anat, Belit, and Davkina—often confounded one with another, Belit ultimately excluding the others. We cannot hope to meet with entire consistency in any mythology, and must not be startled at the baldest inconsistencies. By another series of emanations was produced a second trinity: Sin, "the moon god," was the son of Bel; Samas, "the sun god," the son of Hea; and Bin, "the air god," the son of Anu. Each of these deities had a spouse: "the supreme lady," Gula, and Sala. Next in rank came the five planetary deities: Adar or Saturn, Merodach or Jupiter, Nergal or Mars, Ishtar or Venus, and Nebo or Mercury. Adar was both son and spouse of Belit. Because of the two forms of Mercury and Venus, as seen morning and evening, there was a double Ishtar; and Nebo became Nebo and Nusku. Zarpanit was the consort of Merodach, Laz of Nergal, Tasmit of Nebo, and Duzi or Dumuzi of Ishtar. The twelve "great gods" were Anu, Hea, Bel, Belit, Sin, Samas, Bin, Adar, Merodach, Nergal, Ishtar, and Nebo.

Many titles of the great gods acquired a distinct personality, and were invoked as deities. There were also many lesser gods, and personifications of the stars, which were thought to be animated by gods or lower supernatural beings. Here were placed the protecting spirits: the Sed, Alap, or Kirub, a bull with a human face; the Samas or Nirgal, a lion with a human head; the Ustur, of human form; and the Nattig, with the head of an eagle.†

* "Chaldean Magic," pp. 114, 115. † Cf. Ezekiel i, 10; x, 14.

Here also we must place the *Iyili* and *Anunnaki*, celestial and terrestrial spirits, three hundred of the former and six hundred of the latter. Anu, Hea, and Bel were sometimes called the children of Zicu or Zicara, "the sky," "the mother of Anu and all the gods," (*Sige* of Nicolaus Damascenus.) Assur and his wife Seruya were afterward placed at the head of the Assyrian pantheon, and then Assur was called the father of Anu, Hea, and Bel.

Each god from time to time seems to be highest. This may be explained by attending to several considerations. In the first place, different gods were the patron deities of different places, and received special honors. Other gods were not neglected entirely, but were subordinate to the god who had the place under his special protection. Again, the inscriptions run through many centuries, during which the reputation of a god might rise or fall. We are also to notice that in the worship of the devoted Assyrian, he might exalt the god to whom he is praying as though there were no other, making that god highest to whom prayer is at the time offered. Generally many gods are addressed, that the worshiper may be on friendly terms with all.

Anu, the Assyrian Zeus, the god of Erech, was the ruler of heaven. When the religion had developed by philosophical study, Anu became an abstract deity, the first principle and source of all divine emanations. He was "the ancient, the progenitor and father of the gods," and dwelt in the seventh heaven, called "the heaven of Anu." His sign was the star, or a symbol resembling a Maltese cross, which was often worn round the necks of Chaldean kings. His spouse was Anatu. The whole universe was sometimes divided into two regions; the upper, or heaven, was called Anu, the lower, or earth, Anatu. She was the lady of darkness, and of death and life. Bilkan, one of her sons, was the god of fire, (cf. Vulcan and Tubal-Cain.) She is frequently confounded with her daughter, Ishtar, and, like the latter, was the impersonation of passive reproductive nature. As Anaitis, the wife of Reseph, she was worshiped by the Egyptians from the time of the Syrian conquests of Ramases II.*

Hea, identified with Oannes, the fish-god of Berosus, had

* "Chaldean Genesis," pp. 54, 55; "Archæological Dictionary," pp. 53, 54.

the attributes of several classical divinities. Like Pluto he was lord of the lower regions. Ninkigal, his spouse, was "the lady of the great land, the lady of the house of death." Like Poseidon, Hea was "lord of the abyss, lord of fountains, and lord of sailors." He taught Hasisadra, the Chaldean Noah, how to build the ark and sail over the flood. He had dominion over various spirits of the deep, and was associated with the goddess Bahu, "the void," Bohu of Genesis, also called Gula. Like Hermes, Hea was "the god who knows all things, lord of wisdom, mines, treasures, gifts, and music, and the lord of the bright eye." His consort, Davkina, resembled Persephone or Proserpine.

Bel, the god of Nipur, was the deity of physical power and of the moving, heavenly bodies, the lord of the surface of the earth and of the affairs of men, and the determiner of the destinies of nations. He was a popular national god, and his temple at Nipur the type of all temples. His wife, Belat, or Beltis, like Anatu, the goddess of reproductive nature, was also the goddess of war. Every woman in Babylon was obliged to prostitute herself in the temple once in her lifetime to this goddess. Babylonian legends, found at Khorsabad on little clay olives, bear witness to this frightful custom.* Bel was represented as a king wearing a tiara crested with bulls' horns, and holding a scepter as an emblem of power. Bel Merodach, "the younger Bel," was the patron deity of Babylon. The Phœnician Baal, represented by a pillar of stone, was worshiped with human sacrifices. At Tyre he was called Melkarth, and had two pillars, one of gold and one of emerald, in front of his temple. Jezebel, the most beautiful but most wicked Israelitish queen, introduced his organized worship in Israel. With Baal were associated Ashtoreth, the moon-goddess, and Ashera, the goddess of fertility.

Sin, the moon-god, the son of Bel, was a favorite deity of the Cushite kings of the early Babylonians, and the principal deity of Ur. He was called "lord of crowns, maker of bright-

* "Records of the Past," vol. xi, pp. 43, 44; "Rawlinson's Herodotus," vol. i, pp. 265, 266; Bohn's "Strabo," vol. iii, pp. 155; Jeremias, 43. Succoth-Benoth of 2 Kings xvii, 30, "tents of daughters," is explained by most expositors as referring to the tents of this prostitution. Succoth-Benoth may be Zirat-banit, wife of Bel-Merodach.

ness, lord of the city of Ur, king of the gods, and god of the gods." He was also called Nannaru, "the bright one," whence the classical legend of Nannarus. He was worshiped under the name of Ur, "eldest son of Bel," and may be connected with *Al-orus*, the first mythical king of Berosus.*

The following liturgical hymn to the moon-god was in use in the great city of Ur. Translated by Lenormant, Englished by Tomkins. The original Accadian was accompanied by an Assyrian translation:

High-exalted, all-producing, life unfolding from above!
Father, he who life reneweth in its circuit through all lands!
Lord! in thy goodness far and wide as sky and sea thou spread'st thine awe!
Warder of shrines in (Akkad's) land and prophet of their high estate!
God's sire and men's, of childhood guide, (?) even Ishtar's self thou didst create!
Primeval seer, rewarder, (sole,) fixing the doom of days remote,
Unshaken chief, whose heart benign is never mindful of thy wrongs:
Whose blessings cease not, ever flowing, leading on his fellow gods.
Who from depth to height bright piercing openeth the gate of heaven!
Father mine, of life the giver, cherishing, beholding (all)!
Lord who power benign extendeth over all the heaven and earth!
Seasons, (?) rains, from heaven forth drawing, watching life and yielding showers!
Who in heaven is high exalted? Thou! Sublime in thy behest!
Who on earth is high exalted? Thou! Sublime in thy behest!
Thou thy will in heaven revealest; (thee) celestial spirits (praise)!
Thou thy will on earth revealest; thou subdu'st the spirits of earth!
Thou! thy will in heaven as the luminous ether shines!
Thou! thy will upon the earth to me by deeds . . . thou dost declare!
Thou! thy will extendeth life in greatness, hope, and wonder wide!
Thou! thy will itself gives being to the righteous dooms of men!
Thou through heaven and earth extendest goodness, not remembering wrong!
Thou! thy will who knoweth? Who with aught can it compare?
Lord! in heaven and earth thy lordship of the gods none equals thee!†

* "Records of the Past," vol. iii, pp. 10–16; iv, p. 54.

† Tomkins' "Times of Abraham," pp. 9, 10.

Samas, Shemesh of the Bible, (1 Sam. vi, 9,) the sun-god, son of Hea, had important sanctuaries at Larsa and Sippara. He unfastens the bolts of the shining sky, and opens the door of heaven. He covers the immensity of the heavens. He is the "illuminator of the darkness, who sets up those who are bowed down, who sustains the weak; whose face the archangels of the abyss contemplate; who rests like a bridegroom joyful and gracious; whom men contemplate and rejoice; the nourisher of the luminous heavens, who establishes truth in the thoughts of the nations, knowing the true and false; the supreme judge of heaven and earth, lord of living beings, whom the celestial archangels press about with respect and joy, and the servants of the lady of crowns lead in a festive manner, directing the human race and giving them peace, pardoning short-comings and transgressions, dissipating the evil influence of wonders, omens, sorceries, dreams, evil apparitions." *

Bin or Rimmon, (also variously called *Vul*, *Ao*, *Iva*,) son of Anu, was god of storms and tempests, of rain and whirlwind, of thunder and lightning, of floods and watercourses—the god of the air "who causes the tempest to rage over hostile lands and *wicked* countries." He destroyed crops and rooted up trees, and was followed by famine and pestilence. He was "the great guardian of heaven and earth, the intelligent guide, the lord of the visible world, the lord of knowledge, glory, and life." His most usual symbols were the serpent and the double or triple bolt.

Ninip, or Adar, the Chaldean Hercules, is described as "the crusher of opponents, he who rolls along the mass of heaven and earth, treader of the wide earth, who has not lessened the glory of his face; head of nations, bestower of scepters; lord of lords, whose hand has controlled the vault of heaven and earth; lord of water-courses, seas, and whirlwinds; opener of canals, and lord of crops and boundaries; the deity who changes not his purposes, the light of heaven and earth, whose is the speech of the gods no god has ever disregarded, destroyer of them that hate him." He is also called "son of the zenith, son of El the sublime." His temple is "the temple of the sanctuary." He gives power over the beasts of the fields,

* "Records of the Past," vol. xi, pp. 123–128.

and reigns a monarch of the nations. His symbol was a winged bull.*

Merodach was the guide of souls to Hades. He raised the dead to life, and was "the renowned chief of the gods and the lord of eternity without end." Khammurabi chose Merodach as the head of his worship. He is the mediator between gods and men, and answers the prayers of the good man. He changes the hearts of men, and determines their destinies.†

Nergal was "the god of arms and bows, the great hero, king of fight, master of battles, champion of the gods, god of the chase." Nirgalli were Assyrian winged human-headed lions which, together with the Alapi, guarded the entrances to the royal palaces. The lion-god was worshiped by the Cuthæans. 2 Kings xvii, 30.

Ishtar, the Assyrian Venus, though generically a goddess of the second rank, was raised to the first rank in both Assyria and Babylonia. She was the goddess of war, "the goddess of battles and victories." She gives arms to the warrior, upholds him, gives him the help of "sixty great gods," and utterly destroys his enemies. Long life, victory, and abundance are in her hand. She brings down the high head of the proud; she exalts, strengthens, and preserves the kingdom. As Anaitis, she was worshiped at Comana, where her statue was of solid gold, her high-priest next in rank to the king, and her temple served by six thousand servants. She was called "queen of queens, archer of the gods, terrible in battle." She was represented as a winged figure with a halo and a bow. Ishtar was also the goddess of love, and was called "lover, nurse, guardian, and servant." She was the goddess of sensual indulgence, and in the Izdubar legends seemed to have been the goddess of witchcraft, like Hecate and Medea. We find her also in the character of goddess of treasures, and "queen of the spear" or "divining rod." ‡

Nebo was "the overseer of the multitudes of heaven and earth, the supreme watcher, the holy minister of the gods, of lofty intelligence, founder of the (fabric) of heaven and earth."

* "Records of the Past," vol. iii, pp. 39, 40; ix, p. 96; i, p. 11; v, p. 108; xi, p. 9.

† *Ibid*, vol. v, p. 116; vii, p. 75; v, p. 139.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. xi, pp. 61–78; vii, pp. 67, 68; ix, p. 51. Bohn's "Strabo," vol. ii, pp. 279, 309.

He caused the hand of Neriglissar to hold "a scepter of righteousness." More important is his character as god of knowledge, science and literature. With his wife Tasmit he invented writing, and directed the educatian of Assyrian kings. "Assurbanipal asserts that Nebo and Tasmit had 'made broad his ears, and enlightened his eyes,' so that he ordered all the characters of the syllabaries and the ancient writings of Accad to be explained and written down." Nebo, as "the eastern sun in the height of heaven," may be identified with the Hindu Mithras. He was represented as a king crowned with a triple-horned cap, and holding a scepter or staff. Nusku, one of his attributes, grew into an independent deity. Upon the dedication of a temple, Nebuchadnezzar prayed: "O Nebo! noble son, exalted (messenger) and beloved offspring of Marduk! my works of piety behold joyfully! A long life, abundant offspring, a firm throne, a prolonged reign, the subjection of all rebels, the conquest of my enemies' land, grant to me as a recompense." *

Assur, although not included in the genealogies of the gods, became the king and father of the gods, and "the worship of Assur" became the religion of the realm. His chief temple was dedicated to the "mountain of the world." He it is who, with Merodach, confided sovereign power to Sargon, "the viceroy of the gods at Babylon," and "the favorite of the great gods." In his book the names of the pious are recorded. His favorite emblem was "the winged circle or globe, from which a figure in a horned cap is frequently seen to issue, sometimes simply holding a bow, sometimes shooting his arrows against the Assyrians' enemies." †

Several gods are sometimes elaborately addressed in the same inscription. ‡

We cannot even name all the gods of the Assyrian pantheon. In one inscription we have a list of several hundred with their attributes. We have named the most important. We have already met with El, who is the god of the Hebrews. We also find Yav, the Yaveh of the Moabite stone, the Jehovah of the

* "Records of the Past," vol. v, pp. 122–139; xi, p. 101; vii, p. 77. "Archaic Dictionary," p. 557.

† *Ibid.*, vol. xi, p. 17. "Transactions Society of Biblical Archæology," vol. iii, p. 439. "Ancient Monarchies," vol. ii, pp. 3, 4.

‡ "Records of the Past," vol. xi, p. 24; v, p. 29.

Israelites. Turtak, the Accadian deity of the Tigris, is the Tartak of the Bible, (2 Kings xvii, 31.) Lagamar, whose temple at Susa was rebuilt by the emperor Kudur-Nakhunte, has left his name in Kedorlaomer, who fought in Palestine in the time of Abraham, (Genesis xiv, 1–17.) Deities of surrounding nations were legitimate spoils of war. Assurbanipal captured and carried away into Assyria nineteen "gods and goddesses, with their valuables, their gods, their furniture, and priests and worshipers." *

The comparison of the Assyrian religion with the Old Testament Scriptures must be reserved for a second paper.

Art. VII.—PRESENT STATE OF PROTESTANT THEOLOGY.

That is a superficial view of theology which makes it simply a science of religion. In its literal sense it means a science of God, or divine things. But even this definition, derived from the etymology of the word, is too meager. To be exhaustive as well as comprehensive it must include more. Our Protestant theology is based upon the Christian religion, which is a supernatural revelation of salvation through Jesus Christ. The facts of Christianity were first divinely revealed, then realized in man's experience, and lastly elaborated into a systematic whole by a reflection on the facts of man's consciousness as guided and enlightened by the divine Spirit. Theology is, therefore, not only an affair of the head, but also of the heart; it is a theory and a practice as well; not only a form of knowledge, but also a precious experience. Hence a complete definition of theology must take these three points into consideration: first, the supernatural communication of the facts of salvation; second, the personal experience of these facts by man; and, third, their scientific arrangement.

From this point of view an attempt will be made to sketch the Protestant theology of to-day, which may be divided, according to its hostile or friendly attitude toward the Bible, into two groups. The one reverently accepts, the other deliber-

* "Records of the Past," vol. i, pp. 87, 88.

ately rejects, the divine authority of the Scriptures. This attitude toward the Bible has acted as a sifting power, eliminating the unlike elements and drawing the like elements together more closely. The growth of Protestant theology seems to have been along two lines, parallel at first, but now diverging more and more. The champions of either side are uniting more closely in their respective encampments, while the breach between them is widening and the antagonism intensifying.

For a clearer apprehension of this process of selection and rejection let us make

I. A Brief Historical Review.

We must go back to the Reformation, which is the mother, and, as it were, the source, of Protestant theology, in order to get at the fundamental principles which underlie the present. One of these primary principles of the Reformation was to put the divine authority of the Bible over the authority of the Church, thereby proclaiming freedom from all outward traditional trammels. Protestantism delivered from the tyranny of the Church by carrying back to the Bible. Another of these first principles was its teaching that man is justified by faith, that he is dependent on God alone, with whom he can hold direct intercourse at any time by faith, without human intervention or priestly mediation.

These two principles of man's dependence and man's independence—obligation and liberty—when held together properly balance each other. But the equilibrium was sometimes destroyed by unduly emphasizing the one at the expense of the other. The two extremes in the Protestant theology of the present can be traced to a divorce of these two pervading principles of the Reformation. Whenever the idea of man's dependence has been so strongly insisted upon that the idea of his independence was lost sight of and separated from the true liberty of a living faith, then a cold orthodoxy, which ended with a soulless confessionalism, was the result. If, on the other hand, independence was exalted and faith severed from reason, it developed into latitudinarianism and generally ended with negation. But, happily, in the course of this historic process a theology has grown up, based upon the Bible, recognizing the dependence required in the Scriptures and

preserving independence, or the true liberty of the spirit. Without falling into confessionalism, it values creeds and confessions of faith as representing the ripest results of the piety and scholarship of the Church at any given period. This biblical orthodoxy rests upon the broad basis of the Scriptures, and counts its adherents by thousands in every tongue and clime.

If we closely observe this critico-historical process we shall find that a dry and lifeless orthodoxy gained the ascendency, not only in Germany and Switzerland, but also in Scandinavia, Holland, and England. In Germany, Luther had hardly closed his eyes when the opposing factions, which had been kept down by his personal presence and influence, began to threaten trouble. The conflict between the strict orthodoxy, led by Flaccius, and the milder evangelical faction, whose chief man was Melanchthon, ended with a signal victory for the orthodox party. In Switzerland, Holland, France, and Scotland, a Calvinism so stern that it was a crime to differ from it held absolute sway. In England the constitution of the State Church was about as exclusive and inflexible as could be devised. The unhappy effects of this controversial period which followed the Reformation appeared in a twofold manner: first, in a decay of vital religion; second, in a petrifaction of the living doctrines of the Reformation into mere intellectual formulas.

Such a frigid and rigid orthodoxy was impotent to satisfy the capacities of the head and the cravings of the heart. It was barren of all vital results. It could not inspire the heart with hope nor incite the intellect to any fruitful activity. It barred the door to all independent inquiry with its inexorable *credo*. No wonder, then, that the people, embittered at such a soulless orthodoxy, which suppressed the Christian truth, revolted, and, in their reaction against this ecclesiastical despotism which fostered such a theology, seriously threatened Christian truth itself. Nor did this process go on in Germany only. It appeared in Italy in a revival of the humanities; in England as deism, and in France as atheism and bald materialism. In Germany sovereign reason, throwing away the "humility of knowledge," assumed the throne, and the so-called rationalism *vulgaris* began to prevail in the countries of the Reformation.

In its interpretation of the Bible it did not trouble itself with any deep critical questions; its exegesis was of a very elastic nature; it set history aside when its testimony was not suitable, and simply denied the supernatural, and ended with becoming so trivial and frivolous that its divines preached on the best methods of raising and caring for cattle. The philosopher Kant calls the style of sermons of the age "Prose gone mad."

Although this rationalism counted several able men among its ranks, as Dr. Semler, and deserves credit for having given the cold, dry orthodoxy a death-blow, yet its influence upon theology and upon public life was a very deplorable one. It produced a large class of persons devoid of principle, who called themselves theologians, as the notorious K. F. Bahrdt.

Single men here and there stood on Bible ground, and let their light shine in the universal darkness; yet, upon the whole, the theology of that period was at a very low ebb. But the Lord provided. He raised up Spener, Zinzendorf, and Wesley to purify and vitalize this corrupt theology. It is a great mistake to think that these men were merely the founders of the modern home mission work. For although the pietism of a Spener had no formulated creed, it nevertheless exerted a great influence upon the doctrines of the Church by placing the almost-forgotten Christian life in the foreground. Zinzendorf, with his motto, "My passion is He, only He," touched the theology of the day by its Achilles' heel. Wesley, with his clear notions of sin, justification, regeneration, and sanctification, and with his wonderful talent for presenting these great truths level to the understanding of all classes, has helped, from his time onward to the present, both inside and outside of Methodism, at forming theological ideas.

To be sure, the work of these divinely commissioned men did not end this process of separating all unlike elements, for that is still going on now. But one fundamental principle has been so firmly fixed that it has never since been lost sight of; namely, *that a true theology is not merely a speculative form of knowledge, but a mode of living as well—a habitus practicus—and that it must produce the fruits of a practical Christianity.* We have never forgotten that there is an inseparable connection between religion and morality. Conflicts

have not been wanting. The admiring disciples of Kant attempted all kinds of possible and impossible "critiques of pure reason." Idealism was in its prime at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Bible has had to sustain a constant warfare with intellectualism, and, at present, is brought into frequent contact with the natural sciences. But, notwithstanding the most determined opposition, Bible theology has, from the times of Zinzendorf and Wesley forward, gained ground, established itself as a science, and driven to a decision either for or against itself.

The last act of this theological clarification was precipitated by the appearance of Strauss' *Leben Jesu*, (1835.) It was not an epoch-making work in the sense of being productive of new ideas. On the contrary, it was not creative. Its *constructive* power was almost equal to zero, but its *destructive* tendency was so much greater. It does not so much mark an *epoch* as a *crisis* which dissipated dreams and illusions, showed the futility of vague theories and half-measures, and caused emphatic divisions on vital questions of religion. The eyes of the theological world were opened as never before. It became evident that Strauss' road led to the atheism of a Feuerbach, and that this landed into the materialism of a Darwin. The friends of a supernatural revelation rallied around the Bible. Christians took a definite stand, and asked each other: Is your theology based upon the Bible? Do you belong to the positive or negative party? Thus this earnest conflict has created a chasm, growing wider and more impassable than ever.

In England and Germany honest efforts were made by the so-called Compromise Theology (*Vermittlungs-Theologie*) to settle these differences. Schleiermacher, born at Breslau, 1768, is the founder of this movement. His father, an army chaplain, was favorably disposed to the Moravians, and had him educated in their schools. Their deep piety and spirituality made a life-long impression on Schleiermacher. He was gifted with a wonderful talent for metaphysical speculations. He made the essence of religion consist in a *feeling of absolute dependence upon God*, and attempts to give to the religious consciousness a scientific expression. He was peculiarly fitted, by nature and by training, to put an end to the conflict between the Christian dogma and rationalism, and to offer a

form of religion which could both satisfy the simple yearnings of a humble heart and the most exacting demands of an enlightened intellect. It must be confessed, however, that he did not accomplish this object, despite his most strenuous efforts. One class called him a rationalizing skeptic, and the other an incorrigible orthodoxist. But much was gained, even if he did not fully realize his ideal. Schleiermacher impressed upon the educated classes what Spener, Zinzendorf, and Wesley had taught the masses, *that theological knowledge and piety are not identical, but must always be united in a true theology.* He has, therefore, often been called the father of modern theology.

Quite a number of eminent men, following Schleiermacher's footsteps, tried to reconcile the teachings of the Bible with the results of modern science. But the believers among these compromise theologians soon learned that the unbelievers made demands which those standing on Bible ground could not grant, and that these negative critics were not half so eager to arrive at a mutual understanding of the controverted points as to secure a full recognition of their claims. It soon became evident that concessions and half-way measures would not answer. Lafayette's remark explained the situation: "If I affirm 2×4=8, and some hot-head denies it, saying it is ten, then the compromiser comes in between, with dignified demeanor, and says, 'The truth is somewhere between you; we must strike the difference, 2×4=9.'" Tholuck's words, that "truth is not in the middle but at the bottom," were taken to heart. To-day this kind of *Vermittlungs-Theologie* is a thing of the past. Our age is one of intense earnestness and decision, and has inscribed upon its banner: "Be wholly what thou art."

Let us now glance at

II. The Present Situation.

This critical historical process is marked by three characteristic tendencies.

1. We shall first notice the so-called *Liberal* or *Modern Theology.* Of course this term is somewhat ambiguous. It is as indefinite as it is comprehensive, and may include pantheists, atheists, and materialists; in fact all who are generally

given to drawing theological conclusions from philosophical premises. But, however great their difference otherwise, they all agree on this point, *that the human mind is the determinator of religious truth, and clearness the criterion of truth.* It is in reason alone that truth and reality are to be found. Reason is the ultimate test of religious truth as well as of all truth. Reason must be obeyed as the only supreme guide. What the light of your mind pronounces incredible, that you are to leave uncredited. In a word, their principle is the absolute supremacy of the natural faculties of man.

Some of these liberal theologians deny the supernatural in all of its forms. With one grand sweep they dispose of revelation, inspiration, miracles, and providence. They cull a few moral precepts from the Scriptures, but reject its objective elements entirely. They repudiate an historical Christianity, especially the God-man, Jesus Christ, his sinlessness, wondrous works, atoning death, and his resurrection. There are other liberals who are not quite so radical. While they profess great respect for Christianity—namely, their Christianity—and would shudder at the thought of rejecting Christ altogether, yet they assume the right to set up an eclectic Christianity, and decide how much is permanent and necessary and how much is temporal and accidental, what is essential and what is superfluous in Christ's teachings. Revelation is not *denied*, but *qualified.* Revelation, as the outer light, is to be respected only so far as it agrees with reason, the inner light. This class approaches the holy word of God as a dinner-party does a well-spread table, where each may take what suits his taste. They sort the Bible, and say this passage we must accept and that we must reject; this passage is genuine, that is doubtful, and that is corrupt. They approve of heaven, but ridicule the idea of hell; they earnestly advocate immortality, but just as firmly reject what the Bible teaches on resurrection.

These theories may be "modern," fashionable, and highly acceptable to a large class of people, but they certainly are not a theology, in so far as they refuse homage to Jesus Christ. The adjectives "liberal" and "modern" have entirely displaced the substantive "theology." However much we may respect the sincerity of its advocates, we cannot call their theology Christian. Although they have rendered some real and

permanent services to theology by bringing a very industrious and acute, though not always fair, criticism to bear on the Christian records, and thus making a fresh study of the Scriptures and the grounds of their defense necessary, yet they awakened an appetite which could not produce bread, much less the bread of life. It leaves the cravings of the heart unsatisfied, and many unsolved problems for the inquiring mind. Pearson has truly said: "Modern theology is full of contradictions, which no philosopher would tolerate." You cannot live *by*, nor die *on*, such a theology; it is an insufficient light for those who tread the dark and dreary mazes of life; its many interrogations can give no consolation in the gloom of death, nor fire the dying eye with the hope of life eternal.

Those who venture upon this slippery ground are in danger of falling into absolute negation. If we can deny *one* Christian truth, why not a *second* or a *third?* There is only one step between *rejecting a divine revelation* and *denying the existence of God.* The next thing, after having denied God and put man upon his throne, is to obliterate the distinction between mind and matter. This leaves no room for human liberty, and lands in a fatalistic materialism.

Strauss, together with many others, has traveled this downward road. The denial of an *historical Christianity* led to a denial of *God.* Here was atheism and pantheism. The next was a denial of *mind*, as a free, self-active, and self-determining intelligence. Here was materialism. This extreme wing of modern theology was, as a matter of course, barren of all vital results. It lays its destructive hand upon every thing positive, and ends with nihilism. And how could it be otherwise? If you add an infinite number of negations the sum will be nothing.

This movement has a larger following in the Protestant world than is generally believed. It counts its adherents by the thousand in all the State Churches of Europe—sometimes lurking under guise of a faultless orthodoxy; sometimes boldly avowing its purpose, as the Protestant Association of Germany, which welcomes to its wide folds all factions, orthodox, liberal, pantheist and materialist, in so far as they are willing to accept and adhere to the ethical principles of Christianity. It claims to maintain a laudable ambition of "harmonizing

discordant elements into a better consistency." In England and America they are generally, but not always, to be found in independent congregations, or among the Unitarians and Universalists. There are, however, a great many others, sailing under orthodox colors, who are more or less infected with this modern theology.

The characteristic of this movement is that it emphasizes man's independence in things spiritual at the expense of a true dependence, and thus turns liberty into license. This caused a strong reaction. Another party arose and sought to avoid this extreme and save evangelical liberty. But it did so by hedging it in with narrow creeds and Church doctrines. This is

2. *Confessionalism.*

Instead of relying upon the power of faith, it relies upon the power of the past, and goes back to the seventeenth century. Its position is explained in the sentence, "*Teneamus, quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est.*" The theology of the nineteenth century must go back to the seventeenth century, or to the Reformation, or farther still, for its warrant. Hengstenberg, the father of the restored Lutheranism, and Pusey, the founder of the High Church party in England, were by and by distanced by their bolder followers.

This movement gave great prominence to the ceremonies and ordinances of the Church, and restored a sort of sacrament worship. The sacraments are not only *a means* of grace, but *the only medium* through which grace is granted. The altar is, consequently, placed above the pulpit; baptism is regeneration; justification is a material communication of divine life through the sacraments; the visible Church is the true Church, and all who are baptized are its members. Besides this, the real presence of Christ in the elements of the Lord's Supper is taught, and confirmation and ordination are regarded as sacramental acts. Protestant theologians here take the place of the Catholic bishop, and the reformers the place of the Pope. Not the fellowship of saints or brotherhood of believers, but the adherents to a certain creed, compose the true Church. Its standard and sacred treasure is the "*sound doctrine,*" and anathema sit upon him who varies from it a hair's-

breadth! Piety is displaced by a belief which is not born of an inner conviction, but has been outwardly proposed for acceptance as a mathematical formula. Any one can see that this tends toward Catholicism. Many of its leaders, in fact, are dallying with Romanism, and some of them openly avow that the Catholic idea of a Church is the only true one. Auricular confession, absolution, and extreme unction have been introduced by Loche among the Neo-Lutherans in Germany, and by the extreme left wing of the Puseyites in England.

In connection with this abstract dogmatism we find their juridic construction of the rights of the Church, whose existence, they teach, as a propounder and conserver of the sound doctrines, is guaranteed by state and international law. To hear the current talk of many Lutherans in our own country, one might conclude that theirs was the only Church which had a legal right to exist in the United States. All this savors strongly of Romanism, with which it has these and many other points in common. It is every-where infected with the prevailing social and political views, and is likewise strongly tainted with modern philosophy, which it really abhors and combats, but whose forms and culture it uses to ingratiate itself with, and retain its hold upon, the public mind. Strifes and internal divisions also indicate that it is afflicted with the same symptoms that trouble Romanism. All of its dissimilar elements are gathered under one cover, and this harmonious company is faithfully described by the prophet: "They will eat every man the flesh of his own arm: Manasseh, Ephraim; Ephraim, Manasseh; and they together will be against Judah." Isa. ix, 21, 22.

But redeeming features are not altogether wanting. It deserves credit for having brought about a better understanding of the Old Testament canon. Some of their spokesmen were very able Hebraists. But it has brought forth nothing that has the power to transform the heart and life of the individual, or to protect the Church universal from its common foe. For what is gained in this conflict against skepticism if you bolt the doors of your own little room when the entire structure upon which all creeds are built is assailed? In fortifying and fighting for the Church these hide-bound orthodoxists seem to think that Christ's promises with regard to his Church, "The

gates of hell shall not prevail against it," apply only to their denomination. This movement was of no account to defend the Church from foes without, nor could it strengthen the Church within. A multitude of formulas, dogmas, and threatening anathemas nipped the Christian life in the bud.

Besides this radical theology, which is divided into two wings, latitudinarianism and confessionalism, there exists another form of theology, which we may call

3. *Evangelical Orthodoxy.* It is distinguished by three characteristic features.

The first feature we notice is its thorough and progressive scholarship. By its methods and by its results it answers the question which Schleiermacher once put in a sad mood, "Must Christianity and ignorance on the one hand, and skepticism and science on the other hand, always remain synonymous?" with an emphatic No. Not proud reason, but the word of God, is proclaimed sovereign, and placed upon the throne. With this party progress does not mean "to always know more in science and believe less in theology." It is not true that "the pulpit is losing because the people are growing." It does not begin with affirmation to end with negation, but it goes from faith to knowledge, and from knowledge to a still larger faith and clearer understanding of the things believed. It is rearing its structure, with the true principles of scientific research, upon the firm foundation of the everlasting rock, and, consequently, it is fruitful in valuable results. True theology is like the granite mountain out of whose bosom flow the living waters, and from whose sides the storms may sweep loose sands away, but will leave the mountain itself unmoved. This theology has flung its banner to the breeze, upon which is written, in flaming letters, "Knowledge." While recognizing the fact that Christianity does not owe its rapid spread to the "enticing words of man's wisdom," yet it sees that a sanctified scholarship is a great help in its bitter conflict with rationalistic criticism. Our age lays great stress upon knowledge, which is its strong point and its weak point at the same time. Genuine theology does not shut its eyes against what is going on in the thinking world; it will ever aim to appropriate the highest and best fruits of scientific research, and those theological drones who sneer at this advance of inquiry, or are too lazy and

too indifferent to avail themselves of its results, will be simply left behind.

A large number of German theologians belonging to this movement have made important contributions to the field of original research. They are like miners who dig the deep shafts into the dark bowels of the earth to bring up the ore which others convert into a thousand useful instruments; they have gone forth as pioneers to open the road in every direction; working in some chosen branch as specialists, they have produced works of great erudition, full of germinal thoughts for others to elaborate and apply. True, not a little chaff is sometimes mixed with the wheat, but that does not destroy its value, which is fully appreciated on both sides of the Atlantic. There is scarcely a theologian of note who does not try to acquaint himself with the results of the evangelical theology of Germany.

But Anglo-Saxon theology has likewise achieved some valuable results, especially in the department of Bible interpretation and homiletics. It is greatly to be regretted that these excellent works are not more widely known in Germany, where they would, doubtless, exert a most beneficent influence on account of their positive and practical tendency. If space permitted we might mention a long list of English and American theologians who have rendered valuable services not only in exegetical and homiletical, but also in other departments of theology. Suffice it to say that the Anglo-Saxons and their German brethren are vying with each other to raise the scholarship of evangelical theology to the highest standard.

A second feature of this theology is that it is based upon faith. A thorough scholarship is necessary, but faith and reason must be united in holy wedlock. Belief in the Bible as a positive divine revelation is required. We must bow before the Scriptures with a reverential mind as the unerring word of God, as the objective noun for our subjective faith—knowledge. Our theological structure must be built upon a *divine* as well as *human* foundation. It will not do to permit an appeal to this or that Church creed, or to the so-called "Christian consciousness." Many theories destructive of the fundamental principles of Christianity have been smuggled in on this plea. Differences on subordinate questions are permissible, but in

our system of doctrine the Scriptures furnish the only authoritative criterion.

All streams that flow here point back to their infallible source, to the personal Christ and the revelation of divine truth in his person. This Christ Jesus, blessed for evermore, is the nucleus around which evangelical theology has formed; the center from which the gracious light of divine truth is thrown upon God's relation to man, and man's relation to God. Christ is the ground and corner-stone to which the theological structure is inseparably joined—not, however, *a Christ*, the fanciful product of human imagination, but *the Christ*, as revealed in the gospels. It is beginning to be fully appreciated that this God-man, Jesus Christ, "the same yesterday, and to-day, and forever," is "the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world," and that he only can impart vigor and vitality to the theological science.

But this evangelical orthodoxy of to-day goes one step further, and every-where insists that this Christ, who has "enlightened the eyes of our understanding," must also take complete possession of our heart, and make it his permanent abode. Christ in the heart is what makes the true theologians deserving his name. Wherever Christian truth has only entered the head it may be quickly displaced by other thoughts; but where it has not only *touched* but *taken full possession* of the heart, it will not be so easily removed. The study shall also become a closet of prayer; we must read the Scriptures, not only with the critical eye of the student, but with the tearful eye of a penitent sinner—as one who reads his pardon. We must read the Bible with the filial affection of a son who would hear his father's voice. These well-known Wesleyan maxims have now become a distinctive feature of the evangelical theology of all lands. However much yet remains to be done, we see the sun is rising. The day is dawning, and it is especially gratifying that this theology not only requires, but presumes faith in this personal, living, and life-giving Christ in all of its professors. Even men who, on account of their speculative leanings, are generally classed with the negative school, confess that Jesus Christ is the source and center of their thought and Christian life. Richard Rothe writes thus: "I can honestly say, that simple faith in Christ

is the sure foundation of all my thought—the Christ (not a dogma or a theology) who has for eighteen centuries conquered the world; and I will gladly surrender any so-called form of knowledge conflicting with him, my highest certainty." *Victus vincam*—Conquered I shall conquer—was the motto of this great religious thinker: it is likewise the motto of this evangelical theology. And as long as a Christian belief and a Christian life remain the crown of this theological science it will go on to still greater triumphs, and need not fear death or defeat.

It is due to Methodism more than to any other evangelical movement that a personal and living, as well as an intellectual and historical faith has become a characteristic feature of the theology of the present. By putting piety in the foreground, and constantly insisting on the necessity of a holy Christian life, it was the occasion of forming the evangelical party in the Anglican Church. In America it showed a dry, cold Calvinism what a theology of the heart could accomplish. In France, Germany, and Scandinavia it acted as a healthy leaven. Methodism deserves great credit for having proved to the Christian world that a personal, living faith in the crucified Christ must be the fundamental principle of theology. This is the sign in which it conquers: "The Gospel of Christ is the power of God unto salvation."

Although faith in Christ is the great distinguishing characteristic of this theological movement, one must not, therefore, think that it is without a doctrinal system, or that it is incapable of being formulated into a creed. On the contrary, nearly all who have joined this movement belong to one denomination or other. While they demand evangelical liberty for themselves, they freely grant it, without hurling anathemas to others who may differ from them on minor points.

A third feature of this theology is its *very practical tendency*. In Germany as well as England it is beginning to be thoroughly understood that practical and available men are quite as much needed as educated theologians. Our age is severely practical, and measures the value of a principle by its results. He who would aspire to a worthy leadership among men must know how to stay and sway the course of events. Theological squabbling and hair-splitting will not answer.

Piety and learning must produce practical results in deeds of mercy. It was not the learned Pharisee nor the orthodox Levite, but the good Samaritan who saved the life of the man who fell among the thieves.

This evangelical theology in Germany is remarkable for the wealth of learning and painstaking labor which it employs to get at clearer ideas on the mighty problems of religion, while their Anglo-Saxon brethren are taking the lead in practical benevolences. The German is the miner who digs down into the depths of the earth to bring up the crude ore which the Anglo-Saxon smelts and converts into machines that move the world. The German bores the artesian well, and then delights in the beautiful play of the waters; while the Anglo-Saxon dams them, makes them irrigate the dry places, and change the barren desert into a blooming garden. Corresponding to this national trait, we find that practical theology has reached a very high state of development in England and America, both as regards an excellent literature as well as the objective results in its public charities and home mission work.

Incited by the example of their Anglo-Saxon brethren, the Germans have entered this practical field with a commendable zeal. The final abundant proof of this is not only in their manifold benevolences, but, what is more remarkable for Germany, in the literature of the last decade. Practical theology in all its forms is ably treated, and live issues, current abuses, social, political, and ecclesiastical, necessary reforms, methods, and experiments, are treated with a fullness and thoroughness which command our admiration. The believing German theologian will always remain more or less of an investigator, and we are glad of it. True, some of them, impatient at the slow fulfillment of their biblical realism, are having chiliastic dreams, and weaving fine-spun theories on the spiritual corporeality of Christ; but, upon the whole, the evangelical theology of Germany has taken a decidedly *practical turn.* Young Germany, with the Bible in one hand, a thorough education in the other, and Jesus Christ in the heart, has planted itself with these weapons right in the midst of the people, and is bravely fighting for the final victory. To-day practical theology is virtually taking the first rank in the whole Protestant-orthodox world. Christian Evidences, important as it may

seem, is not now getting the same amount of attention which it received two decades ago. The duties of the present are too urgent, for evangelical theology to give the witticisms of an Ingersoll or the new discoveries of a Darwin much attention. It sees that enough time has been spent to equip the ship and make it seaworthy, and, therefore, it boldly steers for the deep to accomplish its purpose. It is fully convinced of the fact that the time has now come when, with the testimony concerning Christ supported by science and by faith, it were folly to stop and answer the thousand-and-one objections which may be urged against Christianity. Now is the time to push forward aggressively if permanent results of real value are to be achieved.

This practical tendency, together with personal faith, has done a great deal toward drawing the different denominations nearer to each other, out of which has come the Alliance. There was a common ground upon which they could meet as brothers, and a common foe who could be conquered only by a union of all the forces; and so differences were set aside, barriers broken down, mutual approaches made, and, as a result, Christian fraternity followed. Such an alliance must develop gradually; diplomatic negotiations cannot bring it about; it grows out of a mutual understanding and a mutual respect for each other, in which both the differences and the agreements come to light. Spiritual unity does not require outward uniformity. To have brought about a spiritual confederation of believers is one of the grand results of the practical tendency of the evangelical theology of to-day.

It is going to be the theology of the future. Negation ends with nihilism, and confessionalism ends with lifeless formalism. Neither of these movements have a future as a theology. Indeed they do not deserve the name. The future belongs to the theology which is founded upon a true knowledge, born of a living faith, centering around our Lord Jesus Christ, whose active charities are as wide as the world; such a healthy, spiritual, living, evangelical orthodoxy, which is in full sympathy with every thing human, and ready to recognize the divine in whatever form it may be revealed—such a theology has a long lease on life; for it is anchored on Him of whom it is written: "Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given

him a name which is above every name: that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

ART. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Reviews.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN AND ORIENTAL JOURNAL, October, 1882. (Chicago, Ill.)—1. Native Races of Columbia, S. A.; by E. G. Barney. 2. The Cubit of the Ancients; by Charles Whittlesey. 3. Palæolithic Man in America; by L. P. Gratacap. 4. Phonetics of the Kayowe Language; by Albert S. Gatschet. 5. The Sister and Brother: an Iowa Tradition; by J. O. Dorsey. 6. Antiquities of Nicaragua—Origin of the Palenque Builders; by Dr. Earl Flint. 7. The Origin of the Architectural Orders; by Stephen D. Peet. 8. Keltiberian Inscriptions in Spain; by Rev. Wentworth Webster.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1882. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Origin of Civil Authority; by Rev. J. Ming, S.J. 2. Cardinal Newman as a Man of Letters; by John Charles Earle, B.A. 3. Cesare Cantù and the Neo-Guelphs of Italy; by Rev. Bernard O'Reilly, LL.D. 4. The Attitude of Society Toward Religion; by Arthur Featherstone Marshall, B.A. 5. American Freethinking. 6. Superior Instruction in Our Colleges; by Rev. Aug. J. Thebaud, S.J. 7. Labor Discontent; by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. 8. The Coming Transit of Venus; by Rev. J. M. Degni, S.J. 9. England's Latest Conquest. 10. Irish Crime and its Causes; by John MacCarthy.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, November, December, 1882. (Cincinnati.)—1. Thomas Aquinas; by the late Rev. Richard M. Nott. 2. Comments on Matthew xvi, 16–18; by Rev. David Foster Estes. 3. The Free State of Tephricé; by L. P. Brockett, M.D. 4. Historical Proofs of the Soul's Immortality; by Rev. Lewis M. Ayer. 5. Our Debt to the Huguenots; or, What we Owe to French Protestantism; by Rev. J. N. Williams. 6. As to a Millennium; by Rev. H. A. Sawtelle, D.D. 7. The Sin Unto Death and Prayer; by C. E. W. Dobbs, D.D. 8. The Rise of the Use of Pouring and Sprinkling for Baptism; by Rev. Norman Fox.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, October, 1882. (Andover.)—1. The End of Luke's Gospel and the Beginning of the Acts: Two Studies;—by Theodore D. Woolsey, D.D., LL.D. 2. The Development of Monotheism among the Greeks; by Dr. Edward Zeller; translated from the German by Edwin D. Mead. 3. The Trial of Christ: A Diatessaron with Dissertations; by Henry C. Vedder. 4. Positivism as a Working System; by Rev. F. H. Johnson. 5. The Epistle to the Romans in the Revised Version; by Rev. R. D. C. Robbins. 6. Dr. Dorner's Position with Regard to Probation After Death; by Rev. William Henry Cobb.

CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY QUARTERLY, October, 1882. (New York.)—1. Anniversary Address; by Pres. Charles F. Deems, D.D. 2. The Validation of Knowledge; by Prof. Henry N. Day, D.D. 3. Christ and Our Century; by Rev. A. H. Bradford. 4. The Duality of Mind and Brain; by Prof. Noah K. Davis, LL.D. 5. Nature, the Supernatural, etc.; by Prof. George T. Ladd, D.D. 6. God and Man Mutually Visible: by Howard Crosby, D.D. 7. Proceedings of the Institute.

CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1882. (Columbia, Mo.)—1. Baccalaureate Sermon; by M. Rhodes, D.D. 2. Exegeses of John xvi, 8: Mission of the Spirit; by Elder G. R. Hand. 3. The Alleged Cruelties of the Old Testament; by Prof. J. W. M'Garvey. 4. Inspiration; by Elder H. W. B. Myrick. 5. The Name Christian and Pres. Pendleton's Essay; by Elder B. U. Watkins. 6. Simplicity of the Gospel; by W. J. Barbee, A.M., M.D. 7. The Question Settled; by H. Christopher, A.M., M.D. 8. Our Altar of Incense; by N. S. Haynes. 9. Reflections on a Pagan Picture of Primitive Christianity; by Robert T. Mathews, A.M.

CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1882. (Lebanon, Tenn.)—1. Holiness; by J. W. Poindexter, D.D. 2. Rev. Thomas C. Anderson. D.D.; by S. G. Burney, D.D. 3. Japan and the Japanese; by C. H. Bell, D.D. 4. Faith; by Rev. J. T. A. Henderson. 5. Studies in Christian Evidence; by S. H. Buchanan, D.D. 6. One Aspect of the Atonement; by Rev. W. C. Logan.

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, October, 1882. (Gettysburg.)—1. The Strength of Young Men; by M. Valentine, D.D. 2. A Monophysitic Confession; translated by Prof. George H. Schodde, Ph.D. 3. The Old Matin and Vesper Service of the Lutheran Church; by Rev. Edward T. Horn, A.M. 4. Mission Work and Prophecy: A translation from the German of Prof. Franz Delitsch in "Saat auf Hoffnung;" by Rev. P. C. Croll, A.M. 5. The Lutheran Church in Ulster County, N. Y.; by Rev. William Hull. 6. The Salvation Army: Its Methods and Lessons; by Prof. C. A. Stork, D.D. 7. A Glance at Modern Missions; by Rev. William K lly. 8. Ecclesiastical Quarterlies in the United States; by Rev. Matthias Sheeleigh, A.M.

NEW ENGLANDER, September, 1882. (New Haven.)—1. The Importance and the Method of Bible Study; by Prof. C. J. H. Ropes. 2. Some Honest Doubts about the Supposed Only Scriptural Ground for Divorce; by Rev. I. E. Dwinell. 3. The Historic Religions of India—Buddhism; by Rev. C. W. Clapp. 4. The Real School Contest in Germany; by Prof. Edward Hungerford. 5. Liberty of Man, Woman, and Child in Unchristian Lands; by W. F. Crafts. 6. Les Basques; by J. Wentworth Webster; translated by John Davenport Wheeler. 7. Progress in Psychology; by Rev. E. Janes.

November, 1882.—1. Why did the Pilgrim Fathers come to New England? by Edwin D. Mead. 2. Emerson's Relation to Christ and Christianity; by Rev. C. S. Walker. 3. Provision and Method of Salvation; by Rev. L. O. Brastow. 4. Hickok's Mental Science; by Prof. C. E. Garman. 5. A Chapter in the Religious History of Italy; by Rev. J. B. Chase. 6. Les Basques; by J. Wentworth Webster; translated by John Davenport Wheeler. 7. Professor Bowne's Metaphysics; by J. P. Gordy. 8. Non-competitive Economics; by Prof. J. B. Clark.

January, 1883.—1. Spiritism a Scientific Question: An Answer to Professor Wundt's Open Letter; by Dr. H. Ulrici; translated by Rev. J. B. Chase. 2. Conditions of Belief; by Rev. Burdett Hart. 3. Swedenborg as a Theologian and a Seer: by Rev. J. Brainerd Thrall. 4. Darwin and Darwinism; by Rev. J. M. Whiton. 5. The Preservation of the Classic Texts; by Prof. A. G. Hopkins. 6. St. Thomas Aquinas; or, Scholastic Philosophy in Modern Theology; by Austin Bierbower. 7. Herbert Spencer's Data of Ethics; by Rev. A. C. Sewall. 8. The Pilgrim Line of Theological Progress; by Rev. George Mooar, D.D. 9. Saint Luke: Physician, Painter, and Poet; by Hon. Frederick J. Kingsbury. 10. A Popular Fallacy; by Rev. F. H. Burdick.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, September, 1882. (New York.)—1 Political Assessments; by Dorman B. Eaton. 2. Oaths in Legal Proceedings; by Judge Edward A. Thomas. 3. Tornadoes and their Causes; by T. B. Maury. 4. Architecture in America; by Clarence Cook. 5. Constitutional Protection of Property Rights; by A. G. Sedgwick. 6. Earth-Burial and Cremation; by Augustus G. Cobb. 7. The Geneva Award and the Ship-Owners; by J. F. Manning.

October, 1882.—1. The Coming Revolution in England: by H. M. Hyndman. 2. The Morally Objectionable in Literature; by O. B. Frothingham. 3. Recent

Discoveries at Troy; by Dr. Henry Schliemann. 4. Political Bosses: by Senator John I. Mitchell. 5. Safety in Railway Travel; by Prof. George L. Vose. 6. The Protection of Forests; by Prof. Charles S. Sargent.

November, 1882.—1. English Views of Free Trade; by John Welsh. 2. Disorder in Court-Rooms; by Judge Joseph Neilson. 3. A Problem for Sociologists; by Dr. William A. Hammond. 4. The Industrial Value of Woman; by Julia Ward Howe. 5. Advantages of the Jury System: by Judge Dwight Foster. 6. Safety in Theaters; by Steele Mackaye. 7. The Pretensions of Journalism; by Rev. George T. Rider. 8. The Suppression of Vice; by Anthony Comstock, O. B. Frothingham, and Rev. Dr. J. M. Buckley.

PRINCETON REVIEW, November, 1882. (New York.)—1. Wages; by William G. Sumner. 2. The Theological Renaissance of the Nineteenth Century; by Prof. Allen. 3. Great Britain, America, and Ireland; by Goldwin Smith, D.C.L. 4. The Education of the Will; by G. Stanley Hall, Ph.D. 5. The Scottish Philosophy as Contrasted with the German: by President James M'Cosh. 6. Tariff Revision; by David A. Wells, LL.D., D.C.L.

January, 1883.—1. Revision of the Tariff; by David A. Wells, LL.D., D.C.L. 2. An Early American Version of the Scriptures; by Prof. Francis Bowen. 3. Disfranchisement for Crime; by James Fairbanks Colby. 4. The Theological Renaissance of the Nineteenth Century: by Prof. Allen. 5. Art and Ethics; by Henry J. Van Dyke, Jun. 6. The Latest Irish Legislation and its Principles; by Sheldon Amos, LL.D.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, October, 1882. (Nashville, Tenn.)—1. Attitudes of Atheism; by the Editor. 2. The Work of the Ministry; by Rev. S. W. Cope. 3. Miley's Atonement in Christ; by Rev. J. C. Allen. 4. The Genesis of Knowledge. 5. Art and Woman; by Rev. M. Callaway, D.D. 6. Macaulay's Essays: by J. C. Hinton, A.M. 7. Rev. A. L. P. Green, D.D.: by Rev. J. B. Walker, D.D. 8. Meteoric Visitations; by A. Means, D.D., LL.D. 9. Local Preachers; by Rev. David Wilson. 10. American Statesmen: Alexander Hamilton; by the Editor.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, October, 1882. (Boston.)—1 The Catacombs of Rome: The Pervading Spirit of their Teachings; by Rev. A. B. Grosh. 2. Critical and Exegetical Notes on Certain Controverted Texts of Scripture: by O. D. Miller, D.D. 3. Literary Remains of Emanuel Deutsch; by Chaplain G. Collins, U.S A. 4. Theories of Skepticism—Pantheism; by William Tucker, D.D. 5. The Continent of Atlantis; by Rev. J. P. M'Lean. 6. The Universalist Origin of American Sunday-Schools: by Rev. Richard Eddy. 7. Eternal Regret; by Rev. Stephen Crane. 8. Other World Order; by G. T. Flanders, D.D.

PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, October, 1882. (New York.)—1. Lyman Beecher on the Atonement—Its Nature and Extent; by Prof. E. D. Morris, D.D. 2. "The Light of Asia;" by the Rev. Robert D. Wilson. 3. The Sabbath in the Cuneiform Records; by Prof. Francis Brown, A.M. 4. The Logical Methods of Prof. Kuenen: by Prof. Willis J. Beecher, D.D. 5. The Origin of Theism; by Prof. Francis L. Patton, D.D., LL.D.

Prof. Brown's article on the "Sabbath in the Cuneiform Records" is an interesting production by a learned specialist on Assyriology. But, though the work of an expert, and valuable from the facts it presents, he expresses opinions for which he favors us with no proofs, if he has proofs.

We still retain the old-fashioned view that the Sabbath is a divine institution established at the close of the creative week. "The Sabbath was made for man;" and man's first living week, as antitype of the great divine week, closed with the

first Sabbath. We suppose that the constitution of man requires the week and the Sabbath, and that the seven-day work of God is a conception formed very much to authenticate the seven-day work of man to be closed with a sacred rest. That sublime Psalm of the Creation, Gen. i, we can easily imagine, was chanted in the antediluvian Church where Enoch, seventh from Adam, was one time preacher. Hence the cosmogenic conception and the decalogue are counterparts of each other. The Sabbath, being "made for man," was based in the constitution for whom the weekly labor and the Sabbath rest are a duty and a blessing. And thence seven became a sacred number, founded in the nature of man and recognized by God. That this number spread among the various races of men was natural, and no wonder we find it in Babylonia.

We quote Prof. Brown:

In the very first section of the Book of Genesis (ii, 2) God is represented as resting on the seventh day, and in Exodus (xx, 11) the command to observe the Sabbath is based upon God's so resting. Now it became evident, as soon as men were able to study the fundamental notions of the Babylonians and Assyrians with the help of contemporary documents, that the number *seven* was one of great significance to them. Oppert found in an astronomical tablet a connection between the sun, moon, and five planets, and the days of the week; and Schrader argued at length for the week of seven days as original with the Babylonians. But still earlier than this George Smith had made an important discovery. He says: "In the year 1869 I discovered, among other things, a curious religious calendar of the Assyrians, in which every month is divided into four weeks, and the seventh days, or 'Sabbaths,' are marked out as days on which no work should be undertaken." In another place he tells us, more explicitly, that the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th days are described by an ideogram equivalent to *šulu* or *šulum*, "Hebrew שַׁלְוָה and שָׁלוֹם, meaning 'rest.' The calendar contains lists of works forbidden to be done on these days, which evidently correspond to the Sabbaths of the Jews."

In 1875 appeared the fourth volume of the "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia," containing some calendar texts, (pl. 32 and 33,) and in connection with these Sayce took occasion to confirm the statements of Smith, and gave a translation of the requirements for the seventh day. Here we find, also, the first mention of Boscawen's discovery that *šabattu* is in one place explained as *umi nuḫ libbi*, "a day of rest of heart." In the following year Sayce published a translation of the whole hemerology, or description of the days, of the intercalary month *Elul*, calling special

attention to the restrictions imposed for each seventh day. Since then there have been repeated allusions to the "Babylonian Sabbath," and some employment of it by a too hasty Apologetics.—Pp. 688, 689.

For some reason not clearly disclosed the professor sets himself to sever the apparent connection between the Babylon seven and the primeval. It seems a useless labor. He merely shows subordinate differences; but who imagines that in the course of ages and racial changes a clean identity would be preserved? That the number *seven* among the antediluvians was transferred to a variety of sacred groups of objects, so that there were weeks of things as well as weeks of days, is abundantly narrated in Genesis. It seems then perfectly a natural result that it should be found in Babylon as follows:

It is quite certain that this number appears among the Babylonians in different connections with such frequency as to prove that a special significance was attached to it. The mention of seven "Planetary Gods," of seven Evil Spirits, the use of seven as a multiplier to express many sins, the occurrence of "seven days" three times in the Chaldean account of the flood—these are well-attested and ancient examples.—P. 690.

Nor are we quite ready to indorse such reasoning as this:

We are nowhere informed that the command to keep the Sabbath was laid upon man at the creation, and there is *nothing irreligious in the supposition that the seven-day week was the result of lunar observations for the Hebrews as well as for other peoples.* In the presence of historical proof that the *Hebrew Sabbath owed its origin*, as a regular institution, to Shemitic or Akkadian *heathen*, the soundest faith need suffer no shock.—Pp. 696, 697.

To attribute the Jewish Sabbath to lunar observation, when the decalogue assigns its origin to the divine creative week, seems truly heroic. Nor are we ready to accept such a statement as this:

It is a groundless assertion to declare that the Babylonian seventh-day observance points back to a primitive revelation.—P. 697.

On the whole, the professor's article seems to us to be a regular battle between his facts and his conclusions.

English Reviews.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1882. (London.)—1. Recent Japanese Progress. 2. The Puritan Element in Longfellow. 3. The Hittites and the Bible. 4. Bach and Handel. 5. The Poetry of Rossetti. 6. The Situation in Ireland. 7. The Ministry and Parliament.

October, 1882.—1. The Sieges of Rome in the Sixth Century. 2. Is the Church of England a National Church? 3. Incidents of Land and Pleas for Reform. 4. Is the Belief in Miracles Reasonable? 5. Frederick Ritschl. 6. The House of Obrenovitch. 7. The War in Egypt. 8. Songs of the Italian People.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, October, 1882. (New York.)—1. Gardiner's Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I. 2. The Ancient Architecture of India. 3. Sir John Lubbock on Ants and Bees. 4. Mozley's Reminiscences. 5. Inland Navigation. 6. Shelley and Mary. 7. Natural Religion. 8. The Egyptian Rebellion.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW. October, 1882. (New York.)—1. River Pollution. 2. Count Struensee and Queen Caroline Mathilde. 3. Socialism. 4. The Poetry of Mrs. E. B. Browning. 5. France: The Chamber, the Gambetta Ministry, and its Successors. 6. The Jubilee of the First Reform Act. 7. The British Association for the Advancement of Science. 8. Parliamentary Procedure.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1882. (New York.)—1. Henry Erskine and His Times. 2. The Speaker's Commentary and Canon Cook. 3. Greek Sculpture. 4. Vauban and Modern Sieges. 5. The New Religion of Nature. 6. The Fish Supply of London. 7. Oxford Under the Puritans. 8. Ten Years of Italian Progress. 9. Dr. Pusey and the Church. 10. The Justification of Lord Beaconsfield's Policy.

A work on "Natural Religion" by the author of "Ecce Homo" is a subject of leading articles in the Reviews of the quarter. "Ecce Homo" appeared seventeen years ago, excited great attention, and greatly divided public opinion. All admitted its great ability, while one class condemned its heterodoxy; whilst others, without according with its outside stand-point, found thoughts evolved in it of great value to the Christian argument. To this last class our Quarterly belonged, and our notice aimed at a brief development of its logical results. Sadly has the author receded, under the influence of scientific conclusions, not only from Christ but from God. His position is, in fact, blank atheism; yet the purpose of his book is to find a substitute for God to which he may transfer the name of God, and so claim to be a theist and a maintainer of a "religion." That substitute, which is henceforth to be God, is the Universe, with its matter and its forces. The awe we feel for its stupendousness is worship, the benefits we derive from it work love, and the science and the civilization that result complete the sum-total of a full religion. The "London Quarterly" well

replies that religion requires a personal object of worship, and cannot take up with a mechanical bulk of matter for a God:

We say that it is not a natural religion, but the very reverse. If the history of religion teaches any thing, it is that it is natural to man to look above Nature to some mysterious Power beyond it, toward which his religious emotions may ascend—some Being whom he can believe to be conscious of him and interested in him, and to whom, therefore, he may utter his aspirations and desires with a hope of obtaining sympathy and help. When we look within ourselves and listen to the voice of our own hearts, we find them confirming this lesson of history, by refusing to bestow reverence and worship where sympathy is out of the question, and no response is possible to their emotions of desire, faith, and trust. All real experience attests that nothing is more contrary to human nature, nothing more unnatural, than for the living, palpitating, aspiring soul to lavish its religious affections on that which it knows to be nothing better than lifeless matter and unconscious mechanism. There was, indeed, a time when Nature-worship was possible and even natural; but it was only when living, personal, unseen powers were supposed to animate the physical world, and to use its elements and forces as the vehicle of their own manifestation and action. But science, by sweeping away that ancient belief and reducing the conception of Nature to that of a mechanical system governed by invariable laws, has extinguished such worship, and rendered it henceforth impossible. As soon as Nature ceases to be credited with a conscious spirit, responsive to human desire, the worshiper is impelled by the very constitution of his being to turn away from it with disdain, to carry his prayers and longings elsewhere, and to direct them toward some new object which he believes able to hear his cry, and to be touched with his aspirations and wants. "*Le roi est mort, vive le roi*" expresses the inevitable transfer of homage from the dead to the living. We do not, of course, mean that Nature, as expounded by science, ceases to be admirable. Its immensity, its order, its manifold adaptations and relations, its magnificence and beauty, all appeal to the intellectual and æsthetic faculties, in proportion to their development by culture, and are the sources of genuine wonder and delight. But it is not to the *religious* faculty that Nature appeals, until it comes to be regarded as more than a mere physical system, and is understood to be the symbol and veil of a Power greater than itself, whose handiwork or habitation it is, and with whose mysterious presence it is instinct; and hence, in the absence of such a faith, and so long as Nature is viewed with no other eyes than those of science or of taste, it is not possible that the contemplation of it should produce that uplifting of the spirit, that attitude of reverence, that outpouring of desire and reposing of confidence, which religion claims for the object of real worship. If then, by a stretch of language, the sentiment inspired by mere

Nature is allowed to be styled a religion, we must maintain that, so far from deserving the title of "Natural Religion," it is of all religions the least natural to mankind, the least akin to their mental constitution, or in unison with the voice of their hearts. —Pp. 225, 226.

And the atheistic "Westminster" thus responds to this sad result in pessimism:

As we read, we ask, *Is* there a Power, not Matter, nor Force —but a form of being, infinite, eternal—one called Nature, yet higher than Nature; or is not Nature the Nature we know, multiform, enigmatic, fallacious, and even cruel?—P. 247.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1882. (London.) — 1. William Rufus. 2. Siberia. 3. Two American Divines. 4. Hofmann on the Epistle to the Hebrews. 5. The Jewish Question. 6. The Latest Assault on the Fourth Gospel. 7. The Revised Form of Baptism. 8. The Author of "Ecce Homo" on Natural Religion.

In a notice (p. 217) of this Review of a work entitled "The Fire-Baptism of all Flesh," by S. Borton Brown, B.A., the learned editor says: "There is no express statement in this volume as to the nationality of the author, but 'his speech bewrayeth him.' The frequent use of the word 'transfigured,' in a sense not usual with English writers, and some other peculiarities of style, indicate that he is an American; and he is also a Universalist. Of course there is nothing in his nationality to be ashamed of."—P. 217.

Of course it is a very generous concession that our "nationality" is "nothing to be ashamed of;" especially as we had no choice in the selection of our "nationality." We were not asked before born; and "we might have been a Russian," "or a Prussian," instead of an Amer-i-can. But we greatly doubt whether Mr. Brown is an American; as we are assured by the highest authority, Dr. Thayer, of the "Universalist Quarterly," that "there is no such person as S. Borton Brown, B.A., among our clergy; and even if he were a layman, it is hardly possible I should not know something about his book. It is wholly unlikely that an American Universalist would publish his book in London." We also venture a doubt whether the editor knows as much about the distinguishing peculiarities of the "speech" of the countrymen of Lowell and Longfellow as he imagines. We are tolerably well read in English literature, having even in and from our boyhood been familiar with the best authors from Queen Anne's age to the present, and we are

also slightly versed in American literature; but we are yet to learn that the word "transfigured" is used differently in these two literatures. If the free use of an Americanism distinguishes an American, then, singularly and happily enough, the editor is himself an American! For, four pages later, he twice, in two successive sentences, uses an Americanism. The sentences are: "Thirteen ten minutes' sermons or sermonettes of excellent quality. We should be sorry if the sermonette were to become the model of English preaching."—P. 222.

Now this word "sermonette" is an Americanism. This we *know*, because it is a word of *our own personal invention*. It is one of what Dr. Buckley calls our "jaw-breakers," and what Dr. Bledsoe styled our "Whedonese." Three or four years ago a discussion arose in our western Methodist papers as to the originator of this word, and two or three early utterers of the word were designated. We sent a postal to the editor of our St. Louis paper informing him that if he would turn to the "Ladies' Repository" for about the year 1854 he would find a brief sermon of ours entitled "The Sacred Test," and headed "A Sermonette." We had the conscious recollection of the origination, and may safely deny its earlier existence. We have since seen the word canonized by use in "The Catholic Mirror." And now it felicitously serves to show that our brother of the "London Quarterly" is an American; which means "a nationality" not "to be ashamed of."

CALCUTTA REVIEW, July, 1882. (Calcutta.)—1. The Aryan Germ; by H. G. Keene. 2. Hindi, Hindustani, and the Behar Dialects; by Syamachurn Gangooly. 3. Some Hindu Songs and Catches from the Villages of Northern India; by R. C. Temple. 4. Antecedents of the Modern Book; by J. W. Sherer. 5. Mandelslo and Thevenot: Their Travels in India; by E. Rehatsek. 6. N.-W. P. Settlements; by J. S. MacIntosh. 7. Phases in the Fortunes of the East India Company; by G. W. Cline, LL.D., F.G.S. 8. Chronicles of the Marava Country; by J. L. W. 9. Modern Researches into the Origin and Early Phases of Civilization; by R. C. Dutt, C.S. 10. A Resumé of the Various Theories Respecting the Maintenance of the Sun's Light and Heat; by John Hardie.

INDIAN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, October, 1882. (Calcutta.)—1. Missionary Letters: III. Siam and the Light of Asia; by Rev. T. S. Wynkoop. 2. Patna, Gaya, and Benares—Buddhism, Hinduism, and Christianity; by the Editor. 3. The Theosophical Society; by Rev. Arthur Theophilus. 4. Swedenborg; by C. E. G. Crawford, Esq. 5. Indian English Churches and Mission Work; by Rev. T. H. Whitamore. 6. The Aborigines and Outcastes of India; by Major Conran. 7. Hindu Caste and its Practical Operation in Travancore; by Rev. S. Mateer.

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1883. First Number.—*Essay*: 1. BRÜCKNER, Composition of the Liturgy in the Eighth Book of the Apostolic Constitutions. 2. KLEINERT, Observations on the Composition of the Liturgy of Clement. 3. SCHULTZ, Religion and Morality in their Co-relation. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. FRANKE, The Galatian Opponents of the Apostle Paul. 2. BÖHL, The Ancient Christian Inscriptions according to the Text of the Septuagint. 3. USTERI, Œcolampadius on Infant Baptism. *Reviews:* 1. ERDMANN'S, The Epistle of James; and BEYSCHLAG, Critical and Exegetical Manual on the Epistle of James; reviewed by Haupt. 2. BÖHL, Christology of the Old Testament; or Exposition of the Most Important Messianic Prophecies; reviewed by KLOSTERMANN. 3. KLOSTERMANN, Corrections in the Usual Exegesis of the Epistle to the Romans; reviewed by M. KÄHLER.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR KIRCHLICHE WISSENSCHAFT. (Journal for Ecclesiastical Science.) 1882. Numbers 7 and 8.—Contents: FRANZ DELITZSCH, The Primitive Mosaic Element in the Pentateuch. ZIMMER, The Codex Vaticanus in the Epistle to the Hebrews. BURKHARDT, New Investigations into Luther's Life. KAWERAN, Comments on Janssen's Life of Luther. ENGELHARDT, Dietrich's Participation in Theological Questions, (1538–1545.) WENDLAND, the Doctrine of the "Ἀποκατάστασις Πάντων." HEUCH, The Official Pastor's Spiritual Care of the Sick. TRANTWETTER, The Nile in the Superstitions and the Customs of the Egyptians.

JAHRBÜCHER FÜR PROTESTANTISCHE THEOLOGIE. 1882. Fourth Number. KUTTNER, The Value of Kant's Critique of Pure Reason for the Present. BAETHGEN, The Critical Worth of the Ancient Translations of the Psalms. WEIFFENBACH, Interpolations to the Introduction of Mark's Gospel. BENRATH, The *Summa* of the Holy Scriptures. BARTH, Tertullian's View of the Apostle Paul and his Relations to the Primitive Apostles. BENRATH, Supplementary Notice to Roselli. LIPSIUS, On the Acts of Paul and Andrew.

In the "Theological Studies" we find an unusual measure of attention to the ancient liturgy on the part of both Brückner and Kleinert; evidently in sympathy with the interest now manifested among German theologians to impart more life and practical effect to the liturgy of the period, which in some regions seems to have become almost a barren machine. Among the rich treasures of the ancient liturgies which have come down from the early centuries of the Christian Church the so-called Clementinian or Apostolic Liturgy, found in the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions, holds in every respect a prominent position. Every thing that makes the study of old liturgies attractive and profitable is here found in rich measure. It not only gives the explanation to a multitude of individual points and questions of ancient Church history, but also shows us the clearest objective picture of the customs and arrangements of divine service; and, what is of more importance, imparts the sense and significance which the Church attached to them. And the fact that they are found in this particular book is a certain guarantee for their high age. The

contents of this book are very rich, but because their disposition is so clear and so well arranged for the various degrees of divine service, there is all the wealth displayed, yet no sense of over fullness.

We refer with very peculiar pleasure to another capital article in the same journal, entitled, "Religion and Morality in their Co-relation." In it the author shows with great force that true religion is in very strict relation to morality, and proves it by numerous illustrations; while he at the same time shows that all false religions are more or less in collusion with immoral aims or results. For every sincere member of the Christian Church religion and morality are conceptions inseparably bound together. All Christian people are alike in the conviction that no individual can be called religious who does not make his life conform to moral laws, and that there is no genuine morality that is not rooted in Christian soil. The Old Testament precepts declare that to be upright means to walk before God; but these two parallel conditions have not always been acknowledged, and are not now absolutely necessary in much of the theology and philosophy of the period, especially among the Germans. We need simply refer to the verdicts of Schleiermacher, Kant, and Fichte in regard to the relations between these two ideas. And the emphatic import of this question to the religious antagonisms of the day may be seen in the attention now paid to the subject in recent publications, namely, Kaftan's "Nature of the Christian Religion," and "The Christian Faith and Human Freedom." According to this zealous and luminous author, religion is a practical affair of the human mind, which reposes on the position which we as living beings assume toward the interests that are working within us. The desire for salvation, security, and life, for which man's own power in his worldly relations offers no satisfaction, seeks its fulfillment through a higher power which controls our temporal life. All religion is originally the desire for this security temporally and eternally. In illustration of his position, and development of his aim, the author goes into a learned and lucid exposition of the history and influence of all false religions on the morality of their adherents, and proves conclusively that the natural or artificial religions have never proved a genial soil for the true morality of a people. Even

the Christian religion, when it is a matter of the State, loses greatly in its moral influence, for it is then the State rather than the Church which executes all religious functions. Thus, the ideas of sin and crime, sacredness and justice, are commingled in a way that mars their true character for a believer. A genuine moral dealing of man to man can only spring from an undefiled religion, and not one which may trace any of its duty directly to the State. The whole tendency of this article is quite salutary at a period when the thinking Christians abroad are more than ever examining the influence of State religion on the masses.

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review.) August, 1882.—1. HOLLARD, Alexander Vinet in his Correspondence. 2. MÉNÉZOG, Schleiermacher's Idea of God. 3. DUPIN DE SAINT ANDRÉ, The Algerian Sahara. And, by the same, Historical Notices. Review of the Month by PRESSENSÉ.

September.—1. L. E., A Primate of Spain before the Inquisition. 2. LOYSON, The Psalm Chanted in the Banquet of the Ten Virgins. 3. MALAN, How Treat the Thesis of Conditional Immortality? Review of the Month by PRESSENSÉ.

October.—1. E. DE PRESSENSÉ. Lecture on the Morality of Interest and the Morality of Obligation. 2. DARTIGUE, The Preaching of Lacordaire. 3. DUPIN DE SAINT ANDRÉ, The Algerian Sahara, (Conclusion.) Literary Chronicle, SABATIER, and Monthly Review by PRESSENSÉ.

Saint André yields to the impulse of his countrymen in treating very largely of the Algerian Sahara in the August and October numbers of the "Review." The French are taking refuge in the "Dark Continent" from all their recent losses both in Europe and at the mouth of the Nile. They very ungracefully give up Egypt only to dive with more vigor into the interior of Africa. Having taken possession of the northern coast pretty well up to the Egyptian line, they now propose entering the interior with a view to utilizing it for national aggrandizement. They do not seem at all abashed by the lamentable failure and sad end of the Flatters expedition, and keep on finding all the consolation they can in their brilliant hope of creating inland seas and constructing railways to the rich regions of Central Africa. And Saint André at least ceases to regard the entrance to the Sahara as inviting. He acknowledges that it is a stern climate for those not born on the soil and acclimated to it. Even the European shivers

there in winter, while the air of summer scorches his lungs. In the greatest heat the thermometer ascends to fearful heights, and the traveler lost in the sands would give a kingdom for a cold bath. But water is very rare south of the Atlas range, as the few torrents that descend from the mountains are soon lost in the sands. Even on the southern portion of the present territory of French Algeria one can journey for ten days without reaching a well.

This indispensable water the French are fast obtaining by sinking Artesian wells, and where they are successful they thus obtain great control over the rude inhabitants and the nomads of the desert, who have an immense respect for men who can draw from the bosom of the earth a jet of pure water that springs forth like a captive delighted to find its liberty. The enthusiasm among the rude natives has at times been touching. In their joy they sacrifice a goat on the border of the well, and invoke on the French the benediction of Allah. Young girls hasten to dance at the festival, and poets sing the birth of the miraculous spring.

Notwithstanding the sad fate of the expedition of Colonel Flatters, the French still hope to construct a line of rail across this Algerian Sahara as far as Timbuctoo, and are largely encouraged in this hope by their success in these Artesian wells; for without water they cannot effect the construction nor run their engines, unless electricity should come to their aid. Indeed, the great questions are fuel and water. And but a few superlatively enthusiastic Frenchmen can even imagine the possibility of laying the rail across a barren and burning desert of which they scarcely as yet know the borders. But Duponchel, chief engineer of roads and bridges, declares that he can go from Algiers to Timbuctoo as easily as from Paris to Tours. But this is not bluster; it is something more though; to the credit of said engineer be it said that these wild words were uttered before, and not after, the total destruction, even to the last man, of the expedition sent out to examine the route and report. One thing seems clear in the present humor of the French nation, and that is, that either in success or failure a good many Frenchmen are destined to leave their bones on the desert before this great object is effected.

Pressensé, in his "Monthly Review," gives a very interesting

account of a reunion in Switzerland of all Protestant Christians in the interest of pure Bible Christianity, in which the French Protestants largely engaged, on the ground that to religious thought there are no boundary lines. And they found in this Helvetian Republic their own troubles in the Church even magnified. The Swiss clergy are remarkable for their virility and cordiality, so that the French visitors found it hard to distinguish them from laymen. Their frankness, theological culture, and delicate mixture of patriotism and piety, were very noted and remarkable. And this judgment of Pressensé is gratifying and encouraging; for these men have to struggle with a disease that seems almost incurable.

The system of union of Church and State is fraught with peril for conscientious and ardent Christians. The radical rule seems to lead to violent results obtained more through policy than religion. The political platform rules the Church more and more; and all religious guarantees disappear in the presence of universal suffrage concerning spiritual things. The *vox populi* is no longer the *vox Dei* when it commands the suppression of the Apostles' Creed in public worship. And the proposition to make baptism optional before entrance into the Church is very likely to be adopted by the Synod. The evangelical element in the Church is alarmed at this situation, and feels that it must soon renounce the connection between Church and State if matters go on thus. As yet the two parties meet in the same Synod, but this cannot last when their tendencies are so diametrically opposite. The most practical debate of the session was a grave indication of this; it was nothing less than the confirmation of all children at a fixed age, and their introduction as Church members *nolens volens*. The scruples of the evangelical wing of the Church are very strong in this matter, and the same trouble came up in the recent official Synod of the French Reformed Church. This gathering in of the multitude in flocks is so distasteful to many of the Swiss pastors that they have rebelled against it, and are likely to get into trouble on that account, as the State has the political right to order them to carry out the ordinances according to State law, and the ungodly find quite a pleasure in forcing them so to do. All the Swiss assemblies have agitated this question, turn by turn, and it now reaches the grand Synod. The very

fact that these men needed defense was humiliating, but they received it in full measure from the French pastors of Basel and Neufchatel, who threw a flood of light on the evil and demoralizing results of this custom. It is very clear that Christian conscience will not much longer tolerate a custom that puts all religion in peril. These same suffering Churches are also discussing the best means of retaining the benefit of Bible-reading in the Churches. Mark! in the Churches, not the schools. Where such a discussion is necessary, it is high time to say to the State, Hands off of the Churches!

ART. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

A REVIVAL AMONG THE WALDENSES.

THE Waldenses have of late displayed an unusual amount of activity, apparently spurred on by the presence and labors in Italy of the various missionaries from other lands. For years there has been no such significant synod as that recently held in Torre Pelice, the seat of their most important ecclesiastical institutions, at the entrance to their valleys. This vigor seemed to be anticipated by their friends and sympathizers from without, as they were favored by the visits of fraternal delegates from other Church bodies in larger numbers than ever before.

England and Scotland, their old friends, were well represented; France sent some members of the Reformed Church, and from Switzerland came a greeting from the Society for the Observance of the Sabbath. The German Evangelical Association of Gustavus Adolphus, the Protestants of Austria, the Moravians from Herrnhut, and the Presbyterians on the Cape of Good Hope, were all there by proxy. The "Waldenses of the North," the suffering Christians from Livonia on the Baltic, sent also their greeting to the "Waldenses of the South." Some of these brought also very substantial aid, namely, the delegate from the Cape $2,500, and their Scotch friends raised their gift for the year to about $100,000. All this kindness so delighted the Waldenses that they devoted three days to the hearing of messages of sympathy and fraternity from abroad.

When they finally reached their regular routine business it appeared that every congregation had an encouraging report to make of their religious condition, and some were peculiarly gratifying. The Church in Naples reported a collection of two dollars and fifty cents per member for the year, and hopes by next year to be able to assemble in its own chapel. There are now sixty-six pastors engaged in active work, and five are on the emeritus list. In their theological school at Florence

eleven students are now pursuing their studies, and eleven others are engaged in advanced studies in Scotland, England, France, and Germany. The pastor from Milan reported a grant of three thousand francs from the Minister of Instruction to his congregation for the purpose of finishing the façade of their church. But the most significant move of the synod for this year was the resolve to enter on the work of missions to the heathen. The delegate of the French Missionary Society to the Bassutos, in South Africa, had made a tour in the valleys of the Waldenses and awakened their interest in the mission cause. In consequence of this the pastor of the Waldensian chapel in Nice had resolved to devote himself to the work, and appeared before the synod to obtain permission to enter the field. His simple and fervent words, as he explained the importance of missionary effort, were received with great enthusiasm, and by a unanimous vote he was granted a leave of absence for said purpose. The Waldensian Synod placed him, for the beginning, at the disposition of the Parisian Missionary Society, to become thus initiated into the methods, and be sustained in the incipiency of the work. He will go with his wife to the already established mission to the Bassutos, while the French missionary at that post will go on further, and establish a new post on the Zambesi. The foreign delegates present gave a hearty Amen to this resolution, and bade the Waldenses God speed, and a blessing in this new Christian enterprise.

THE FRENCH IN MADAGASCAR.

The French seem quite inclined to rule or ruin in Madagascar, and have for some time been nourishing a dangerous conflict with the government that may interfere very much with the important Protestant missionary work on that island. The claims of France on Madagascar are quite old. Louis XIII., in 1642, placed the island under his own protection, first with the name of Ile Dauphine, and later as Oriental France. Cardinal Richelieu fitted out a French trading company with rich privileges, and took possession of the island as a central point for French rule in India. They established forts and factories on the coast, but could not penetrate into the interior. Under the guidance of the famous minister, Colbert, the plantations founded on the coast were very flourishing. But a general rebellion among the natives against this foreign invasion and usurpation rooted out the French intruders from the entire island except the single Fort Dauphin on the southern point. This uprising of the natives brought things to a standstill for a long time. In the eighteenth century renewed efforts were made at colonization, but they all failed. In the year 1815, at the Congress of Vienna, the English took possession of Madagascar as a dependence of the island of Mauritius, and it required long negotiations before France again acquired a foothold there. In the meanwhile English merchants had taken possession, and exerted great influence there. In 1829 the French tried to drive them out by a military expedition, which was a total failure. Since that time the French have endeavored to undermine

the English, by obtaining influence over the Hovas rulers, but the present queen seems to wish to have nothing to do with them, since she has accepted the good offices of the English missionaries, and introduced some astonishing reforms, and virtually adopted Christianity as the belief of her people. In order to counteract this work, the French have sent the Jesuit missionaries out there in great force, and it is these who are making all the present trouble. The people and the princes are displeased with their methods, and wish them away, and they in turn appeal to their government for support. Five French vessels are hovering around the coast threatening the capital, and landing at certain ports and running up their flag. The queen is appealing to England for protection, as are the English missionaries, and it is likely that the visit of an embassador to both these courts will result in measures of relief to the queen and people of the island.

GERMAN MISSION WORK IN CHINA.

The Germans are renewing their interest in Chinese missions, which were formerly so popular among them, under the influence of the wonderful travels of Gutzlaff and his thrilling accounts of his experiences among that people. Wangemann, one of their missionary magnates, calls their attention to the fact that so much has been done there since 1850, and that, in many respects, the land is now ripe for earnest work. He asserts that the prospects are so good for a plentiful harvest that German Christians can no longer treat the fact with indifference; they have now no choice. If they fall back and leave the entire work to others, they will be guilty of willful neglect of duty. In 1872 the German Missionary Society of Barmen, the headquarters of a certain phase of Protestant work, established a mission among the Hakkas, and they now need means to carry it on further. They bought a house in Canton from the Rhenish Missionary Society, and sent assistants. The sum needed for the support of this station the present year will be about $20,000, and not the tenth part of this has yet been raised. Two associations for Chinese missions in Berlin and Stettin, which had nearly suspended their labors, are now resuming their activity, and, among other measures to stir up the people, are publishing a journal entitled "The Gospel in China." Thus far the success of this project has not corresponded to the importance of the undertaking, but still its friends hope on, and will not give up the cause. A new impetus will doubtless be given to it by the late increase of German trade in China and Japan. During the last few years the Germans have increased their commercial interest in the eastern seas, and are now sending their war vessels thither to protect the many Germans flocking there in various capacities. And Germany is even supplying war vessels to the Chinese from her own shipyards on the Baltic. This commercial activity will naturally reflect on the religious community, and be an inducement for renewed effort. The adoption of the Hakka mission by a North German society may produce the effect desired, and create an enthusiasm among the people

of Christian circles to rise to the level of their duty. They certainly have every thing ready for them. The clearing of the forest is over, and the tilling of the fields has begun; if they now cannot come forward and at least keep pace with their commerce they will be lukewarm indeed.

THE MILITARY CONGREGATIONS IN ITALY.

This is the peculiar title of a very interesting work being carried on in Rome, and likely to be extended to other points in Italy, among the soldiers of the Italian standing army. It began ten years ago, soon after the occupation of the new government with Rome as the capital, and in many respects it has been blessed above other Christian work among Italian Protestants. An Italian soldier, by name Capellini, was brought to see the beauty of the Gospel by fortunately finding an old, half-destroyed Bible. He soon after began to call his fellow-soldiers to religious meetings for the purpose of Bible reading and prayer, and in a little while he succeeded in organizing an independent military congregation, which has gone on growing from year to year, until it has now become quite an institution among the soldiers of the regiments garrisoned at Rome. As fast as the discharged soldiers leave, new recruits come in, and thus he has always a new community on which to operate, while his former men go to their respective homes all over the land, and thus carry the seeds of the Gospel with them. It is this fact which makes the work a missionary effort of the most effective kind. The growth of his congregation induced Capellini to accept for his work the chapel of the Wesleyan Mission Church, where it has received aid and encouragement from the workers in that enterprise. But the erection of new garrisons far from the center of the city has made it less convenient for the soldiers to gather there, and it has been found necessary to construct a new chapel in the neighborhood of the soldiers' homes. Capellini has undertaken this with a courageous heart, and decided on a site and the size of his church. The entire expense will be about forty thousand dollars, and to obtain this he is making a call on the Protestant Churches of Europe generally, besides what he may obtain in Rome proper. The soldiers themselves can do but little because of the meagerness of their pay, but they will certainly do their share. The army chaplains of Protestant Germany have undertaken the work of collecting funds in their territory, and will, without doubt, do something good; and Switzerland and the Protestants of France are expected to take part in the work. The most aid will probably come from England and Scotland, especially the latter country, which has so distinguished itself for its generous aid to mission work in Italy since the whole country has been open to the Bible. That the work will pay is certain, for each soldier who has learned to read the Bible will go home to read it to his little community.

Art. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Decidedly the finest Missionary Magazine published in Europe is that under the control of Dr. Warneck as editor-in-chief, assisted by Drs. Grundemann and Christlieb. It is a monthly, begun in 1872, and is distinguished from other magazines of Germany in taking a broad and scientific ground, and being the special organ of no body or work. It therefore bears the title of "Universal Missionary Journal," and is fully meeting the measure of its promise given at the outset. It occupies a sort of neutral ground, but is pervaded with a living Christian spirit, so that the dozen regular contributors to its pages all seem to work together as one man. In its historical articles it leads us to the origin of Missions throughout the world, and gives a quarterly report of statistics and work. There are, then, treatises on so-called missionary geography, on the progress made in the various languages, giving them form and worth for religious efforts, and on the characteristics and traits of the various nationalities among which the missionaries are laboring. Quite an important section is devoted to the criticism of new works that appear in the mission cause. It has thus gained so high a scientific reputation that the theologians cannot afford to do without it, and some of the universities, such as Berlin, Bonn, and Halle, have been by it induced to make the investigation of missions and the study of missionary procedure a special branch of labor. Thus, missionary workers in Germany cannot afford to do without it, and the friends of missions throughout the world always find something to attract their special attention.

The question about the ten lost tribes does not yet seem to be exhausted. The latest work on this subject has recently appeared in Madrid, from the hands of Santiago Perez Junquera, who bases his work on an old publication of the year 1650. The author of this book was Menassah Ben Israel, a Jew of Amsterdam, who gives the story of a co-religionist in the following terms: In 1641, a Spanish Jew, named Levy, journeyed in that part of South America known as Ecuador. In crossing the Cordilleras, his attendant Indians complained of the severity of the Spaniards, and expressed the confident hope that a people hidden in the forests would break the cruel yoke. Levy followed the hint given him by his guides, and, after a while, found this isolated folk, and was convinced that they were Jews. He made himself known as such when there. Indians greeted him as a brother, and led him to a great river, where he found a settlement of people repeating Hebrew Bible verses, and bearing the names of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Reuben, etc., and they finally confided to him the principal events of their history. God had led them, through signs and wonders, into the land, where they were at first cruelly treated by the Indians, but over these they gained such signal victories in battle that the natives looked upon them as protected by a higher power, and at last awarded them a retired province, where

they might live unmolested until the time when they would come forth as the rulers of the world. This strange story seemed to interest the curious in this matter, for the book has quite a sale among those who would still pursue the fate of the lost tribes, and find them in this apparent remnant of a nation that has, in its turn, also disappeared.

The recent census in the German Empire confirms the rapid growth of the Protestant Church and the comparatively slow increase of the Catholics. In Prussia proper, however, and some of the minor States, the contrary is the fact. In the whole imperial domain there were, in 1866, of Protestants, about 24.000,000; in 1871, 25,000,000, and in 1880, 28,000,000. The increase of the Protestants would have been very much larger, however, in various provinces of North Germany, were it not for the massive emigration that has taken place from those lands. In Prussia, in 1880, there were, of Protestants, 17,645,848; of Catholics, 9,265,283, and of Jews, 363,790. The Protestants in the Rhine Provinces are increasing faster than the Catholics, while in the pure Protestant districts the Catholics are on the increase. Thus, the minority, wherever it may be, seems to be gaining ground. The number of Catholics is increasing somewhat in Saxony—a Protestant country with a Catholic king and court. This may be caused by the influx of laborers on the railroads and in the mines.

The Moravians have had quite a jubilee over the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of their mission work, and have, among other things, been looking over the statistics of their extensive labors. Since the day when the first missionaries, Dober and Nitschmann, left their homes in Hernnhut to carry the gospel to the negro slaves of St. Thomas, over two thousand brothers and sisters have gone forth to carry the banner of the Cross and the Gospel to all quarters of the world, and some of the most remote and desolate. With some failures and misfortunes, the Moravians may look back on their wonderful work as under the special care of an over-ruling Providence, to whom they returned heartfelt thanks amid their rejoicings. These were also shared by the entire Protestant Church, because many of its branches had been ready in their assistance to the Moravian missions, and therefore many representatives were present in Hernnhut at their jubilee. It was a very happy thought to resolve to build, in the same island of St. Thomas, where their work began, a native church as a thank-offering for their great success. The collections for this purpose made good progress during the festive days, and bid fair to be ample. The Moravians will ever be of blessed memory in modern Gospel history for what they have accomplished in the cause of missions, and the true Christian example which they set to the Christian world.

Gerhard Rohlfs, the famous German traveler in Africa, has just published in Weimar, in his official capacity as authorized agent of King John, of Abyssinia, an appeal to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society of London. He pleads for an early settlement of all differences

between Egypt and Abyssinia through English intervention. He claims that Egypt is still a land where slavery flourishes through the activity of war and the native dealers, while Abyssinia is a Christian land in which slavery is not tolerated, but where it is very difficult to extinguish it entirely until all differences can be settled between the two countries. He claims that some man of the energy and magnanimity of Gordon must again be placed at the head of affairs in Soudan; and, in conjunction with civil order along the Nile, he appeals to the British government to grant to Abyssinia what she has clear natural right to, namely, a port on the Red Sea, from whose coast she is now strangely cut off. A glance at the map will show that this quite considerable land borders on the sea for a long distance, within a few miles, with the sea almost in sight, but with no national right on its banks. The justice of such a petition is the more clear when we reflect that, but a short time ago, the Powers granted this same request to Montenegro on the Adriatic, and maintained it by military intervention. King John would get along better with Egypt and with England were he less inclined to be exacting and tyrannical toward any foreigners who may happen to cross his path. He has not been any too just toward the missionaries, except those who are engaged in evangelical work among the many Jews of his realm.

The Protestant French *littérateurs* in the theological field are quite active in bringing out new works, as may be seen from the latest announcement of the book firm of Fischbacher, No. 33 Rue de Seine, Paris, where all the works of the Reformed Church may be found, and quite easily obtained by mail, if ordered by letter, with postal money-order inclosed, at the rate of five francs to the dollar. Among these we notice: '*Etude Homilétique sur Adolphe Monod et Lacordaire*," by Louis Comte; "*L'Idée de Dieu*," by Chastand; "*L'Année Pastorale*," by Bonneton; "*L'Eglise sous la Croix*," by Benoit; "*L'Eglise Vaudoise des Vallées du Piémont*," treating of this Church from its origin down to our day—a very valuable and interesting book, price 2¾ francs. Among the smaller books or *brochures* we would name "*La Tache Missionaire de l'Eglise*," (The Missionary Task of the Church,) by Boegner, Director of the Mission House of Paris; and another missionary help is the Manual of Protestant Missions for 1883, published by the Mission House of Basel, showing the growing interest that the Protestant Church is taking in missions.

A German firm is now publishing an illustrated edition of the "Imitation of Christ," by Thomas à Kempis. The work of this humble monk is now read throughout the world more than other religious books, except the Bible itself, and it is still being published in new and attractive forms. There is scarcely a language of Christendom into which it has not been translated. There are said to be two thousand different Latin editions, and one thousand French, of which the Library of Paris possesses no less than seven hundred; and new German translations are continually appearing, showing that this golden book is dear to all Christian con-

fessions, because it speaks the language of the entire undivided Christian Church, and the device of this unpretentious Christian man, "*Ama nesciri*," (Remain willingly unknown,) has proved that the meek and humble shall be exalted. The authorship was for a long time contested, and even now, in the present year, the first journal of Germany, the "*Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*," has devoted several articles to the incontestable proof that it is from the heart and pen of the humble monk of Holland. More than two hundred years ago the French Parliament, being drawn into the contest, decreed that the book should only be published with the name of Thomas à Kempis as author.

As we look over the curricula of the current semester of the German Protestant Theological Schools, now lying before us, we are struck with the wealth of Bible teaching in the old Fatherland, and wonder that it does not bear more fruit. At Basel, we find Overbeck, on the Church History of the Middle Ages; in Berlin, Dorner is treating of Systematic Theology, Piper on Monumental Church History, and Brückner on the System of Christian Ethics; at Berne, Oetli is reading lectures on Eschatology, and Steck on the Life of Jesus; in Bonn, we recognize with pleasure the names of Christlieb and Lange, the former on Practical Theology, and the latter on Ethics. The bulletin for Breslau starts off with the Encyclopedia of Theology, by Meuss, and that of Dorpat with Volk, on the Exegesis of the Prophets; Erlangen presents the names of Frank, on Dogmatics; Giessen, that of Stade, on the Exposition of Genesis, and Göttingen, that of Ritschl, on Symbolics. At Halle we miss the precious name of Tholuck, and find those of Köstlin and Kähler; and then the list runs on and on, with subjects and teachers *ad infinitum*: Greifswald, Heidelberg, Jena, Kiel, Königsberg, Leipsic, with Kahnis, Luthard and Delitzsch, Marburg, Rostock, Strasburg, Tübingen, Vienna, Zurich, and Upsala. Some of these are not in Germany proper, but they are, nevertheless, German schools.

Art. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Life and Letters of James O. Andrew, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, with Glances at his Contemporaries and at Events in Church History. By Rev. George G. Smith, A.M. 12mo. pp. 562. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House. John W. Burke & Co.: Macon, Ga. 1882. 1

This admirable biography is a fine counterpart to the life of Bishop Janes from the pen of Dr. Ridgaway. There were not wanting some traits of personal resemblance between the two men, and both were worthy the permanent portraiture so well furnished by their two biographers. So central a figure was Bishop Andrew in one of the most painful passages in our eccle-

siastical and national history, that it was due to him, to his friends, and to the truth of history, that his personal conduct and character should be fully elucidated. Mr. Smith has well performed his work, and the result is that Bishop Andrew is not only cleared from the mists of prejudice that to some eyes have hung around him, but he appears beyond all doubt to have been a man of eminent, personal piety, whose heart and soul were consecrated, and whose life was hid with Christ in God. The history of such a man, as well as the man himself, is a boon to our universal Methodism and to Christianity itself.

His biographer tells us, with some piquancy, that his paternal ancestry was Puritan, derived from England through New England, where Osgood is still a conspicuous name. Born without educational advantages, he was never a scholar, and his first attempts seemed to indicate that he would never become a preacher. Yet he had filled but two "hard-scrabble" circuits when he was appointed to the city of Charleston. The metropolis was an important but trying station. Methodism was a very humble intrusion into a very proud city. More than half his parishioners were negroes. His description, written long years afterward, of the levee room in his parsonage, is unique and suggestive: "Here you met every week either stewards or leaders, white or black, and here the preacher had to hear all cases of complaint and trial, especially among the blacks. To this room also came, at stated intervals, all who wished to join on trial. For the purpose of attending to all other matters, one day in the week was set apart, and the preachers had to be there all day. Imagine a room, dear reader, raised only a few inches from the ground, with high fences on all sides, crowded just as full as it could hold on a night in July or August, and the preacher sitting there till bell-ringing, and tell me, didn't he have a sweet time of it? Then when he emerged from this bath-house, and sought to cool himself in the upper story, imagine him, half melting, seeking to refresh himself on his pillow. He enters a room some twelve feet square, with one or two windows, after carefully adjusting his mosquito net, and seizing a favorable moment for rushing into bed, and carefully stopping every crevice through which the serenaders might possibly find access to him, he stretches himself to get cool and go to sleep. What think you of his prospects? The parsonage yard, if it had any, was an encroachment on the old graveyard. If you walked out tombstones were under your feet or all around you; if you seated yourself at your window

and looked out to enjoy the beauties of a moonlight prospect, tombstones every-where arrested your gaze, so that ours might properly have been called the family among the tombs." The appointment to Charleston was thus largely and tryingly a mission to negroes.

Our Southern brethren at the present day often largely quote, in self-vindication, their heroic devotion to negro-Christianization. We have ever recognized gladly their record on that subject. One of our first movements, after our appointment to the editorship of this Quarterly, years ago, was to procure from a Southern pen a full article on the enterprise of Southern Methodism among the Negro population. We have ever thought that there was some wickedness on the part of our old abolition friends in saying that their Negro missions were established purely in the interests of slavery. It was a bitter taunt for them to say that the missionary was simply an agent of the slave-holder to preach to the slave the duty of submission to his oppressor, and thus perpetuate the system. Some fatal coloring to this sharp logic was given by our Southern brethren themselves when they took the ground that they must maintain slavery in order to gain access to the slave. The abolitionist triumphantly quoted their words with "See, now, they themselves declare that their gospel is the gospel of slavery!" More than once was, in that day, the Northern defender of Southern Methodism shut up by such a quotation. But this missionary zeal unquestionably preceded the abolition excitement, and was started in the interests of a most earnest Christianity. Andrew, no doubt, submitted to his sultry air-bath, perfumed with unhealthy odor, for the souls of his Negro parishioners, with no thought for the perpetuity of the system that so nearly suffocated him. Indeed, in after years, so strong was the interest of this saintly man for the spiritual interests of the dark race that before his election to the episcopacy he seriously contemplated becoming a missionary to Africa. We have ever felt that a full measure of honor should be accorded to Southern Methodism for her missionary labors with the oppressed people.

After his pastorate in Charleston Mr. Andrew moved through the higher order of appointments, distinguished for his eloquence, his ability as a writer, his administrative success, and his piety. Much to the indignation of some of his official superiors he contracted an early and happy marriage, and was one of the first to break up the customary sequence that a preacher's marriage was always followed by a location, a sequence arising from the fact

that his salary was inadequate to the support of a family. The conference thereby had to be made up mainly of bachelors, young and old. We have heard, through oral tradition we believe, that Asbury made one of his terse apothegms in these words, namely, "I wish the devil and the women would let my preachers alone." He was thrice married in the course of his life, and in each case was wise in his choice and happy in his marriage relations. He was, in his maturer years, very clearly a man of courteous manners and of warm and mellow affections. His letters, written to his wife during the trying days when his marriage with her would seem to be the cause of his trials, are rich with the most assuring expressions of love.

Mr. Smith discusses the dealing of the General Conference of 1844, in the main, with excellent temper. We could wish to approach that question at this time with the same calm fairness with which we would treat an occurrence of two centuries ago. There are two or three points, however, in which we think his views historically incorrect. We think he fully shows that Bishop Andrew had no desire for the episcopal office; that he accepted it with sincere reluctance, from a sense of duty; and that he would gladly have resigned it in 1844 to secure the unity of the Church. He had no anticipation at the time of his marriage that any serious difficulty would arise from his marital connection with slavery. His demeanor during the discussions was becoming, and we do not think it right to affirm that "he divided the Church." But the point of issue we must here take with our author is this: His connection, even by marriage, with slavery was in contrariety to *the understanding which had always existed* between the two sections of the Church, that the episcopal office should not be held by a slave-holder. It is of no use for our biographer to tell us how men who were slave-holders were appointed to office and honors, such as Capers and Olin; neither of those men could have been elected to the episcopate for this sole reason. The reason was this, that to admit slavery into the episcopate was to surrender the last remnant of our historic protest against slavery, and to admit the supremacy of the slave-power. Hence it was not "a few extremists," but old stereotype conservatives like Nathan Bangs of New York, and John Collins of Baltimore, with almost their entire delegations that took firm position for the old understanding. They did this, not in sympathy with so-called "modern abolitionism," but, as Dr. Bangs expressed it, from "the old antislavery feeling;" that is, on the basis of the

old protest against the supremacy and even the existence of slavery, inherited from Wesley, Coke, Asbury, and the Methodist fathers, fragmentary traces of which stood still unerased upon the pages of our Discipline. According to Dr. Smith's own statement Mr. Andrew was aware that he was elected because he was a non-slaveholder. His self-depreciatory statement at the time of his election was that he was chosen on account of his "poverty;" that is, he was elected because he was a non-slaveholder, and he was a non-slaveholder, not from conscience, but because he was too poor to buy a slave. He understood, therefore, that as Bishop he stood upon a non-slaveholding platform. Why? Because, as the Northern delegates ever claimed, it was hitherto understood by both sides that the Episcopacy was to be clear from slavery. Bishop Andrew, therefore, appears to have stood in the Episcopate in violation of the known understanding upon which he was elected. Mr. Smith says, and we fully believe his statement, that Bishop Andrew "wished to resign." Tradition says that during the early days of the General Conference he wore a very despondent air. But a movement among the Southern delegations took place that changed the situation, and also seems to have changed his demeanor. They, in solid body, required him to stand firm. We think their position was, in the circumstances, about right. It was truly, as Mr. Seward said, "an irrepressible conflict," and the proper time for the issue had come. Slavery and freedom must meet face to face. Behind either party in this General Conference there were irresistible forces requiring each to firmly meet the inevitable contest. Disintegration and ruin threatened the party that shrunk. The best result in the case possible took place. The Southern section withdrew, and formed a new organization, and the two Churches, each, maintained their own entirety. This is not saying that both sides were right; or that they were both equally right or wrong. The relative rightness depends upon the previous question whether slavery is right. If slavery is right, then the effort to force it into our Episcopacy, and over the Church and nation, was right. If slavery is a great moral wrong, the enemy of human advancement, then the North was right and the South fearfully wrong. On that question there now is in every part of Christendom, except our South, a terrible unanimity. The great national organic sin itself, in which each party had its share, was, in its permanence and power, of too large a magnitude for that Conference to undertake to manage. Taking things as

they were, their only problem was, What shall be done for the nonce? And that problem they solved with singular courtesy of discussion and wisdom of result.

There is another point in Mr. Smith's history of these transactions which of itself qualifies our commendation of his work to our readers South and North. It is the injurious attempt to perpetuate the historical untruth that the General Conference, actually or "virtually" deposed Bishop Andrew from the Episcopate. The Conference neither intended nor did any such thing. A motion was made asking him to resign, and the Conference voted it down. That of itself proves that there was no purpose that he should vacate the Episcopal office. They wished him, not to vacate the Episcopate, but to vacate his connection with slavery. They found him involved in an impediment to the performance of his Episcopal duties, and they simply said to him, *Unload and go on.* They ordered his name to be continued as Bishop in the Discipline. They continued his salary. There were Northern laymen standing ready to indemnify him for the loss of the slaves, thus making it perfectly easy for him to leave the Conference a perfectly unembarrassed, perfectly respected, Bishop of the undivided Methodist Episcopal Church. All the obstruction against this result was interposed by himself and his friends. Then we say to all the world, that for him and his friends first to interpose a voluntary obstacle, and then turn around and charge that he was "deposed," is a historical untruth not justified by that equivocal "virtual." And the worst of it is that in the conversational and even editorial version of the story in the South, circulated by "extreme men" to fire the Southern heart, this nice little word "virtual" drops out, and the pocket edition of the legend is, "they deposed Bishop Andrew." In giving permanence to this untruth, qualified or unqualified, Mr. Smith wrongs his own people much more than he does us.

Again we have (p. 378) the following unnecessary misstatement in regard to the organization of the new Church at Louisville: "So was the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, organized without revolution or schism or secession under consent given by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church." Now the "General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church" never gave any such "consent." It persistently and positively withheld all sanction or permission; and nearly the entire Northern delegation, we believe, held that it had no power to "con-

sent." It threw all the responsibility for the withdrawal itself upon the withdrawing body. There is a wide difference between saying: "Yes, I 'consent,' you may go;" and saying, "*You* say you must go: you go, then, on your own responsibility; but we shall not fight you for it, or chase after you and contend; we will, for peace' sake, keep within a particular limit, and let you alone after you have performed the unauthorized departure." Permission to go is one thing; provision for the unpermitted going, should it persistently and willfully take place, is another thing. We believe that the Southern Methodists did the best possible thing when they organized the new Church. We believe, and have never seen it denied by any authority in our own Church, that that new Church was from the beginning a legitimate Church of Christ. We think it was organized by a justifiable secession and revolution; and we rejoice that the property of the old Church was divided to the new organization. Her origin and existence need no misconstructions of past facts and documents for their vindication. She has done and is still doing a work that none else can do; and in that work our prayers are, and ever have been, all for her peace, prosperity, and power.

The manifesto from Louisville announcing the severance of the Church was duly followed by the gun of Fort Sumter announcing the severance of the nation. Bishop Andrew had been an old Whig, and he disapproved the opening this war upon the national existence, but sustained his section when it assumed to his eye the form of an invasion of land and home. As chief pastor he labored with heroic persistence for the integrity of the flock. He hailed the return of peace with impulses for reunion which it was unfortunate that the South did not obey. It was a singular and perhaps a providential thing that the man who is credited with severing the South from the North was a man of Puritan blood, of New England descent, and approaching most nearly, perhaps, of any of his compeers, to being "a Southern man with Northern principles."

To the saintliness of his character there is abundant testimony. He lived in and breathed an atmosphere of prayer. He was a patron of the poor, especially of the colored race. Yet though bearing a life of consecration he shrunk from formal profession. His third wife made the unique remark, "I know I am by the blood of Christ cleansed from sin, and yet I know that he is better than I am, and he will not say he is." And of this wife we have an account of singular pathos and beauty. She is de-

scribed as a woman of rare character, yet, in mature years, she was mentally incapacitated by softening of the brain. Yet amid the mental ruin her religious powers towered aloft. "She spoke of Jesus as sweetly and prayed to him as beautifully as she had ever done." But our learned physiologists can explain all that. With "victory, victory," on his lips, and leaving a sacred radiance on his dead face, the holy Bishop departed to his reward. He was entombed among his people at Oxford, Ga., close by Emory College, of which he had long been a trustee. His face on the frontispiece of the volume is marked and manly, with a tinge of sadness as if of sorrowful recollections, and eyes heavy as if their brows were burdened with the weight of many cares. Blessed be the memory of the just.

The Prophets of Israel, and their Place in History at the Close of the Eighth Century B. C. Eight Lectures. By W. ROBERTSON SMITH, LL.D. 12mo, pp. 444. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1882.

We are here furnished by Robertson Smith with the new scheme of biblicism according to Evolution. It is the programme of the origin, growth, and completion of our religion by natural derivation. We are directed to the seminal point where it took origin, to its early germination in the ovum, its gradual development into maturity and completion. It brings religious evolution into accordance with nebular and animal unfolding, so that the theory of the universe—planetary, racial, and spiritual—is made to keep step to one harmonious music. Science and religion are thus triumphantly reconciled, and Darwin fairly is seated in Moses' chair.

In the era of the Hebrew Judges, we are here told, the little Shemitic nations of Syria, including Israel as one, worshiped each his own god with profound devotion. Each nation admitted without doubt the reality of the gods of its neighbor nations, but valorously maintained that its own god was strongest, and could whip any one if not all of his rivals. Of Israel the god was Jehovah, worshiped, not with prayer, but with spontaneous and irregular sacrifices and ceremonies. Gradually, however, with this worship of Jehovah some moral ideas became associated. As in theistic physical evolution a divine force comes in contact with the subject, and directs its peculiar development, so Jehovah came into personal relation with the Israelite clan, and modified its unfolding and history. Israel was at first one of those hovering hordes that hung on the north-eastern margin of Egypt,

having really none but an accidental connection with the kingdom, untinctured by any of its civilization, and ready, in due time, to float off and take possession by invasion of some of the territories of the more north-easterly clans. But the moral development, divinely originating with the Jehovistic wanderers, prepared them, after a little monarchy had given firmness to their body, under the tuition of their prophets, for a great but peculiar historic future. Prophet after prophet arose, announcing higher and purer views; and Jehovah grew, in the Hebrew mind, from a mere pugnacious patron of a barbarous tribe to a supreme ruler in righteousness over the nations of the entire world. This development became, then, strictly a case of "the survival of the fittest." When the tribes were dispersed and Judah went into captivity, so powerful had this religion of Jehovah grown that it survived the political power, and the nation became a Church. This consummation was finally attained under Ezra by the introduction of the Levitical law of complicated rites concentrated into one locality, the temple at Jerusalem. Israel thereby became a sacerdotal body, and in due time out of its life sprang He who is the true Redeemer of the world.

In taking this starting-point at the lowest era of Israel's history our readers and his will of course perceive that the Pentateuch is mainly ignored. There could have been no recorded Genesis narrating how the whole creation was the work of Elohim, God of Israel. Equally non-existent in Israel must have been the story of the fall of the first man of the human race under the eye of Jehovah Elohim. And the wonders performed by Moses for the express purpose of showing to mankind Jehovah's supremacy over even the gods of supreme Egypt must have been a romance of a later inventive priesthood. With these records really in his possession Israel's monotheism would have been primeval, supreme, and sole, admitting no recognition of petty tribal gods. The race must have started with a primordial Edenic monotheism, and the days of the Judges must have been not a germinal but simply an anarchical and degenerate epoch. Equally in Professor Smith's way are the legislation of Moses and the high-priesthood of Aaron. These ancient worthies are unceremoniously stripped of their honors. The large majority of the laws are declared to be the invention of Ezekiel and of Ezra and his compeers centuries later, and the very histories in which the sacrificial laws and the Aaronic priesthood are enshrined is a very extensive series of "lies with circumstances."

The theory is not merely that laws were honestly added to the code permanently headed by the name of Moses; it is that certain extended tracts of false history are spread out before us in the record, affirming the ancient Mosaic origination of definite institutions, invested with solemn colorings of narrative and minute detail of pretended facts. Deuteronomy has indeed the honor of being an earlier forgery. It was fabricated by an unknown brain and written by an unknown hand. It was professedly found in the temple while repairs were being made by the workmen of good King Josiah. It was brought by the high-priest Hilkiah, and read in the hearing of the king, who was apparently overwhelmed with contrition and dismay at the revelations of the newly-discovered forgery. The purpose of the fabrication was to establish the religion of Jehovah by force of the most solemn threatenings and promises, and by centralizing all the religious rites of the nation in the Jerusalem temple. The smooth apologies offered for such a forgery are unworthy a man of Mr. Smith's moral and intellectual standing. The man who was competent to forge such a book, however primitive the age, well knew the moral nature of the fraud he was perpetrating. The book is thereby sunk into the category of ordinary priestcraft. Its fraud is more intellectual, but no more honest or justifiable, than those of the Indian "medicine-man" or the African mumbo-jumbo. Its claims to inspiration are to be scouted, and it deserves no place in sacred literature.

But it was really in the heart and brain of the prophets that the true religion, the religion which ultimated in Christianity, originated. Prediction was not its prerogative, but when a new view in regard to Jehovah and his relations to men sprung up within a soul, he was obligated to speak it forth, and so became a prophet. Of the recorded prophets Amos and Hosea were the earliest; and the order culminated in the illustrious Jehovistic, and, by anticipation, Christian, statesman, Isaiah. Isaiah made no infallible predictions of events. Where he foretold specialties he often proved mistaken, and was obliged subsequently to correct his programme. He did not specifically predict the birth or death of Christ. The passage picturing the virgin to bear a son referred only to an unmarried female of his own day. Our author goes over the old argument to prove that the "virgin" was only a girl yet to be married. And when Matthew's quotation applying it to Jesus' virgin mother is adduced, he roundly tells us that New Testament quotations only tell us what were

the opinions of the earliest centuries! What is to be done with Jesus' own extended applications of prophetic passages to himself Mr. Smith omits to tell us. But amid his predictive mistakes the prophetic greatness of Isaiah consisted in his seeing in Jehovah not merely the God of little Israel, but the God of Assyria, of Egypt, and of the whole earth. This idea (really taught in the ten plagues of Egypt) grandly maintained for the first time at this late date, transformed Israel from a nation to a Church, enabled the religion of Israel to survive the polity, and afforded the ground from which Christianity could spring. The publication of Deuteronomy, made at this time, required all ritual to be celebrated at the temple, in order to withdraw all worship from the idolatries prevalent in the rural populations. Yet the prophets had no sympathy with sacrifice or ritual. Isaiah "was practically indifferent to all forms of cultus." It was not until Ezekiel foreshadowed Leviticus, and Ezra and his fellows completed it, labeling it falsely with the name of Moses, accompanied with a romance detailing its imaginary construction by Moses, that the Levitical system was established. This (as we were told in our last Quarterly by Professor Duff) was in strict compliance with Hegel's law of development, that "the prophet precedes the priest." So was Judaism, and afterward Christianity, evolved. And thus both the Old Testament and the New, by cutting and carving and turning end for end, is beautifully shaped according to Darwin. And now that the grand old canon has been duly Hegelized, the next step is to have it Haeckelized. This can easily be done. Let us all conspire together to say that Elohim signifies *Force*, and that Jehovah signifies *Law;* and then all the Bible means is that Force produces creation and all its evolutions through Law. It must be started in Germany; it must be duly rehearsed at Andover, at New Haven, and at Chicago. And then into what a grand unity will opposites converge! Spinozism and Hegelism and Darwinism and Spencerism and Mosaicism and Evangelicism may all together sing a hallelujah chorus to the mighty God FORCE, parabolized in the Bible under the name of God. Scholarly Princeton does indeed seem to dissent from this grand unison. And our unscholarly Methodism may decline, but doubtless in vain. Atheists sometimes, in these days, claim to be pious; why may they not claim to be believers in Moses and the prophets according to Smith, and even in biblical theism according to Haeckel?

Studies in Science and Religion. By G. FREDERICK WRIGHT, Author of "Logic of Christian Evidences." 12mo, pp. 390. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1882.

Mr. Wright's name is familiar to our readers as an Editor of the "Bibliotheca Sacra," as a master of both Science and Theology, and so an eligible mediator between the two. Some of these chapters were articles of the "Bibliotheca." Thanks are due to Mr. Wright for the present volume. It presents the evolutionary argument very clearly for the popular mind. It undoubtedly divests it of some of its repulsive features. By means of a carefully simple style, and a series of very plain cut illustrations, it elucidates the subject so that the unscientific or semi-scientific reader may get a very fair hold of the question. And it indicates, if it fails to fully present, a view by which the evolutionist need not reject Moses.

What specially attracts our attention in the present volume is its American measurement of the time of man's existence. The New Jersey chipped flints date back to the close of the glacial period. They are found on the southern margin of the once glacial sheet. How far back was that period? By various measurements, taken in different sections, it was from eight to ten thousand years ago. The men, if men they were, who chipped these flints, were, by any existing Biblical chronology, Pre-Adamite.

And yet, as we said in our last Quarterly in regard to Mr. Beecher, we do not see how any Christian evolutionist, who believes in the immortality of man, can well "get along without his Adam." As the line of evolution marches on, the point of transition is reached when the perishable brute instanter becomes immortal man. Eternity is all at once done up into his nature. His being is reorganized by a power unknown to earthly nature and taking hold of supernal things. This can hardly be accomplished, in the way Sir Charles Lyell suggested, by single geniuses rising above the level of the species, as a Milton or a Plato rose above their race. The grandeur of the event, whether including one representative individual or a whole race, as noted in our last Quarterly, requires a grandeur of inauguration. It is placing on our planet a something infinitely more valuable than the planet itself with all its contents. And that inaugurated immortal, or body of immortals, is the biblical Adam, one or more.

Feebly and faintly our author suggests and authenticates this view. He says, (p. 370,) "We may distinguish between the physical nature of Adam and his mental and moral nature; and the spiritual may, for all science *can* [the italics are the author's]

show, be as direct a gift to the race, in general, as we believe it to be to every individual. Also, for our part, we have no objection to investing man's creation with miraculous elements." But this reorganization of man from anthropoid takes possession of not only soul, but body; immortalizing the first and resurrectionizing the last. It is the whole man that is re-created. And if our author's theology is true, this re-creation, or rather completion, of immortal man's *creation*, is accomplished through the power of a divine Incarnation. It is the image of Christ completed in man. It seems to us, then, that our author would have been justified in a far bolder statement than that of a "no objection" to the miraculous nature of man's immortalization and a completer enshrinement of the conception into the frame of his biblical theology.

We believe that the Genesis history of the creation of Adam implies his threefold nature, body, soul, and spirit: *somatic*, *psychic*, *pneumatic*. It narrates the infusion of the divine *breathing* or *spirit* by which the merely *psychic* being becomes the *pneumatic* Man. The programme of that consummation is given in Gen. i, 26–31; its finality in Gen. ii, 7. Before that inbreathed spirit that being, like other animals, sprang up from terrene nature quickened by the divine fiat. By that infused (not overlaid) spirit the soul was impregnated with immortal life and the body rendered exempt from disintegration. And so for the first time Man in the image of God was completely created.

Now "*can*" any science show that the chipper of primeval flints was more than a psychic being? Except that his work was in a more manward direction, does it show more intelligence, even in kindling a fire, than that of the beaver, or than Sir John Lubbock's ants? Was the chipper capable of the thought of the Infinite or the truly Ethic? Was he pneumatic Man?

And, again, can any historic connection be shown between the chippers and the present races of men? Does not the very term pre-*historic* indicate that the merely psychic races may all have perished? Evolution, as stated by its advocates, abounds with cases of the entire destruction of immediately preceding races, produced by "environments," or by the destructive power of the higher race; why not similar blanks between the "cave man" and the later man? And, again, evolutionists affirm that there are now races having no idea of God. How know they but those are psychic men perhaps incapable of religious conception, or to

be rendered capable only by being elevated into the constituency of the first representative pneumatic Adam?

Again, by what reason or right do our evolutionary friends ignore and tacitly deny the truth of the earliest history so unanimously affirmed by the various races of mankind of *a primitive Eden?* Lenormant, in his "Beginnings of History," lately published, traces with immense erudition the wide-spread traditions of the Deluge, and, on the ground that universal tradition must be true, he pronounces that tradition to be *history.* The same learned author admits the universality of a traditionary primal *golden age* of innocence and felicity; and yet, with more learning than logic, he treats it as legend! He affirms that "the idea of the Edenic happiness of the first human beings constitutes one of the *universal traditions.*" By his own canon, then, as applied to the Deluge, that primal age of innocence and happiness is historic fact. Similar catholic traditions does he find of "a first typical man," (whose very name on the Assyrian tablets, Adiuru, he identifies with Adam,) "a first sin," and "a first fratricide:" all wrapped in exteriors of fable, and finding in the Genesis narrative alone their true monotheistic core of history. What right has evolutionary science to ignore that history? If science and history disagree neither must ignore the other, but with mutual respect must seek a reconciliation, so that both shall stand acknowledged truth.

Yet, while standing firm to primitive historic truth, we are at present more ready than formerly to admit that the genealogies in Gen. v and xi may be abridgments; and abridgments, like that in Matthew, (upon which see our notes,) more or less for a purpose. The antediluvian pedigree draws a line through centuries when writing did not exist, and before the Hebrew language was formed. It must have been retained traditionally by memory, and the names must be Hebrew substitutes for more primitive vocables. The Shemite pedigree is very bare of facts; and the Cainite pedigree is brief and furnished with fragments of isolated facts, as if the recorder himself did not quite comprehend their import. What more natural than that the form of the pedigree should shorten, yet so as to mark distinctly the true line of descent? Moses might, of course, give the document as he received it. And, curiously enough, Wesley (by a stroke of rationalism some might say) has furnished by anticipation a justification of Moses for giving the pedigree as he found it. Says Wesley on Matt. i, 1: "If there were any difficulties in this gen-

ealogy, or that given by St. Luke, which could not easily be removed, they would rather affect the Jewish tables than the credit of the evangelist; for they act only as historians setting down these genealogies as they stood in those public and allowed records. Therefore they were to take them as they found them. Nor was it needful they should correct the mistakes, if there were any, for these accounts sufficiently answer the end for which they are recited. They unquestionably prove the grand point in view, that Jesus was of the family from which the promised seed was to come."

Mr. Wright has abundantly proved that in the Bible the terms *begat* and *son* are both often applied to a distant offspring. Jesus was the son of David at generations of distance. But the main difficulty with these two pedigrees, as Mr. Wright notices, is that they give the age of the father at the birth of his son. Yet, as it happens, we have an instance in which even such a pedigree is either lengthened or abridged. In "the generations of Shem" (Gen. xi, 10–24) the name of *Cainan* is either interpolated by the Septuagint or exscinded by the Hebrew; Lenormant thinks the latter, and in fact Luke iii, 37 agrees with the Septuagint. Thus:

HEBREW.	SEPTUAGINT.
"And Arphaxad lived five and thirty years and begat Salah. And Arphaxad lived after he begat Salah four hundred and three years, and begat sons and daughters."	"And Arphaxad lived one hundred and thirty-five years and begat Cainan. And Arphaxad lived after he begat Cainan four hundred years, and begat sons and daughters. And he died. And Cainan lived one hundred and thirty years, and begat Salah. And Cainan lived after he begat Salah three hundred and thirty years, and begat sons and daughters. And he died."

It will be seen that the Hebrew, by ignoring Cainan, abridges the Septuagint chronologically by two hundred and thirty years. We see also by this instance how the work can be done. And the purpose in both genealogies seems to be to attain the number *ten* as Matthew aims at the number *fourteen*.

This purpose of selecting this final number *ten* is confirmed by Lenormant's showing that *ten* is the favorite number for ancient genealogical figures among various ancient nations. Lenormant bases this number on the number of the digits of the human hands, so that each patriarch's name could be popularly counted on finger and thumb. If, then, these pedigrees are abridgments, we may not a little lengthen the line so as to make our Jersey flint chippers sons of Adam, which is not an intensely important result.

The Greatness of Christ, and other Sermons. By ALEX. CRUMMELL, Rector of St. Luke's Church, Washington, D. C., Author of "The Future of Africa." 12mo, pp. 352. New York: Thomas Whittaker. 1882.

The dignified expression of features appearing in the engraved likeness of Dr. Crummell in the frontispiece of this fine volume renders quite credible the statement, in the brief biography, that he is the grandson of an African king. His father was kidnapped in his boyhood, and brought to New York dateless years ago, and well remembered the scenes of his African life and the pompous circumstance of his princely style. He became rich enough here to pay for the education of his son, the author of these sermons; but he experienced the difficulties arising from the then brutal hostility, even in the North, to negro education. He was sent to a negro school of higher education in New Hampshire; but the farmers of the section, indignant at the bold atrocity of a Negro academy in their midst, assembled ninety yoke of oxen, drew the academic edifice into a swamp, and bid a forcible good-bye to the departing scholars with a salute from an old field-piece. Crummell then went to the Oneida Institute for some years, but afterward was refused admittance to the Protestant Episcopal Seminary solely on account of complexion. Such was the measure of our Christian civilization toward the colored race here in the North some forty years ago. Let us have patience with our Southern brethren who are passing through the same revolution of thought, amid greater difficulties, to arrive at the same conclusions as ourselves in the end. None are doing more effective work toward amicably forwarding this desirable revolution than men like Dr. Crummell. After a few years of theological study under Dr. Vinton he went, to complete his studies, to the University of Cambridge, England, "where he was kindly received and enabled to fit himself more thoroughly for his important work." So did monarchical England put to shame our Republican America! Whether or not this Cambridge scholar would in this country be, like Bishop Payne, excluded by his color from a first-class car, we are very sure that the country possesses no palace car which would not be honored by his presence. After spending some years in Liberia, Dr. Crummell is pastor of a church in our national metropolis.

We do not believe in bestowing honor of office on a man *because* he is a Negro. But it is a matter of pleasant surprise to note how many men have arisen since emancipation has given the negro a chance, to render the word negro respected. Men

like Douglass, Langston, Blyden, Crummell, Bruce, and Tanner can scarce be thrust, perhaps by men who are their own inferiors, into an inferior race. And this volume of sermons neither asks or needs any special critical tenderness because the pedigree of the author runs far back into Africa. They can stand upon their own merits among the best pulpit productions of our day. In style they are pure, flowing, chaste, and elevated. In thought they are truly, as Bishop Clarke, the introductory biographer, says, "fresh and original." Without eccentricity or sensationalism they abound in fresh views of old subjects, and a vein of originality and individualism pervades the whole series. We are especially impressed with the closing sermon, bearing the bold title, "The Destined Superiority of the Negro." He is no way afraid or ashamed of the word Negro, being assured that it is as well entitled to a capital initial letter as Hindoo, or Caucasian, and determined to make it in due time as respectable. And we should certainly advise all parties to disuse the epithet "colored," for in fact it is more truly the Caucasian that is "the colored race." In this sermon he retraces history past and present to find the races that decay and perish, and notes the traits that mark their character. He demonstrates that the negro race has, on the contrary, all those qualities that constitute true persistence and future ascendency. In the permanent and aspiring races he finds such qualities as "vitality, plasticity, receptivity, imitation, family feeling, veracity, and the sentiment of devotion." All these, he calmly maintains, exist pre-eminently in the Negro race. Let, then, no cynic smile at his "destined superiority of the negro;" the eloquent preacher is serious, and has not the slightest apparent notion that he is blending sermon and *jeu d' esprit.*

The Theological and Philosophical Works of Hermes Trismegistus, Christian Platonist. Translated from the Original Greek, with Preface, Notes, and Indices. By JOHN DAVID CHAMBERS, M.A., F.S.A., of Oriel College, Oxford. 8vo, pp. 170. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1882.

Trismegistus is a decidedly mysterious and almost cabalistic name to the large majority of even scholarly Americans. It here designates the unknown author of a very interesting production at the close of the first or opening of the second Christian century. He was a reader of Plato, and, apparently, of Paul and John, and blends the doctrines and even language of all these writers in stating his system of religion and nature. As a probable late contemporary of the last of the apostles, he

not only fills a blank place in ancient literature, but has no little significance in Christian evidences. He is quoted with approval by Justin Martyr, and must, therefore, have written about the time the New Testament canon was completed, and supplies almost a missing link in the continuity of documentary proof of the existence and high authority of some of the apostolic writings.

The name Trismegistus was primevally an epithet for the Thoth of the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics, who was celebrated as the original and supreme teacher in the three great departments of philosophy, theology, and government. He was thence styled great, great, great, μέγας, μέγας, μέγας, though the grand compound term, Trismegistus, thrice-greatest, did not appear until the second Christian century. Not only the ancient fathers of the Church identified the author of this book with the ancient Thoth, and held the book to be earlier than the writings of Moses, but, what is more, some of his earlier modern editors have committed the same mistake.

The theology is Christian, with the personal earthly history of Jesus omitted. It is intensely, reverently, and sublimely theistic. It fully unfolds a doctrine of the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit. It is full and explicit on the topics of baptism, regeneration, probation, and retribution. The sensual among men "attain not unto the Good or to immortality, but, becoming more and more wicked, are given over to the evil dæmon, tormented by the wicked dæmons and fire; retrograding to reptilism, they are given over to be tormented by evil passions and lusts; and, condemned to misery, are whirled about the universe — are converted into devils." We are inclined to view the book as a doctrinal statement of Christianity designed to introduce the thinkers of that day to an acceptance of the Gospel history of Jesus.

Mr. Chambers here furnishes, besides a valuable preface, a very literal translation of the book, of ninety pages; a series of excerpts from the same author, found in Stobæus, a writer of the fifth or sixth century, twenty-seven pages; and fifteen pages of notices of the author from the early Christian writers, closing with a copious index of the entire volume. Mr. Chambers' translation is very close and conscientious, furnishing the Greek original in foot-note of every difficult term or phrase, and a large number of parallel passages from Plato, the Septuagint, the New Testament, and other writers. A peculiarity is his, in all cases, retaining a translation of the Greek article, producing such terms as "the God," "the man," for God, man, etc.

Biblical Theology of the New Testament. By Dr. BERNHARD WEISS, Professor of Theology in Berlin. Translated from the Revised Edition by Rev. DAVID EATON, M.A. Vol. 1, 8vo. 1882. Pp. 489.

Twenty-seven years ago Dr. Weiss tells us that he announced in an inaugural the birth of the "science"—for "science" he emphatically and repeatedly names it—of Biblical Theology, the antagonist and destined successor of old "Dogmatic Theology." The fatal fault of the "old" was that it looked upon the New Testament as a one book, virtually by one author, teaching a one doctrine under a uniform inspiration, so that the stereotyping a system needed but a classifying of texts. The new "science" has, forsooth, discovered that the New Testament is rather a little library than a book, a package of Hebrew-Greek pamphlets, by various and variously thinking authors, whose main unity is that they are done up in one binding. If these various authors are not only defective, but erroneous and mutually contradictory, so much the more wondrous is the "science," and so much the worse for the authors. And if even Jesus himself is found wrapped in illusion, uttering incorrect views — incorrect views even within the scope of his mission—after furnishing a thin semi-excuse, an apology for an apology, the "science" is still held infallible and sure, and Jesus mistaken. Thus was not only Jesus limited in his human knowledge as to the day and hour of his own second coming, but he positively averred that it was to take place within his own "generation." The excuse for Jesus in making this categorical assertion is given as follows: "That Jesus, however, represented his return as an event which was to be looked for during the current generation is proved undoubtedly by the universal, and, notwithstanding many disappointments, firmly cherished, hope of the apostolic age; and, considering his attachment to Old Testament prophecy, we could not expect it to be otherwise. Those, however, who speak of an 'error' on the part of Jesus, which in that case would have to be assumed, altogether misconceive the nature of biblical prophecy, which, so far as regards its fulfillment, always remains dependent on the historical development. In this development, however, the voluntary behavior of man forms an essential factor, in conformity with which the Father, who guides this development, alone determines the time and the hour, under certain circumstances, even, transcending the limits originally set by himself and announced by prophecy, (Mark xiii, 32.)" But if Jesus was misguided by adhering to the prophets in their true meaning, how are we secured from the conclusion that the

prophets, to whom so frequent appeals are made in the New Testament, were false guides? And if Jesus uttered a positive untruth in regard to the time of his second coming, how save us from the inference that he had a false view of future history, both secular and religious? And why must we not infer that he is insecure authority for any second coming, any future judgment, or even retribution, at all? We may here add that we have abundantly discussed this question as to the New Testament expedition of the immediate second advent throughout our "Commentary." Dr. Weiss' "science" excludes him from even noticing the explanation of the supposed expectation of an immediate advent given in 2 Pet. iii, 3–10, where see our notes. It shuts out the harmonizing view of the one book, divides it into irreconcilable parts, and falls into disastrous heresy and skepticism.

We have, therefore, no very profound faith in Dr. Weiss' "science." We believe that the New Testament is an organic book, with many authors, indeed, and yet with one author; with various gifts and degrees, but with one inspiration; with individualistic modes of viewing truth, yet with one truth in view; without internal contradiction, and, at any rate, within the scope of its message, without error.

Divine Nescience of Future Contingencies a Necessity. Being an Introduction to "The Foreknowledge of God, and Cognate Themes." By L. D. M'CABE, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 306. New York: Published by Phillips & Hunt for the Author. 1882.

As a writer Professor M'Cabe is clear, earnest, and forcible, impressing his own warm personality into his pages, and so introducing the personalities of others as to give interest to his current of thought. His views have the sympathy of two or three modern leaders of thought, such as Rothe and Dorner, and, indeed, Dorner, in his last volume, names his work on "Foreknowledge" in his catalogue of authors on the subject. Besides this, there are in Methodism a few scattered thinkers, perhaps increasing in number, who rather prefer his views, as furnishing the best theodicy.

That, except in a generic sense of the term, his positions are not Arminian, Dr. M'Cabe not only admits, but boldly from his pedestal assaults Arminianism. Still less are they specifically Methodism. And they are not *new* to Methodism. They have not been ignored by Methodism from indifference or intellectual apathy. On the contrary, Methodism has consciously, repeatedly,

and positively reviewed and rejected them. Rather reluctantly did English Methodism tolerate Dr. Clarke's unflinching deposit of them in his "Commentary," and entirely uninfluencing has that deposit been upon the mind of permanent Methodism. Of this position of Methodism in regard to the present volume our publishing Agents have given due intimation in its title-page, that it is "published for the author." At the same time, let it be remembered that Dr. M'Cabe is not, like Robertson Smith, abusing a theological professorship to insinuate or force his specialty into the Church in an underground way; nor is he, like Dr. Thomas, misusing a Methodist pulpit by diatribes *ad populum* against the doctrines he promised to preach. It is an appeal through the press to the select minds of the Church and general public; and, personally, we must say that we have no objection to give them a tolerant hearing. We think he has furnished the fullest, ablest, and most original statement of the theory extant. At the same time, we doubt whether his trenchant issue with Arminianism was wise. He might have wisely and truly claimed himself to be, as they used to say, only "*Arminio Arminior;*" that is, just a little more Arminian than Arminius himself; laboring, as Arminianism does, in behalf of a clear doctrine of freedom and responsibility, and carrying it out on the same line to a still clearer elucidation.

We do not feel called upon to enter upon the argument of the book. We expended nearly thirty pages of our work on the Will (pp. 267–293) in an attempt at showing the reconcilability of prescience and freedom; and we see nothing in either of Dr. M'Cabe's books, though others may, to disturb our faith in our arguments or conclusions, especially as he takes no notice of them, and so leaves untouched what force they have. We answered in order, satisfactorily to our own thought, Edwards' several points maintaining the irreconcilability. Dr. M'Cabe quotes Edwards' points as conclusive authority, but omits all notice of our answers, so that our positions stand unassailed. Our ground was, that the theory of nescience is not so very heretical as some suppose, but unnecessary; for to most clear minds there is no difficulty in seeing the consistency of the two. That opinion we still retain. Nor does Dr. M'Cabe's sanguine anticipation of a great revolution in theology from his book appear to us likely to be realized; for, first, there is, we apprehend, no likelihood of a general adoption of his theory; and, second, if it were adopted, it would be no very great revolution; his deluge would be "not much of a shower."

Moses and the Prophets. The Old Testament in the Jewish Church, by Professor W. Robertson Smith; The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel, by Dr. A. Kuenen; and The Prophets of Israel, by W. Robertson Smith, LL.D. Reviewed by WILLIAM HENRY GREEN, D.D., Professor in Princeton Seminary. 12mo, pp. 369. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1882.

Believers in the integrity of the Old Testament Scriptures will be greatly gratified that Dr. Green has embodied in a single volume his successive papers in its defense. The first of the series consists of an opening lecture to his class in September, 1881, in which he unhesitatingly treats the doctrines of Kuenen and his followers as being attacks on the foundations of the Protestant faith in line with those of the English deists, and as calling upon Christian believers for firmness and boldness in defense. Then follow reprints of articles which have appeared in the "Presbyterian Review" and the "Princeton Review," subjecting Robertson Smith's and Kuenen's productions to a masterly discussion. By all means our readers interested in this important controversy —and who of them are not?—should be careful not to omit the reading of this valuable series.

Christian Work and Consolation: The Problem of an Effective and Happy Life. By ADEL STEVENS, LL.D. 12mo, pp. 206. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

A manual volume on the vital principles of a living religion will doubtless be gladly welcomed by a large body of readers from Dr. Stevens' eloquent pen. It treats of "work," the duties of life; and of "consolations," the rewards of work done. Nor is true work the penalty of primal sin, but a co-operation with God in the activities of his system which will not cease with our present life. In the chapters of consolations he gives a cheering view of Christian consecration and assurance, "the higher life," and closes with some consoling views of death. It is written often with epigrammatic point, but more generally with the author's usual exuberant flow, with which the reader is usually borne upon the rapid current of thought and language.

My Portfolio. A Collection of Essays by AUSTIN PHELPS, D.D., late Professor Andover Seminary. Author of "Men and Books," and "The Theory of Preaching." 12mo, pp. 280. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882.

The author of "The Still Hour" may always claim, and will generally reward, a hearing. His "Portfolio" is a collection of rescued "fugitives" gathered from his furnishings to the "Independent" and other periodicals. It consists mainly of sketches

of character and discussions of certain live questions of the day. Leading, and most interesting, is the extended life history of his father, a typical revivalist and New England pastor in one. He was noted in newspapers as having his home visited by the most violent spirit-rappings, similar, though far more rackety, to those of the Wesley family, both which have defied the solutions of science and theology. The reminiscences of Albert Barnes and Horace Bushnell are full of interest. In the discussions appears the hand of a master explaining the soundness of the Andover positions; condemning Negro suffrage and woman suffrage; considering what the pulpit shall do with "spiritualism," etc. These chapters are piquant, frank and never tedious.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Wines: Scriptural and Ecclesiastical. By NORMAN KERR, M.D., F.L.S. 12mo, pp. 138. New York: National Temperance Society and Publication House.

As secretary to the society for promoting legislation for the control and care of habitual drunkards, and to a home for inebriates, Dr. Kerr has had occasion largely to examine the question of "unfermented wine." His book seems to be the substance of a course of lectures thrown into chapters and paragraphs with headings. His large collection of "unfermented wines" are drawn upon for exhibition to his audience to impress the lesson. One entire page presents us with a tabulation in columns of some thirty "varieties of unfermented grape-juice," with the localities whence obtained, and the dates of their vintage from 1874–81. They come from Asia Minor, Syria, Spain, Portugal, London, Germany, Italy, Africa, and America. The unfermented from America is noted for its rich color.

Dr. Kerr maintains, with ample evidence, that the ancients used the unfermented grape-juice, and that it was called *wine.* He says nothing directly about the testimony of the Jewish rabbis that alcoholic wine was used at the Passover, or about the testimony of our modern missionaries that at the present day the unfermented article has lost the name of *wine;* a testimony that does not seem to amount to much. It is certain, as our respected contributor, Leon C. Field, conclusively shows, that the very word *mustum, must,* is an adjective for which *vinum* is the

noun; and *mustum* has acquired the nature of a noun by gradually dropping its noun but absorbing its meaning. Coleridge says the history of a word is often more significant than the history of an empire. In this discussion the history of *mustum* is of more importance than the history of Persia and Babylon. It makes it certain that, in popular parlance, *must* was formerly *wine.*

As to the wine at Cana, the simple question is, Was it a formal creation such as God alone performs, or was it a manufacture such as man does? Did Christ make the fresh *wine,* or did he make alcohol? We have noted the slants of infidels in affirming that Jesus made *wine,* and we should be happy to reply with good reason, "Yes, but did he make *alcohol?*" And we are glad that Dr. Kerr has furnished to our hand St. Chrysostom's beautiful Greek on this subject, as it robs Alcohol of his triumph with great conclusiveness:

Chrysostom: "Δεικνὺς ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐν ταῖς ἀμπέλοις τὸ ὑδωρ μεταβάλλων καὶ τον ὑετὸν διά τῆς ῥιζης εις οἶνον τρέπων ὁπερ εν τῷ φυτῷ διὰ πολλὸν χρόνον γινεται, τοῦτο αθρόον εν τῷ γαμῳ ἐιργάσατω."

"Showing that it is He who changes the water in the vines and the rain absorbed through the root into WINE, who did in an instant at the marriage that work which takes a long time in the plant," (Hom. xxii, in Joh.)—P. 21.

We are glad to see Dr. Kerr also in presenting the following statement of the position of our Church on the communion cup.

At the General Conference (1880) of the Methodist Episcopal organization, with more than 11,000 ministers, about one and three-quarter million members, and between four and five million adherents, the following alteration was made in their Book of Discipline: "Let none but the pure unfermented juice of the grape be used in administering the Lord's Supper."—P. 112.

The American Phonographic Dictionary. Exhibiting the Correct and Actual Shorthand Forms for all the Useful Words of the English Language, about Fifty Thousand in Number, and, in addition, Many Foreign Terms; also the Best Shorthand Forms for Two Thousand Geographical Names, and as many Family, Personal, and Noted Fictitious Names. By ELIAS LONGLEY, Author of "Eclectic Manual of Phonography," "The Reporter's Guide," and other works, and for Twenty-five Years a Verbatim Reporter and Teacher of Short-hand. 8vo, pp. 368. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1882.

This dictionary does not define the *meaning* of terms, but simply presents to the learner the best *forms* of phonographic words. For in this art, with its varied degrees of abbreviation, there are various forms between which the writer may choose, each accordant with the principles of the art, yet not all equally good, and

the dictionary shows the learner which is indisputably the best. The existence of alternative forms, between which the writer must take time to choose, has been urged as an objection to phonography. And some claim that it is a failure. But we are informed by an expert that all our Congressional reporters, with an exception or two, use this system. Mr. Longley is a veteran expert; his system is that of Pitman, with his latest finalities and some additional American improvements. The dictionary is much fuller than Pitman's own, issued years ago, and the learner will, doubtless, find it a reliable aid to the most perfect style.

Philosophic Series, No. 1. Criteria of Divers Kinds of Truth as Opposed to Agnosticism. Being a Treatise on Applied Logic. By JAMES M'COSH, D.D., LL D., D.L. 12mo, pp. 60. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882.

This is the first installment of a philosophical series projected by Dr. M'Cosh for the purpose of counteracting the Agnosticism prevailing at the present day. This he proposes to effect not so much by direct belligerency as by establishing the proper doctrines of truth and knowing. He proposes five successive periodical publications, of which this is number one. This treats the first principles of intuitive and deductive logic, the primary grounds of sure knowledge as distinguished from the present philosophical knownothingism. The second will discuss the true nature of causation in view of the doctrine of correlation of forces. The third will show the extent and limitations of development. The fourth will be a critique upon Kant, showing his defects and true value. The fifth discusses Herbert Spencer. Of all the philosophies we personally hold that maintained by Dr. M'Cosh to be most accordant with right reason. Subscriptions for the entire series should be sent to Charles Scribner's Sons.

Empirical and Rational Psychology: Embracing Emotions, Cognitions, Feelings, and Volitions. By A. SCHUYLER, LL.D., President of Baldwin University, Author of "Principles of Logic" and a series of mathematical works. 12mo, pp. 484. Cincinnati, New York: Van Antwerp, Bragg & Co.

President Schuyler has acquired a fine reputation as author of a series of works on the intellectual and mathematical sciences. The present, like his other volumes, is a well-executed manual for the private reader or for academic classes. Its style is clear, concise without being obscure, and animated without any meretricious attempts at fine writing. It is divided into the three

established departments of Intellect, Sensibilities, and Will. In the first department he is full and excellent, especially in his treatment of the theory of perception. Perhaps he has marred the symmetry of his work by treating the section on elaboration too extensively, bringing another treatise on logic into the center of his psychology. Thereby he leaves far too small a room for the treatment of the sensibilities, and especially that most important topic, the will. He allows himself scarce space for even an allusion to man's moral sentiments, and his account of the will we esteem as true in doctrine but meager in extent. We should certainly advise in a new edition some reconstruction by a great abridgment of Division Third and enlargement of Parts Second and Third.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Methodism and the Temperance Reformation. By Rev. HENRY WHEELER. 12mo, pp. 241. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

This volume is a valuable and permanent contribution to the history both of Methodism and the Temperance Reformation. It comprehends the action of the Methodist Episcopal, the Methodist Episcopal, South, and the English Wesleyans, in that movement. We could wish that, at least in a chapter, a survey of all the other existing Methodist bodies, great and small, on the globe, had been added. But as it is we have a curious historic picture, appealing alternately to our pride and shame, showing how we have in the general led in the battle, while we have wavered and faltered, breaking our own good resolutions, yet coming up to the standard again when aroused by the spirit of the times.

Here, as on some other reforms, we have Wesley taking high and true position at start, uncompromising and accurate, like an infallibility. His followers apostatized from his proud platform, and after a century none of the great Methodisms now stand on his high basis save our own Methodist Episcopal Church.

We give Mr. Wesley's original rule, with the variations it underwent by successive legislations, at subsequent periods: 1743: The original rule, Drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity. 1789: Drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or

drinking them. 1790: Drunkenness, or drinking spirituous liquors, unless in cases of necessity. 1791: Drunkenness or drinking spirituous liquors, unless in cases of necessity. 1848: Mr. Wesley's rule restored as in 1743.—Page 46.

The relaxation of the Rule in America, Mr. Wheeler attributes to the demoralization of the Revolutionary War. That may be. But we are inclined to suspect that it arose in a great degree from the undeveloped character of the evil itself. The business of distilling may not have become so overshadowing, and drunkenness may not have assumed so alarming a prevalence. It is the stupendous increase of our population, with the still greater increase of the manufacturing, trafficking, and drinking interests, that have compelled alarm, required higher moral maxims, and awakened more general, energetic, and stringent action. These evils stole upon the public mind almost imperceptibly, and it was not until they became truly *menacing* in their magnitude that the appeals of the reformers could possess any startling effect. We remember in our own day a quiet tavern kept by a Methodist of eminently conscientious character. He maintained an orderly house, where he could dispense to the traveler or townsman a refreshing glass with as little suspicion of wrong as a druggist now fills a medical prescription. "The preacher" was often entertained by him *gratis* in a perfectly legitimate way. Ten years later the same man would have about as quickly become a pirate as a publican.

The period of early silence was broken in 1816 by James Axley, a General Conference delegate from the South. He had made the South and Southwest ring with his startling denunciations of the great evil. He brought the agitation into the General Conference, where he was seconded by the venerable Laban Clark of New England, but the movement failed. In 1828 and 1832 the great names of Wilbur Fisk, Nathan Bangs, and Henry B. Bascom appear in the battle-roll, and things begin to move. We well remember reading Bascom's eloquent Temperance Report to the General Conference of 1832 in our quiet study during our little tutorship at Hamilton College. But it was not until after the separation of the South from the Methodist Episcopal Church that Mr. Wesley's rule was restored, namely, in 1848, by an almost unanimity. In the great temperance revival of the last few years the press and conferences of the Church South are taking a noble stand, and the alarming increase of the evil, together with the boldness of its advocates,

will allow our Southern brethren no repose until the Church becomes unanimous on the highest level. Our own General Conference of 1880 will be honorably commemorated as having passed the following rule: "Let none but the pure unfermented juice of the grape be used in administering the Lord's Supper, whenever practicable." This is the true rule to which all Church communion must come. Infidelity must no longer triumph over our concession that Jesus was an *οἰνοπότης*, nor Mohammedanism boast a soberer communion than Christianity.

It must be frankly confessed that the apostacy of our English brethren from the Wesleyan rule was even more signal than our own. One is amazed to find the British Conference recording itself, so late as 1841, so flagrantly as the following resolutions show:

"*Resolved*, 1. That unfermented wine *be not used in the administration of the Sacrament.*

"*Resolved*, 2. That no chapel be used for total abstinence meetings.

"*Resolved*, 3. That no preacher go into another circuit to advocate total abstinence without first obtaining the consent of the Superintendent of the circuit to which he may have been invited." P. 168.

Mr. Wheeler seems doubtful as to the cause of a movement so clearly designed to check the advance of reformation. We doubt not that it was largely the adverse pressure of the English Church and aristocracy who held the pledge of abstinence in contempt. But the personal tastes and preferences of the Methodist ministry itself must nevertheless bear a decided share of the responsibility. Bishop Simpson once said, "The most distinguished [Wesleyan] ministers are in the habit of using them, [wine and brandy;] and I regret to say that in many churches there both wine and brandy are kept in the vestry for the use of the minister both before and after preaching. On my first visit to the old countries the kind sextons seemed to be as much astonished that I would not accept them as I was amazed at their being offered." But the terribly growing magnitude and audacity of the evil itself would not allow such a body of earnest Christian men to retain this position in permanence. Intemperance itself was the great propagandist of Christian abstinence. Eminent names of British ministers appeared upon the side of reform. The great name of William Arthur of course leads the van. Romilly Hall speaks out in words worthy a true son of

Wesley. George Maunder and Luke H. Wiseman give their burning testimony. The year 1877 is memorable from the formation of a Conference temperance organization; and in 1880 was established their "Temperance Sunday," in which the principles of temperance were to be publicly proclaimed in every Methodist charge in England, the exercises being previously published in the public newspapers to announce to the world that Methodism is alive on this subject.

The Methodist Episcopal Church, Mr. Wheeler well shows, is a great, and ought to be an aggressive, total-abstinence society. It has organized an exterminating war on the manufacture, the traffic, and the appetitive consumption of all intoxicants. It so applies its General Rule, by disciplinary enactment, as to prohibit "the buying, selling, or using intoxicating liquors as a beverage, signing petitions in favor of granting license for the sale of intoxicating liquors, becoming bondsmen for persons engaging in such traffic, renting property as the place in or on which to manufacture intoxicating liquors."

And what is the Christian citizen's duty as the possessor of an elective franchise? Does he cease to be a Christian on the election grounds? Is the government of a righteous God to be nullified at the polls? A revival of a sense of Christian responsibilities in civil franchise has already commenced, and it augurs propitiously for our future. If the Christian Church in all its branches and in all sections will firmly and inflexibly exert its civic powers it can put down bad measures and bad men, and inaugurate every beneficent reform to a degree hitherto unrealized. The twin movements of civil service reform and temperance will remove an immense amount of the evils of our present politics. And politics is the government of the country. Purify our politics and you regenerate our governmental system and attain that "righteousness" which "exalteth a nation." Nor must we be frightened at the bluster of politicians-by-trade who would silence the voice of moral rebuke that they may monopolize political power and emolument. Politicians are at the present day mightily menacing when they think they can frighten, but perfect cowards when our persistence tells them that their craft is in danger.

Corea, the Hermit Nation. I. Ancient and Mediæval History. II. Political and Social Corea. III. Modern and Recent History. By WILLIAM ELLIOTT GRIFFIS, late of the Imperial University of Tokio, Japan. Author of "The Mikado's Empire." 8vo, pp. 462. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882. Price $3 50.

Mr. Griffis won reputation with the reading public, both of Europe and America, by the patient research, sound judgment, and literary ability apparent in his "Mikado's Empire." What he did for Japan and its history in that production he has done in this volume for Corea, or Chō-sen, "the land of the morning calm," as that hitherto little-known peninsula is named by the Coreans themselves. The curiosity of general readers, of Christian philanthropists, and especially of men of commerce, respecting a country which until recently has been little else than a *terra incognita* to Europeans and Americans, will lead many to consult the present volume. And the value and interest of the information it contains are such that its intelligent and thoughtful readers will be both gratified and made acquainted with a very ancient people who have hitherto succeeded in making themselves impregnable to the approaches of modern civilization.

This is not a book of personal travel or adventure, Mr. Griffis never having been nearer to Corea than the coast of Echizen, a Japanese province which lies on the sea that separates Japan from Corea. This coast for ages had been the landing-place of rovers, immigrants, adventurers, and envoys from the opposite Corean shore. Here, therefore, he found families who were proud of their descent from Chō-sen, and "outcasts" who were descendants of Corean prisoners of war. The traditions of these people, their religion, the names they had given to places and things of art, their implements, their animals, birds, vegetables, and trees, were all eloquent of their kinship to the nation on the opposite shore. He saw distinctly that his studies in Japanese history and antiquities reflected much light upon the neighboring hermit nation, and began to search for materials out of which to weave its then almost unknown story. This volume is the result of his research, which, judging from the ninety-nine books and documents in Chinese, Japanese, Russian, Dutch, German, French, and American mentioned in the book, and from the other sources of information and living witnesses consulted personally and by correspondence, must have been, if not exhaustive, yet sufficiently painstaking to justify his claim that his book, though less fascinating than one giving the impressions of a traveler through the country, is more valuable, because it "views

the whole subject, and reduces the impressions of many details to unity, correcting one by the other."

The peninsula of Corea, including its almost countless islands, is nearly equal in size to the State of Minnesota, having an area of between eighty and ninety thousand square miles. Touching the Chinese province of Manchuria and the Russian Possessions on the north and west, it extends southward between the Sea of Japan and the Yellow Sea, from the 43d to the 34th parallel of north latitude. Its climate is varied, but the winters are not more rigorous in the higher latitudes than in the State of New York, while in the most southern they are "as delightful as those in the Carolinas." The summers are hot and rainy. The land is generally fertile. Mr. Griffis thinks that "there are at least 12,000,000 souls in Chō-sen."

The ancient and mediæval history of Corea, like that of European countries, is a record of migrations and conquests, of invasions and counter-invasions, of fierce wars of succession and usurpation. It is, of course, a tangled web of legend and tradition interwoven with more or less of historic truth. Our author, by a process somewhat tedious to his readers, has industriously labored to separate authentic from legendary history, reaching the conclusion that the present race of Coreans are not the aborigines of the peninsula, but descendants of a hardy race, the Fuyu, whose original home was in Manchuria, a thousand miles away from the seats of Chinese culture. This people were among the first of their race to emerge from barbarism, to form themselves into a political organization based on the same principle of feudalism as once existed in Europe. After sundry migrations they entered the Corean peninsula and subjugated its barbarous aborigines, together with the emigrants from China whom they found within its borders. Hence the Coreans are neither Chinese nor Japanese, though more allied to the latter than to the former. In disentangling the thread of their history from its myths Mr. Griffis appears to have incorporated every important accessible fact into his excellent work.

To the general reader the most interesting portions of this work are in the second and third parts, which treat of the present political structure of its government, of the social life and character of its people, of its religion, which is a compound of Shamanism, Confucianism, and Buddhism; of the efforts of the French Jesuits to introduce Romanism, with the terrible persecutions which prevented their success; and of the various methods by

which the Japanese, the European, and American nations finally secured the opening of the ports of Corea for commercial purposes. Hereafter Corea promises to be the theater of struggles which will have a world-wide interest. Russia, on its northern border, is fortifying herself, as if intending to create a base for its invasion, since she is hankering for the possession of its southern harbors. The Buddhists of Japan are preparing agencies for an effort to revive their decaying superstitions within its borders; and the Christian Churches both of England and America will now feel compelled to make it the field of fresh missionary conquests.

Professor Griffis' book is, on the whole, a well-written volume. We notice that here and there, when the author attempts to throw a dash of humor into a paragraph, he utterly fails, as when, in stating that Corea, warned by impending dangers, became willing to listen to proposals for opening her ports, he expresses that disposition by citing from Dickens the phrase, "Barkis was willin'," which in that connection was not witty but silly. So, also, after observing that in worshiping the "god of the hills" the Coreans make their pious trip to the hills a pic-nic, he adds, "Thus they combine piety and pleasure, very much as Americans unite sea-bathing and sanctification, croquet and camp-meeting holiness by the ocean and in the groves." Mr. Griffis apparently belongs to that class who see no inconsistency in consecrating the summer sea-shore to drinking, gambling, horse-racing, and carousing, but see something wonderfully ridiculous in carrying your religion into your vacation, and even providing the means of worship and self-consecration in the sublime presence of the ocean. He seems to think that religion must be kept apart from our business, or at least our recreation; and that a broad chasm should separate our devotion from our every-day life. That is not Christianity, but superstition; or, more likely, it is infidelity playing superstition. The divine founder of our religion, with his twelve apostles, frequented the sea of Gennesaret, and carried on there their blended business, religion, and pleasure. A boat was once the pulpit of Jesus, and the beach the church where the congregation listened. At that sea they sailed, preached, fished, and held great camp-meetings, at one of which five thousand were fed, the great Master himself having preached and supplied the provisions which were distributed by his disciples, in "pic-nic" fashion, to the vast multitudes seated on the grassy shore.

Political History of Recent Times, 1816–1875, *with special reference to Germany.* By WILHELM MÜLLER, Professor in Tübingen. Revised and Enlarged by the Author. Translated, with an Appendix covering the period from 1876 to 1881, by the Rev. JOHN P. PETERS, Ph.D. 8vo, pp. 696. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The last sixty-five years have been marked by great events; by great changes in the relations of the leading nations of Europe to each other and to other parts of the world, and by the growth of liberal ideas tending to the transference of political power from the aristocratic few to the democratic multitude. To treat all these events intelligently, yet without wearisome dullness, in one volume, demanded of the writer a thoroughness in his knowledge and a power of philosophical analysis and of skill in composition such as few can justly claim. But Mr. Müller has fully met this great demand, and given to his readers a comprehensive clew by which they can seize on the links which connected the formation of the Holy Alliance with the fall of Napoleon; the rise of revolutions in Germany, Italy, Austria, Spain, and Portugal, and especially in France, with the usurpations of the kings in that Alliance. The vast consequences which followed the expulsion of the Bourbons and the ascendency of the Second Empire in France; the usurpations of Prussia in Germany; the creation of a united Italy; the establishment of the German Empire; the overthrow of Napoleon III.; the conflicts of Russia with Turkey; and the relations of England to these great political events and to India, are also all treated with judicial fairness and in the spirit of a man thoroughly possessed of liberal ideas. To students already versed in history Mr. Müller's book will be exceedingly valuable for occasional reference; to the general reader it will furnish as much information of recent events as he may care to know; and it will prove particularly desirable for use in academies and colleges by students of modern European history. President White, of Cornell University, heartily commends it to this last-named class.

Heroic Methodists of the Olden Time; or, Anecdotal Sketches of some of the Noble Men and Women whose Beautiful Lives Adorned, and whose Faithful Labors Built the Walls of Early Methodism. Intended to Please and Profit Boys and Girls. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 307. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

The fluent and graphic pen of Dr. Wise, so well known and appreciated in the literature of our Church, has here given us a few leaves from what has been esteemed our heroic age, and

certainly was our primeval period. The world now acknowledges the profound world-wide interest of its history. Dr. Wise has given sketches of Wesley, Fletcher, Lady Huntingdon, Adam Clarke, down to Jackson and Dawson. We adopt Dr. Wise's motto: "Let the deeds of our Methodist fathers and mothers be never forgotten—let your children remember them forever."

Building the Nation. Events in the History of the United States: from the Revolution to the Beginning of the War between the States. By CHARLES CARLETON COFFIN. Author of "The Boys of '76," "The Story of Liberty," "Old Times in the Colonies," etc. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 485. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

In this volume, one of the Harpers' illustrated, Mr. Coffin has given us a portion of our American history in a style and method of eminent fascination. His diction is popular and colloquial; he selects in historical order the most striking scenes and characters, and shows great skill in reproducing the popular feeling of that day. The cuts are plentiful and often piquant, so that every boy, young and old, may be easily seduced into a knowledge of the history of his country. He ends at the beginning of our late civil war, and all will be ready for his next volume next year.

Educational.

Report of the President of Liberia College to the Board of Trustees. December, 1881. 8vo. pp. 26. Cambridge, U. S. A., John Wilson & Son. 1882.

The Aims and Methods of a Liberal Education for Africans. Inaugural Address delivered by EDWARD WILMOT BLYDEN, LL.D., President of Liberia College. January 5, 1881. 8vo, pp. 30. Cambridge, U. S. A., John Wilson & Son. 1882.

Dr. Blyden's two pamphlets are written in the graceful English of which he is so fine a master. They show an earnest interest in behalf of his people. We take occasion to express our hearty sympathy for his self-consecration to his work and the general wisdom of his counsels.

As an exposition of his views of the methods of *constructing an African civilization* these publications remove some misunderstandings. We find a report, even in the periodicals of his race in America, that he had prohibited the use of the English language in Liberia College. The truth seems to be that he reprobates a great share of English literature because it is so depreci-

tory toward the colored race as to depress the feelings and degrade the character of its present Negro readers. In the literary course of the college he will so plan the studies as to fling in the background this period of modern literature.

Dr. Blyden takes a very strong view of the debasing effect of slavery on the immigrants from America. It unfits the American Negro missionary for the work in Africa. He has gone so far as to say that Mohammedism produces a nobler manhood in its converts than the Christianity of our missionaries. He would cherish a high respect for the Moslemism of Africa, and has a theory of making it "a stepping-stone to Christianity." He would have the Negro Christian missionary educated in Africa, in schools under Negro faculties. In short, though founded in Caucasian Christian philanthropy, there must be as complete a withdrawal from Caucasian Christian civilization as may be. The liberalities of the founders of the schools, and of the Republic itself, cannot obliterate the bitter memories of African wrongs, nor the traces of slavery. In both the Report and the Address there are severe replies to Caucasian attacks; and criticisms are passed upon even the defenses and eulogies of the friends of the Negro. On the whole, while recognizing the wisdom of much he says, we cannot help fearing that many of his words are tending to cultivate an oversensitiveness among his countrymen which may react unfavorably upon the American public mind. It is hard for people who would work and sacrifice for Africa to find themselves subjected to a severe criticism for not doing it better. Perhaps it might be well, also, to suggest whether the Negro himself is all right. Unless the Negro character and conduct can respond in a due degree to the efforts made for his advantage, discouragement must ensue. Wiser, apparently, it would be, for Dr. Blyden to impress upon his audiences the immense importance for the Negro to show himself susceptible of civilization, and alert and enterprising to its calls. It is he, and not the Caucasian, who is on trial. With Dr. Blyden the Negro seems all right, and the Caucasian the sole object of criticism.

That Dr. Blyden well understands the character of the needed missionary is well indicated in the following ideal picture:

> For the great work to be done in this vast country we must have men trained amid the scenes of their future labors—men who can enter at once upon their work knowing what is to be done; who need neither mental nor physical acclimation; who know the specific methods in this country for performing industrial, commercial, educational, and religious work; who will know how to live in the country and in the towns; who, if necessary, like the intrepid Anderson—educated in Liberia—can walk two hundred miles on their bare feet, doing exploring

and scientific work; who can take the surveyor's chain and compass through swamps and over mountains, without the accessories of hammocks and beasts of burden, umbrellas and waterproofs; who as missionaries can walk from village to village, proclaiming the Gospel of Christ to the natives in a language they can understand, and can sit down on mats and skins in native huts, reading their Greek Testament and Hebrew Bible, or discussing the Arabic Koran with Mohammedans—and then at meal time can enjoy with their hosts palm oil and rice, palaver sauce and dumboy; who will not long and pine for bacon and greens, peaches and pears, broadcloth coats and beaver hats.—Page 19.

That such missionaries, plentiful, it would seem, among the Mohammedans of Africa, should not yet appear among the Christians, is the real complaint uttered in America. How can this coming band of new-life Christian missionaries be made to come immediately? The Mohammedan school of Cairo is, we understand, sending out its flaming missionaries by hundreds through the continent. But there appears in Liberia neither flame nor fire. All seems cold, dark, charcoal. Conspicuously is this evident in the fact that after more than half a century of work our Methodist conference counts but fourteen members, with a goodly proportion of places "to be supplied." The difficulty seems to lie in the lifelessness of the material there. And yet Dr. Blyden does make it tolerably clear that the true method with Africa is to train the missionary in a school under Negro teachers, and fire them, if possible, with an apostolic zeal.

Literature and Fiction.

Development of English Literature and Language. By ALFRED H. WELSH, A.M. 2 vols. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. London: Trübner & Co.

The purpose of these two handsome volumes is to give a broad account of the causes that have produced our literature, and a critical estimate of its character. To do this well would be to accomplish a most important and difficult task, in which no one has yet succeeded. We have as yet no satisfactory history of English literature. Taine's work, brilliant as it is, is inaccurate in details and written entirely in the service of a pet theory. Henry Morley's "English Writers" was suspended fifteen years ago when it had been carried only as far as the fifteenth century, and has never since been resumed. Professor Ten Brink, of Strasburg, is now engaged on what promises to be by far the best history of our literature; but only the first volume has yet been published, and of this there is no English translation. There is,

therefore, abundant room and need for such a book as Mr. Welsh has attempted.

To write such a work calls not only for wide and accurate knowledge, but also for rare philosophical and critical ability. It must be said for the author of the volumes before us that he has an intelligent conception of the breadth and difficulties of his theme, and a carefully-considered method of treatment. In his introduction he lays down the general proposition that the character of a national literature is decided by the hereditary or race disposition of the writers; by their surroundings, physical, social, political; and by their individuality or personal character. To these three causes he, indeed, adds a fourth, the "Epoch, or Spirit of the Age;" but it seems plain enough that this is resolvable into the other three, being only that condition of the general environment which obtains at any given time. A literature, then, being the product of these three factors—the Race, the Environment, the Person—it becomes necessary to show their combined action in literary growth, and, at the same time, to estimate their relative importance. In pursuance of such a plan, Mr. Welsh, after devoting two opening chapters to the formation of the English character in its earliest history, begins every subsequent chapter with a somewhat detailed account of the religion, politics, morals, and manners of the period covered by the chapter, with such reference to the writings of the period as may serve to show how the social peculiarities described found expression in literature. He then selects a few of the more important and typical writers of the time and gives to their life and work a fuller discussion, under the several headings, Biography, Writings, Style, Rank, Character, and Influence.

The opening sections of each chapter, which describe the state of society at various epochs, are the most interesting and important parts of the book. They evince wide reading and often contain much curious and valuable information. But they do not always show a firm grasp of general causes. The author often fails to make clear the laws of which the social facts he has collected are the expression, or to show the bearing of those facts upon literature. Sometimes, too, his collection of facts, though interesting as a picture of society, omits just those details most pertinent to his subject. In the discussion of the first half of the eighteenth century, for instance, we find nothing said of the decay of the sentiment of authority in politics which followed the revolution of '88; nothing of the rise of that shrewd middle class

to whom political power was surely passing; nothing of the portentous growth of the city of London and the forms of social life that accompanied that growth; nothing of the secrecy of Parliamentary debates which made necessary some other means of reaching the public ear; and nothing of the specific influence of French literary models. Yet these are just the causes which had most to do in determining the form and spirit of our literature under Anne and the first Georges. But after all deductions have been made, these sections form a useful contribution to the history of English society.

The remaining or critical sections seem to us not so valuable. The relation which the authors selected for detailed discussion bore to their age is often very imperfectly shown, even when, as in the case of Edmund Spenser, that relation is all-important. Nor does Mr. Welsh always succeed in giving a clear conception of the personality of his author. The copious citations from other critics are usually well chosen and valuable; but his own criticism is vague, diffuse, and declamatory. It is never terse and incisive. It lacks originality and insight. The purely rhetorical criticism, in particular, is weak, the epithets grouped under the heading "Style" rarely having much descriptive value. It is, indeed, impossible to consider with any profit the "style" of a writer apart from those mental peculiarities of which it is the expression. That Longfellow's style is "simple, choice, musical, sincere, vitalized by sympathy," is true enough; but, then, so is that of Whittier, Goldsmith, Burns, and half a hundred other English poets. In fact, these remarks upon style seem sometimes to have been written pretty nearly at random; when the style of Cowper is characterized as "animated, vigorous, pointed," it would seem impossible that the epithets could have been deliberately chosen; the style of Sidney is characterized as "always flexible," but "sometimes cramped."

Mr. Welsh seems sometimes to fall into mistakes from unacquaintance with the latest authorities upon his subject. In the biographical sketch of Chaucer, for instance, there are in the first twenty-five lines seven different statements given as unquestioned matters of fact, every one of which has been shown, by recent study of Chaucer, to be either positively erroneous or at best merely conjectural. Mr. Welsh seems to have read nothing on Chaucer later than the book of Harris Nicolas. Indeed, his reading in general, though wide, would seem to have been very indiscriminate. The rather pretentious list of nearly

three hundred authorities which is placed at the beginning of his book is remarkable, indeed, for the omission of many of the ablest and best-known books on his subject in English, and the entire absence of all authorities in French and German. Elsewhere the errors of the author seem to be due to an indifference to details and an aim at fine writing. Thus we are told in one place that Sidney wrote the Arcadia "in the shelter of the forest oaks," and in another place that the Arcadia was written "in an old castle," as it certainly was *not;* the careful student would be willing to exchange the rhetoric for a simple statement of the fact that the Arcadia was written at Wilton. Mr. Welsh makes Esther Johnson fifteen years old when Swift first met her; she was six or seven. He calls the other woman of Swift's romance Esther Vanhomrigh; her name was Hester. He says that De Foe, after having lost his ears in the pillory, retired from politics in 1716, bankrupt, to devote his energies to fiction. Had he remembered any thing written on De Foe since 1869, he would have known that De Foe in 1716 was in politics deeper than ever, that he was far from bankrupt, and that he never lost his ears at all. These are minor errors, perhaps; but they are just the kind of errors that a well-informed and careful writer would successfully avoid.

The style of the book throughout is not eminently chaste. It is vague, diffuse, florid. Mr. Welsh does not say a plain thing in a plain way. His labored efforts after animation of manner lead him now into turgid declamation, now into ludicrous flippancy. This is the way by which the tedium of a discussion upon Hume is enlivened: "And now, Mr. Hume, we cannot refrain from wishing that along with your incisive intellect you possessed more heart and soul; along with your self-reliant majesty more reverence and trust. . . . You carry in your bosom no sheaves of sunbeams, no carols of birds, no plaintive cadence of Æolian harp." Which is, doubtless, true. Perhaps, however, the most amusing of Mr. Welsh's rhetorical peculiarities is the habit he has of dropping now and then into exhortation rather odd than edifying. This is the way in which the life of good Joseph Addison is "improved": "You and I may not have much intellectual power, our thought may never fill the world's soul; but if we have stimulated a generous wish or a noble aspiration, if we have even furnished a medium in which handsome things may be projected and performed; if we have added one leaf to the tree of humanity, one blossom to its wealth of bloom, or aught

to its harvest of fruit, we may rely upon the eternal law that neither things present nor things to come can deprive these outgoing particles of their immortality." C. T. W.

Alexander Pope. By LESLIE STEPHEN. (Morley's series.) 16mo, pp. 207. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

It was said of Mr. Lincoln that he seemed to have a lower and a higher self; that in contemplating the former you could scarcely realize the latter; and the historic world has preferred, in the contemplation of the higher, to largely dismiss the reminiscences of the lower. The same double self close research finds, in some degree, in Pope; but Mr. Stephen, from some peculiarity of his nature, prefers to dwell mainly in the lower story, we might say in the down-cellar, of Pope's character and history. He never tires, however thoroughly his readers may, of vituperative epithets, (among which "liar" and "thief" are average specimens,) of depreciatory clauses, and of intentionally damning the great poet "with faint praise." And all this, though patently Pope's errors were largely based in his physiological make, in his dwarfed frame, his sickly habit, and his tremulous nervous system. He is charged, and apparently proved, as being abundantly guilty of multiplied prevarications and dissimulations in his literary dealings. Within his professional line he garbled documents, denied the truth, and practiced frauds. And yet, as Mr. Stephens admits, these under-cover practices so little affected his ordinary character or reputation that "he was the welcome companion of all the most eminent men of his time." Pope himself seemed to view these peccadilloes as mere parentheses in his moral character, of which he could easily absolve himself, and which left him free for the full feeling and expression of the loftiest sentiments and purest moralities of our nature.

Pope had a desire to have his correspondence published without seeming to have done it himself. For the purpose of concealing from the public his own agency in the publication, he started a deceptive scheme. As the devil will often have it, one deception had to be covered with another, until a whole snarl of prevarications had come into existence. Pope measurably succeeds, and finally enamels the whole over with a varnish of pseudo-morality. Over these effeminate hypocrisies for an effeminate purpose, Mr. Stephen parades a most magniloquent morality hardly less hypocritical. "The most audacious hypocrite of fiction turns pale

at this." It "is altogether a picture to set fiction at defiance." That is, Iago inveigling his master to the murder of his own wife, Guy Falk conspiring to blow up Parliament, are white lambs compared to Pope intriguing to conceal his hand in the publication of his own over-elegant epistles, and making believe they were purloined for the purpose!

Mr. Stephen does scant justice to the great genius of Pope, and that under the form, usually, of reluctant and piecemeal admissions. The poet's unsurpassed ability to clothe thought in lines of most perfect finish has made it seem easy to be done by any body; and we have known versifiers of fifth-rate ability cherishing the idiocy that they "could write as good poetry as Pope's." And yet, perhaps, Shakspeare alone has left so many masterstrokes of condensed thought, stereotyped by our constant quotation into proverbs, as Pope.

Mr. Stephen's philosophy and theology are more inverted even than his literary and ethical criticism. The following great passage of Pope's he styles "frankly pantheistic":

> All are but parts of one stupendous whole
> Whose body nature is, and God the soul;
> That changed through all and yet in all the same,
> Great in the earth as in the ethereal frame,
> Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,
> Glows in the stars, and blossoms in the trees;
> Lives through all life, extends through all extent,
> Spreads undivided, operates unspent;
> Breathes in our soul, informs our mortal part,
> As full, as perfect, in a hair as heart;
> As full, as perfect, in vile man that mourns
> As the rapt seraph that adores and burns;
> To Him, no high, no low, no great, no small,
> He fills, he bounds, connects, and equals all.

Mr. Stephen's statement that this magnificent passage is "hardly orthodox" and "pantheistic" sadly exposes his incapacity for such subjects. The passage describes, in terms of wonderful truth and sublimity, the pervasive omnipotence of a personal Deity throughout all the objects and operations of nature; and every line might be repeated from any orthodox pulpit in full accordance with sacred truth. Pope has left two lines in his poetry which, putting *self-conceit* for "pride," admirably describe the peculiarities of his biographer's case:

> Pride, where wit fails, steps in to our defense,
> And fills up all the mighty void of sense.

Preparatory Greek Course in English. By WILLIAM CLEAVER WILKINSON. 12mo, pp. 294. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1882.

The writer gives frank credit to Dr. Vincent for the origination of *the idea* of this volume, as well as ample suggestions in its production; and the compliment might be reciprocated that he has filled out, and more than filled out, the programme with eminent ability and success. Its "aim" is to furnish to the popular reader a clear and full idea of what is going on in the "college course." But it well succeeds in accomplishing the further aim of furnishing to the young student, for himself, a clear idea of what he is going about. In former days, and we suspect down to the present day, the unfortunate candidate is obliged, very much, to go it blind. In the olden time his Latin grammar was put into his hands, then his manual of selections with dictionary, then his Virgil, and he plodded like a miner cutting a tunnel through a rock. A book like this would have thrown an illumination around his path, revealing to him where he was, and what the surroundings of the route he was obliged to pursue. Mr. Wilkinson has done his work in the best manner, varying his style through a variety of changes, now cheerily colloquial, now running an even level, and anon rising with graceful ease into a strain of lofty eloquence. The volume is first of a series.

Character Sketches. Arnaud—Macaulay—Klopstock and His Meta—Mary Somerville—Madame De Staël—Voltaire—Channing—Wesley. By ABEL STEVENS, LL.D. 12mo, pp. 397. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

Several of these admirable sketches have already been published in our Quarterly. The remaining three have for their subject Voltaire, Channing, and Wesley. In some respects the Voltaire, whose life and character Dr. Stevens has evidently made a study, will be found not the least interesting. Upon Channing he is fresh, liberal, and graphic, blending general criticisms with personal recollections. We need not say that upon Wesley he is at home; and no pen has done more to revolutionize public opinion to its present high estimate of him than this same Dr. Stevens.

Poems. By REV. DWIGHT WILLIAMS. 8vo, pp. 397. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

Readers who have been accustomed now and then to see a spirited poem peering out in the columns of our papers, by Mr. Will-

iams, will be glad to welcome them in complete volume. They will find a collection of the productions of a true poet on a rich variety of subjects, and in a brilliant variety of styles.

The Power of the Invisible, and other Lectures and Addresses chiefly Educational and Baccalaureate. By Rev. H. A. THOMPSON, D.D., President of Otterbein University. 12mo, pp. 400. Dayton, Ohio: United Brethren Publishing House. 1882.

The President of Otterbein has collected a volume of public performances of his own before the students of his college, before various institutions, literary and religious, and one before the Ecumenical Assembly of Methodism. They are marked by the traits of high culture, elevated religious tone, and a large share of independent remark. The reader finds himself in communion with an elevated style of thought; and the volume will exert an efficient and beneficent influence on the public mind.

Miscellaneous.

Final Causes. By PAUL JANET, Member of the Institute, Professor at the Faculté des Lettres of Paris. Translated from the Second Edition of the French by WILLIAM AFFLECK, B.D. With Preface by ROBERT FLINT, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Divinity, University of Edinburgh. Second Edition. 8vo, pp. 520. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1883.

It is gratifying to know that a new issue of this able treatise is required. We have already given our opinion, which we here repeat, that it is a very effective refutation of the Agnosticism, *alias* Atheism, of the hour.

The Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament. Considered in Eight Lectures Delivered before the University of Oxford on the Bampton Foundation. By THOMAS DEHANY BERNARD, M.A., of Exeter College, and Rector of Walcot. 12mo, pp. 258. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1883.

This fine volume we have noticed years ago, and are glad to welcome its fresh issue. In a small compass it brings together a series of fresh views of the unity and progressive unfoldings of the New Testament, expressed in a style of beautiful clearness and simplicity. It is timely as correcting the errors of an overdone method of so-called Biblical Theology which virtually denies that the New Testament is an organic book, and reduces it to a chance series of pamphlets floated together.

Webster. An Ode. By WILLIAM CLEAVER WILKINSON. 1782–1852. Super-royal 8vo, pp. 122. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882.

Daniel Webster was, with the single exception of Jonathan Edwards, the greatest intellect known in American history, a great statesman, and a great orator. But neither poetry or prose can undo the fact that in the greatest moral battle of the century he was untrue in the most trying crisis to the cause of freedom and righteousness. Nothing, alas, can erase Whittier's "Ichabod."

Harper's Young People, 1882. Imperial 8vo, pp. 848. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Mr. Stubbs' Brother. A Sequel to "Toby Tyler." By JAMES OTIS, Author of "Toby Tyler," "Tim and Tip," etc. Illustrated by W. A. ROGERS. 16mo, pp. 283. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

Moravian Missions. Twelve Lectures by AUGUSTUS C. THOMPSON, Author of "The Better Land," "Morning Hours in Patmos," "The Mercy Seat," etc. 12mo, pp. 516. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882.

Harper's Illustrated Books this season are unsurpassed for splendor and value. Coffin's "Building of a Nation" we have elsewhere noticed. The following are sumptuous:

Harpers' Christmas. Pictures and Papers done by the Tile Club and its Literary Friends. 32 pages, (page double the size of "Harper's Weekly" page.) with Supplement presenting a two-page Engraving of Vedder's powerful drawing—the head of the Youthful Samson. Price 75 cents.

Travels in South Kensington. With Notes on Decorative Art and Architecture in England. By MONCURE DANIEL CONWAY, Author of "The Sacred Anthology," "The Wandering Jew," "Thomas Carlyle," etc. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 234. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The Story of the Volunteer Fire Department of the City of New York. By GEORGE W. SHELDON. With 145 Illustrations. 8vo, pp. 575. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Highways and Byways; or Saunterings in New England. By WILLIAM HAMILTON GIBSON, Author of "Pastoral Days." Illustrated. 4to, pp. 157. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

Selections from the Poetry of Robert Herrick. With Drawings. By EDWIN A. ABBEY. 4to, pp. 188. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The Land and the Book; or, Biblical Illustrations Drawn from the Manners and Customs, the Scenes and Scenery, of the Holy Land, Central Palestine, and Phenicia. By WILLIAM M. THOMSON, D.D., Forty-five Years a Missionary in Syria and Palestine. 130 Illustrations and Maps. 8vo, pp. 689. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

History of Ancient Art. By DR. FRANZ VON REBER, Director of the Bavarian Royal and State Galleries of Paintings, Professor in the University and Polytechnic of Munich. Revised by the Author. Translated and Augmented by JOSEPH THACHER CLARKE. With 310 Illustrations, and a Glossary of Technical Terms. 8vo, pp. 482. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The Boy Travelers in the Far East. Part Fourth. Adventures of Two Youths in a Journey to Egypt and the Holy Land. By THOMAS W. KNOX, Author of "The Young Nimrods," "Camp-Fire and Cotton-Field," "Overland Through Asia," "Underground," "John," "How to Travel," etc. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 438. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

A History of Wood Engraving. By GEORGE E. WOODBERRY. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 221. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

The Friendships of Mary Russel Mitford, as Recorded in Letters from Her Literary Correspondents. Edited by the Rev. A. G. L'ESTRANGE, Editor of "The Life of Mary Russel Mitford," and Author of "The Life of the Rev. W. Harness," "The Village of Palaces," etc. 12mo, pp. 460. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Knocking Round the Rockies. By ERNEST INGERSOLL. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 218. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

A Compendious Dictionary of the French Language. (French-English, English-French.) Adapted from the Dictionaries of Prof. Alfred Elwall, followed by a List of the Principal Diverging Derivations. By GUSTAVE MASSON. Small 8vo, pp. 411. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

A Transplanted Rose. A Story of New York Society. 12mo, pp. 307. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The Gospel According to Luke. Explained by MATTHEW B. RIDDLE, D.D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the Theological Seminary at Hartford, Conn., Member of the New Testament Company of American Revisers. 12mo, pp. 369. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882.

Shakespeare's History of King Henry the Sixth. Part I. Edited, with Notes, by WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M., Formerly Head Master of the High School, Cambridge, Mass. With Engravings. Small 8vo, pp. 161. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Shakespeare's History of King Henry the Sixth. Part II. Edited, with Notes, by WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M., Formerly Head Master of the High School, Cambridge, Mass. With Engravings. Small 8vo, pp. 183. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Shakespeare's History of King Henry the Sixth. Part III. Edited, with Notes, by WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M., Formerly Head Master of the High School, Cambridge, Mass. With Engravings. Small 8vo, pp. 172. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The Epistle to the Hebrews. With Introduction and Notes, by A. B. DAVIDSON, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Hebrew, etc., in the New College, Edinburgh. 12mo, pp. 260. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1882. (Scribners.)

The Westminster Confession of Faith. With Introduction and Notes by Rev. JOHN MACPHERSON, M.A., Findhorn. 12mo, pp. 171. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1881. (Scribners.)

The Church. By WILLIAM BINNIE, D.D., Professor of Church History, Free Church College, Aberdeen, Author of "Treatise on the Psalms, their History, Teachings, and Use." 12mo, pp. 152. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1882. (Scribners.)

The Work of the Holy Spirit in Man. Discourses by G. TOPHEL, Pastor of the Evangelical Church, Geneva. Translated from the French, (Third Edition.) by Permission of the Author. By Rev. THOMAS J. DESPRES. 12mo, pp. 118. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1882. (Scribners.)

Love for Souls. By Rev. WILLIAM SCRIBNER, Author of "Pray for the Holy Spirit," "The Saviour's Converts," etc. 12mo, pp. 103. New York: Charles Scribners Sons. 1882.

The Reformation. By T. M. LINDSAY, M.A., D.D., Professor of Divinity and Church History, Free Church College, Glasgow. 12mo, pp. 214. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1882. (Scribners.)

The Book of Genesis. With Introduction and Notes, by MARCUS DODS, D.D. 12mo, pp. 202. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1882. (Scribners.)

The Acts of the Apostles. Explained by J. S. HOWSON, D.D., Dean of Chester, and H. D. M. SPENCE, M.A., Vicar and Rural Dean of St. Pancras, London. 12mo, pp. 420. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882.

Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. By HEINRICH AUGUST WILHELM MEYER, Th.D., Oberconsistorialrath, Hannover. From the German, with the sanction of the Author. The Epistles of James and John. By Dr. J. E. HUNTER. 8vo. pp. 528. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1882. (Scribners.)

Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. By HEINRICH AUGUST WILHELM MEYER. Th.D., Oberconsistorialrath, Hannover. From the German, with the sanction of the Author. The Epistle to the Hebrews. By Dr. GOTTLIEB LUNEMANN. 8vo, pp. 495. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1882. (Scribners.)

Biblical scholars will welcome these two volumes in continuation of Meyer by Hunter and Lünemann. We doubt they would generally desire the completion of the great work with Düsterdieck's Apocalypse.

Christian Ethics. Special Part. Second Division: Social Ethics. By Dr. H. MARTENSEN, Bishop of Seeland. Translated from the Author's German Edition by SOPHIA TAYLOR. 8vo, pp. 384. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1882. (Scribners.)

We note in this volume the same characteristics as in the former: a great skill in applying the principles of ethics to practical life.

FRANKLIN SQUARE LIBRARY: *Lorna Doone*, a Romance of Exmoor. By R. D. BLACKMORE, Author of "Cradock Nowell," "Maid of Sker," "Alice Lorraine," etc. 8vo. pp. 280. *Heaps of Money.* A Novel. By W. E. NORRIS. Price 15 cents. *Civil Service in Great Britain.* A History of Abuses and Reforms and their Bearing upon American Politics. By DORMAN B. EATON. Price 25 cents. *Egypt Under its Khedives;* or, the Old House of Bondage under New Masters. By EDWIN DE LEON. With Illustrations. Price 20 cents. *The Constitutional History of England from* 1760 to 1860. By CHARLES D. YONGE. Price 25 cents. *The Making of England.* By JOHN RICHARD GREEN, M.A., LL.D. With Maps. Price 20 cents. *Quits at Last.* An Account in Seven Items. By R. E. FRANCILLON, Author of "Earl's Dene," etc. Pp. 39. *No Proof.* A Novel. By Miss ALICE O'HANLAN. Pp. 70. *Daisies and Buttercups.* By Mrs. J. H. RIDDELL. Pp. 95. *The Great Diamonds of the World*, their History and Romance. By EDWIN W. STREETER. Edited and Annotated by JOSEPH HATTON and A. H. KEANE. Pp. 46. *Flower and Weed.* By Miss M. E. BRADDON. Pp. 28. *Of High Degree.* A Story. By CHARLES GIBBON. Pp. 68. *The Friendships of Mary Russel Mitford*, as Recorded in Letters from Her Literary Correspondents. Edited by the Rev. A. G. L'ESTRANGE. Pp. 119. *Val Strange.* A Story of the Primrose Way. By DAVID CHRISTIE MURRAY, Author of "A Life's Atonement," etc. Pp. 75. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The Senior Lesson Book, (Berean Series No. 1,) on the International Lessons for 1883. 16mo, pp. 208. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1883.

The Berean Question Book, (Berean Series No. 2,) on the International Lessons for 1883. 16mo, pp. 204. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1883.

The Berean Beginner's Book, (Berean Series No. 3.) on the International Lessons for 1883. 16mo, pp. 203. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1883.

The Lesson Commentary on the International Lessons for 1883. By REV. JOHN H. VINCENT, D D., and REV. J. L. HURLBUT, M.A. 8vo, pp. 312. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1883.

Eras and Characters of History. By WILLIAM R. WILLIAMS. 12mo, pp. 286. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Science and Sentiment. With other Papers, Chiefly Philosophical. By NOAH PORTER, D.D., LL.D., President of Yale College. 8vo, pp. 506. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882.

The New Testament in the Original Greek. The Text Revised by BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., Canon of Peterborough and Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge, and FENTON JOHN ANTHONY HORT, D.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. American Edition, with an Introduction by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D., Professor in the Union Theological Seminary, New York, President of the American Bible Revision Committee. 8vo, pp. 539. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The True Story of John Smyth, the Se-Baptist, as Told by Himself and His Contemporaries; with an Inquiry Whether Dipping were a New Mode of Baptism in England in or about 1641; and Some Consideration of the Historical Value of Certain Extracts from the Alleged "Ancient Records" of the Baptist Church of Epworth, Crowle, and Butterwick, (Eng.,) Lately Published and Claimed to Suggest Important Modifications of the History of the Seventeenth Century. By HENRY MARTYN DEXTER. Super-royal 8vo, pp. 106. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1881.

Three Successful Lives. Two Illustrations. 16mo, pp. 180. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

Life of Captain John Smith, First Planter of Virginia. By CHARLES K. TRUE, D.D., Author of "John Winthrop and the Great Colony," "Elements of Logic," etc. Two Illustrations. 16mo, pp. 267. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

Boys and Girls. Two Illustrations. 16mo, pp. 190. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

The School at Berchwood. Two Illustrations. By the Author of "Agnes Morton's Trial," "Our Western Home," "Twenty-five Cents," etc. 16mo, pp. 156. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

New Games for Parlor and Lawn, with a Few Old Friends in a New Dress. 16mo, pp. 227. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Diddie, Dumps, and Tot; or, Plantation Child-life. By LOUISE CLARKE PYRNELLE. Illustrated. Small 8vo, pp. 217. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Macaulay. By J. COTTER MORISON. 12mo, pp. 183. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

Charles Lamb. By ALFRED AINGER. 12mo, pp. 182. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Sterne. By H. D. TRAILL. 12mo, pp. 173. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Gray. By EDMUND W. GOSSE. 12mo, pp. 223. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Swift. By LESLIE STEPHEN. 12mo, pp. 205. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Mildred's Bargain and Other Stories. By LUCY C. LILLIE, Author of "Prudence." Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 231. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1883.

Amusements in the Light of Reason, History, and Revelation. By Rev. S. M. VERNON, D.D. 16mo, pp. 153. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

The Faiths of the World. St. Giles' Lectures. 12mo, pp. 364. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882.

Ten Years of Self-Supporting Missions in India. By WILLIAM TAYLOR. Printed for the Author. 12mo, pp. 480. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

A Short History of the Kingdom of Ireland, from the Earliest Times to the Union of Great Britain, with five Maps and Appendixes. By CHARLES GEORGE WALPOLE, M.A. 12mo, pp. 423. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

A New, Easy, and Complete Hebrew Course, Containing a Hebrew Grammar, with Copious Hebrew and English Exercises, Strictly Graduated; also a Hebrew-English and an English-Hebrew Lexicon, Designed for the Purpose of Self-Instruction, as well as for Use in Schools and Colleges. By the late Rev. T. BOWMAN, M.A., Clifton, Bristol. In Two Parts. Part II. Irregular Verbs, etc. 8vo, pp. 423. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1882.

A Popular Commentary on the New Testament. By English and American Scholars of Various Evangelical Denominations. With Illustrations and Maps. Edited by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Sacred Literature in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. Vol. III. The Epistles of St. Paul. 8vo, pp. 628. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1882.

Of this sumptuous work the Maps and Plans are furnished by Prof. Guyot, of Princeton; the Illustrations by Thomson, author of "The Land and the Book." Among the commentators the three Epistles of John are to be annotated by Dr. William B. Pope and Prof. Moulton, of Cambridge; and the Apocalypse by Prof. Milligan and Prof. Moulton.

Notices of the following books postponed to the next Quarterly:

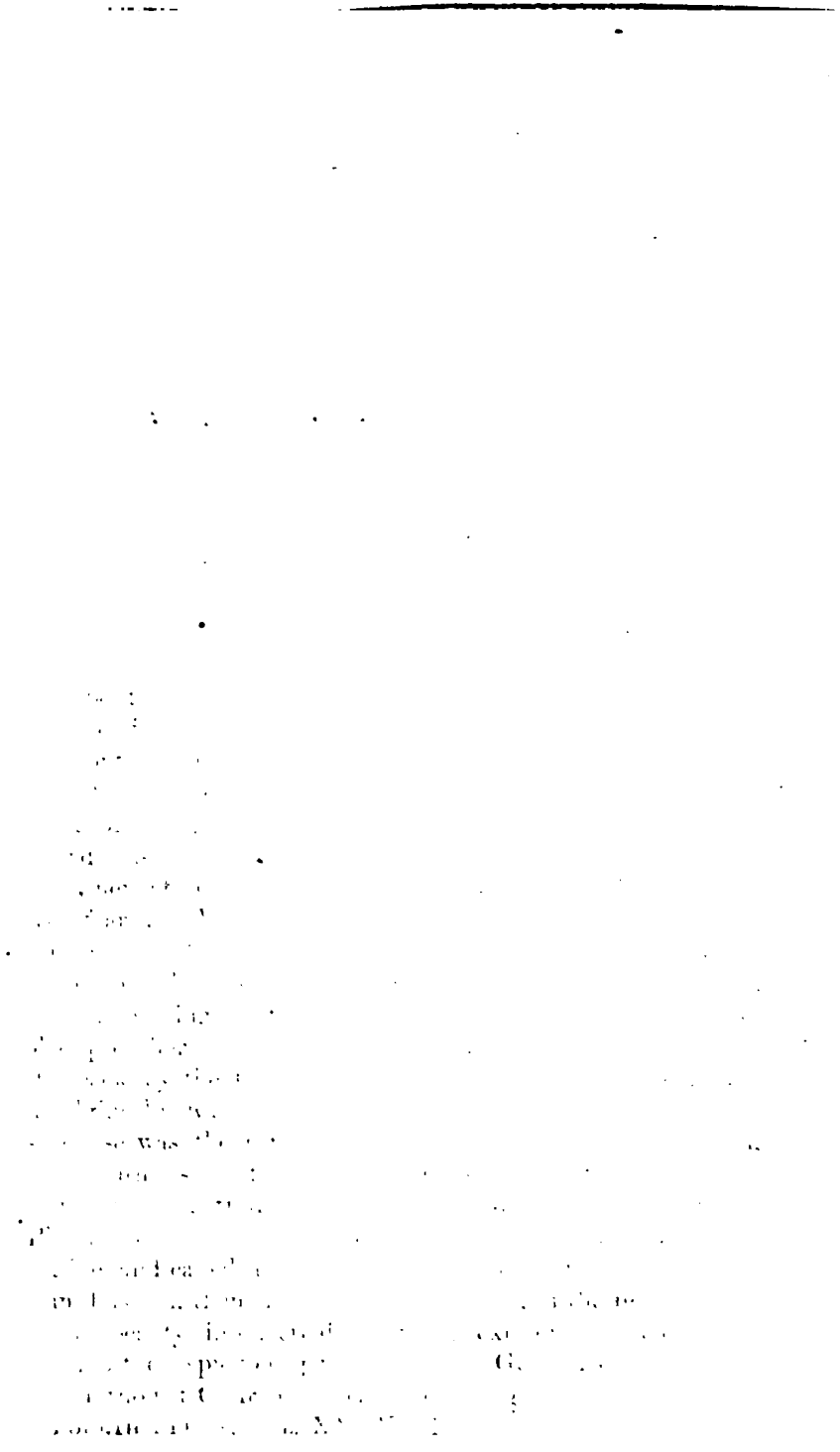
The Human Mind. By HAMILTON. From the Carters.

Dr. Hill's Geometry and Faith. Lee & Shepard.

Lenormant's Beginnings of History. Scribners.

H. B. BASCOM. D.D. L.L.D.

ONE OF THE BISHOPS OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH SOUTH.



METHODIST

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1883.

ART. I.—HENRY B. BASCOM.

AT about eight o'clock on a Sunday morning, in May, 1832, I stood in a huddled group of impatient men and women in front of the old St. George's Methodist Church, on Fourth-street, below New, in Philadelphia, waiting for the doors of the quaint edifice to be opened. By nine o'clock the crowd was numbered by hundreds, and thronged the street, and when at last the doors were opened the rush that followed was fearful. Within a few minutes every seat in the house was taken; the passages, and even windows, were filled by people of all sorts and conditions, who sat or stood two hours longer, awaiting the beginning of the service at eleven o'clock. The preacher had to enter the church through a window at the back by the help of a ladder, and found no small trouble in edging his way through the chancel and up the pulpit steps, so dense was the throng. As he stood to give out the hymn, the breathless multitude looked upon one of the handsomest men that ever trod this continent. Had he lived in Greece, Phidias might have wrought his form, face, and head into marble, and called it Apollo. That preacher was Henry Bidleman Bascom, then thirty-six years of age, in the prime of his manly beauty, intellectual vigor, and extraordinary eloquence, the most conspicuous preacher in the General Conference of the Methodist Church, at that time sitting in Philadelphia, and

filling a larger space in the public eye than any other in the country. I was only in my ninth year, yet cannot forget, after half a century, the impression made by his supreme beauty and transcendent power.

He was the son of Alpheus and Hannah Houk Bascom, born on the 27th of May, 1796, in the town of Hancock, Delaware County, N. Y., two miles from what is now the village of Chehocton, on the New York and Erie Railway. On the father's side his blood was Huguenot French, intermixed with the Puritan of England and New England; on his mother's it was German. The wilderness was his school-house, poverty and hardship his course of study, and adversity the head-master, whose lessons he had to con and floggings to endure for most of his life. He learned to read and write, and had a little instruction in the beginning of an English education, before his twelfth year, but the next time he stepped into an academy was as a professor.

Although sober, industrious, and virtuous, his father never was beforehand with the world, except in matter of wives, of whom three fell to his lot, and of children, in which species of wealth he was equal of the patriarch Jacob, for twelve were born in his house, of whom Henry was the second. From the picturesque banks of the Delaware, where his boyhood was passed, he removed, with his father's family, to Little Valley, in southwestern New York, in 1808, and had a yet sharper experience of the frontier of civilization, for the Seneca Indians were still the lords of the soil and there were few whites in the district. When fourteen years old he was converted to the faith of Christ, in the next year joined the Methodist Church, and soon after began to take part in religious meetings, exhorting the people to flee from the wrath to come and to lay hold on eternal life. Soon after this the family made another move toward the setting sun, and at last found a resting-place five miles north of Maysville, Ky.—then called Limestone—in the State of Ohio. He had worked upon the farm, bored logs, made pumps, was a drayman, a hewer of wood, a rail splitter, in short, had turned his hand, with his whole might, to whatever kind of labor offered, meanwhile snatching the brief hours of rest he could get to be used, with still greater energy, in committing to the unrelaxing grasp of his

memory the contents of what few books fell in his way, and in using his gift to warn and counsel his fellow men. He believed himself called to be an embassador for God, in Christ's stead, to beseech men to be reconciled to him, and burned with a quenchless ardor to be about his Master's work. When sixteen years old he felled the trees and made rails for twenty-five cents per hundred, and thus earned the money to equip himself as a recruit in the forlorn hope of backwoods preachers, and set out from his father's house, in September, 1812, for the session of the Ohio Conference, held at Chillicothe. He there saw and heard the venerable and sagacious Bishop Asbury, and also the great and wise Bishop M'Kendree, then in the flower of his age and the meridian of his power, whose weighty and burning words, reinforced, as they were, by the singleness and loftiness of their aims and motives, wrought mightily in his sensitive spirit, and gave an unchanging form to his character. A first attendance at the session of an Annual Conference, to a young candidate for holy orders, is a memorable experience. The order of business; the grave and dignified presidency of the Bishops; the striking individuality, physiognomy, and impressive voices of the men who take the principal parts in the proceedings; the sermons; the prayers; the singing; the experiences given in the "love-feast;" the meetings around hospitable boards; the stories of adventure, perils, humor, and fun; the intimate fellowship; the *esprit du corps*, such as reigns in no other body of men I have known, give it a power to subdue and discipline, yet to kindle and inspire, that can hardly elsewhere be found. The consummation is reached when the parliamentary business is completed, the journal read, and one of the oldest members gives out the hymn beginning—

> And let our bodies part,
> To different climes repair;
> Inseparably joined in heart
> The friends of Jesus are—

that hymn sung by a hundred and fifty men or more, whose homes and those of their families, their spheres of labor, with circumstances of privation, exposure, toil, poverty, perhaps of suffering and death, are unknown to them, but are presently to be announced by the venerable Bishop; then follows the tremulous, fervent, pathetic, spiritual prayer of the aged serv-

ant of God, during which tears flow freely, sobs and amens are heard, and then, in the breathless silence, the Bishop stands, and, in a voice betraying deep emotion, tells them that, in the exercise of his great power, he has humbly sought the help and guidance of Christ; that in the places to which he is sending them, they may have many a peril and many a sorrow; that they may be cold and hungry, scoffed and hissed at, weary and heavy laden; that probably they will not all meet again on earth; that whoever falls must fall at his post with his face Zionward; and then, exhorting them to endure hardness as good soldiers, he promises the hidden but sufficient cheer and support and eternal blessing of the Great Head of the Church—"And now, brethren, I commend you to God and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up and to give you an inheritance among them which are sanctified," "an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away." His address ended, he slowly reads the name of each District, Station, Circuit, and the men appointed to them. I have witnessed many a scene of deep dramatic interest, where nerves and brain were thrilled and the heart almost stood still, but none which, in breathless emotion, intense, almost tragic, feeling, and high heroic aspect, compare with the closing scenes of a Western Conference in the early days, when hundreds of men heard their fate from the lips of one man, and took their lives in their hands to obey his behest, loyally believing him to be, for them and theirs, the mouth of God's great Providence. One can easily imagine the effect of such a scene, and the influences which led up to it, upon an imaginative, sensitive, sympathetic nature like Bascom's. That session of the Conference, for him, was more than equal in value to a year's schooling, and he returned to his father's log cabin with impulse, courage, zeal, and devotion quickened as by the baptism of the Holy Ghost. His unworldliness and purity of spirit can scarce be questioned when it is remembered what the work was to be and its earthly wages. The salary of the Bishops was eighty dollars a year, and their annual journeys on horseback took them from the St. Lawrence to the Savannah and Tallapoosa, from the shores of the Atlantic, over the mountains, through cane-brake, forest, prairie, and swamp, to the banks of the Mississippi and Missouri; their saddle-bags

containing wardrobe and library; their wearing apparel copperas or madder dyed homespun; their fare often parched corn and jerked venison or baked 'possum; their bed sometimes the bare earth or a hollow log, in winter as well as summer. If such were the life and labors of the Bishops, what had the rank and file to expect but unremunerated toil, penury, hardship, suffering, and probably an early death? And to what end were this heroic courage and fortitude dedicated, if not that they might preach Christ, "warning every man and teaching every man in all wisdom, that they might present every man perfect in Christ Jesus." "Whereunto they also labored, striving according to his working, which wrought in them mightily."

In February, 1813, Bascom received license to preach, and was appointed by the presiding elder, the excellent James Quinn, of blessed memory, as "helper" on Brush Creek Circuit, which lay in several counties up and down and back of the Ohio River, and in the following autumn was received on trial in the Ohio Conference. At that day a Presiding Elder's District in the West covered as wide a territory as is now included in several Conferences: the larger part of Indiana, the whole of Illinois, and the whole of Missouri were in single circuits. The last war with Great Britain was raging; the Indians on the western border were in arms against our people, and preachers had to face the peculiar dangers and endure the especial hardships of the times. Bascom's zeal and devotion were equal to every demand upon them. He devoured whatever books came in his way, mastered and retained their contents; preached once or twice, sometimes thrice, almost every day; met the classes; visited the sick; had long rides, sometimes perilous ones, through unbroken forests as well as in the open; fared and slept hard; "was instant in season and out of season," and made full proof of his ministry. As Chillicothe, the capital of Ohio, was in his first circuit, it offered him rare advantages, better society, and more books than he had before seen, and he eagerly appropriated them. His yearning for all kinds of knowledge was passionate, insatiable. Never did a youth more earnestly redeem the time from sloth and self-indulgence by the ransom of sleepless vigilance, shrewd observation, patient and unremitting study, and

untiring efforts to improve and educate himself in every part and in all directions. He read while in the saddle on his long, hard rides, or, seated at the foot of a tree, where a panther might be lurking for a deadly spring, (as, indeed, was once the case, when he was saved from the fierce creature's teeth and claws by the timely ball of a hunter's rifle, the monster falling dead at his feet;) in the cabin homes of his parishioners, where the single room served as kitchen, laundry, nursery, diningroom, bedroom, for the family and their guests, and sometimes, also, as kennel and poultry yard, with the scolding wife, grumbling husband, squalling children, growling curs, and clucking hens, to furnish a musical accompaniment to his studious researches, or when the rest were locked in sleep, he, lying on the ample hearth, pursuing his studies far into the night by the flickering light of a pine-knot stuck in a corner of the chimney. Knowledge thus gained is sure to be valued and converted into the reproductive grain by which a man may live. Brave as the boldest frontiersman who ever fought with crafty savages, he was yet shy, self-distrustful, and sensitive as a timid girl; and, seeking to hide his quivering sensibilities and tremulous, almost morbid, modesty from the common gaze, he covered himself with a mantle of reserve, which was thought, by common observers, to be one of haughty pride. Cast in nature's finest mold, "ruddy and well-favored," with buoyant step, grace in every motion, erect and dauntless in carriage, every feature of the face perfect, his head covered by a wealth of curly, dark hair, a study for the artist, the light of intense feeling and fiery genius in his glorious eye, which looked straight at and through you, it is not strange that he should be misunderstood and misinterpreted by the mass of men about him. Silent among strangers; without command of the commonplace nothings of ordinary talk; hating gossip and scandal; wholly free from the spirit of fault-finding and backbiting sometimes called criticism; speaking, when he had anything to say, in a prompt, decisive, sometimes impetuous, way, the emphasis of his utterance increased by his shrinking diffidence, and, withal, an uncompromising adherence to truth and a fearless honesty—all these qualities helped to throw him out of the pale of instant recognition and easy familiarity. Rarely, therefore, has it happened that so sweet, tender, mag-

nanimous, princely a nature as his has been so generally misconstrued, oppressed, and, at times, almost crushed. His brilliant genius, too—a genius, which laid under contribution the thoughts of other men, assimilated and reproduced them, bearing the impress of his striking individuality, and sent them into wide circulation as glittering yet precious coin, but totally different from the mintage of other men—served to increase the distance betwixt himself and them.

It was resolved by the authorities to put Bascom's mettle to the proof, and he was sent to Guyandotte Circuit, in West Virginia, pleasantly styled the Botany Bay of the Conference, as rough a part of the country, at that day, as any preacher has ever been sent to work in. To Guyandotte he went without a murmur, and within nine months preached four hundred times, rode through that wild, sometimes trackless, almost impassable mountain district, three thousand miles, battling with the elements, sleeping in hollow logs, chased by wolves, fighting with a bear, swimming mountain torrents, living on "hog and hominy," "dogger and bear meat," and received for his year's work twelve dollars and ten cents. This is what he said in a letter to a friend, at the close of that year:

> But none of these things move me. I possess a settled consciousness that I did not engage in the ministry to accumulate wealth, and when I meet with trials and disparagements I am not at all disappointed, but meet with firmness what I had anticipated, not with fear. I can get, as soon as I please, five hundred per annum for my services; but no, I'll travel, and try to possess the spirit of goodness and universal benevolence; and, while I feel animating fires in my veins, I'll preach His Gospel who gave me power to preach.

He was now entitled to be admitted into the Conference as a member, and to receive deacon's orders. His character was blameless, his conduct irreproachable, his industry unremitting in every part of his duty, and his devotion to his Master's work supreme; but a vote of the Conference refused to admit and grant him orders!

The Minutes for that year state that Henry B. Bascom was continued on trial. The next year he was sent to the Mad River Circuit, which was bounded on one side by the Indian country. The savages had not yet slaked their thirst for blood, and a house in which he stayed for a night was assaulted

by them, but was so well built and guarded that their attack was fruitless. As he rode off the next day, he found himself pursued by the red men, but, as he was on a powerful horse, he managed to keep well ahead, but soon came in sight of the Great Miami River, full and covered with floating ice. As he paused the Indians raised an exulting shout, for their prey now seemed within their grasp. He spurred his horse, plunged boldly into the rushing torrent, steered as well as he might amidst the floating ice, and gained the other shore just as the savages reached the one he had left. They dared not venture into the roaring flood, contented themselves with impotent yells and brandishing their tomahawks. His dripping clothes were soon changed into a mail of ice, and he was in danger of freezing. Emptying the water from his saddle bags and boots, wringing his stockings, he mounted again, and, after a long ride, reached a friendly house, where he was soon re-clothed and comforted. Going to bed early, after the fatigue and excitement of the day, his deep, sweet sleep was soon disturbed by the information that the *accouchement* of the lady of the house was at hand, and the request that he would go in search of a nurse and doctor, and find himself another place to sleep. Twenty years later, at the close of a service where he had preached, a young lady was introduced to him, who begged his pardon for having robbed him of a night's sleep after a trying day. Somewhat startled by the statement, he was endeavoring to recall where and how, when she laughingly informed him that it was her advent in this sphere that made the *finale* of that day's experience.

Another year's hard work was done, and faithfully done, yet his brethren doubted if he were worthy to become a member of the Conference and ordained a deacon. Some light may be shed on the problem by this incident: An old layman, who was really much attached to Bascom, was, nevertheless, grieved to the core by what seemed his conformity to the world in the matter of dress, and that conformity argued a very low state of piety. "Henry, my boy," he said, in a half admonitory half pathetic tone, "what makes you such a dandy—why don't you try to be and look like a Methodist preacher? You dress and carry yourself in such a way that many of your brethren think you've got no religion." "My dear brother," answered

Bascom, meekly, "my pay is so poor that I am obliged to wear what clothes are given me, and if I happen to look well in them I can't help it; God made me what I am." "Yes, you can help it," said the old man, with some warmth, "and you must help it. I'll cure the matter. Will you wear a suit of clothes that I'll have made for you?" "Gladly," said Bascom. "All right," said his old friend, "I'll make you look like a Methodist preacher; the clothes shall be ready for you when you come around the next time to attend the camp-meeting." A month later, Bascom reached the camp ground, and his old friend was ready for him; taking him out into the woods, he said, exulting, "Strip off those foppish clothes and put on these, and, for once in your life, you will look like a minister." Bascom stepped aside, arrayed himself in the new garments, while the old man rubbed his hands and chuckled with glee at the prospect of beholding his *protégé* in orthodox parsonic gear. The deformed, transformed Bascom stepped forth, his fine person attired in a suit of blue jeans, the waistcoat buttoned straight to the throat, the coat a genuine Quaker "shad belly," something like an English bishop's. As the old man saw him approaching with elastic step, in his radiant beauty,* he started up aghast, could scarce trust the testimony of his eyes, advanced, turned Bascom round and round, retired a few paces, surveyed him from every point of view, and, with a discomforted expression and dolorous tone, exclaimed, "Henry, there's no doing anything with you; you're a born fop; you look a hundred times more like a dandy than you ever did before." What could be done with a man who was so becoming in whatever he wore, who looked like a courtier or prince even in homespun!

When Bishop M'Kendree saw that a majority of the Conference had resolved to keep Bascom still on trial, he said, "Give that boy to me, admit and elect him to deacon's orders, and I will take care of him." Bascom was transferred to the Tennessee Conference, and appointed to the Danville Circuit, in Kentucky. Year after year he wrought and studied with

* So impressive were his presence and bearing, even in his latest years, that, as he walked the streets of Lexington, where he was as well known as was Henry Clay, it was the habit of those who saw him oftenest, as well as strangers, men, women, and children, white and black, to pause as he passed, turn round and gaze upon his receding figure.

untiring patience and fidelity, his reputation as a wonderful preacher growing apace, but still distrusted by many of his brethren, and this was the case even down to the close of his life. He and I happened to stop together at the Planters' House, St. Louis, in May, 1850, during the General Conference at which he was made a Bishop. I vividly remember the nights when we were left alone, how he paced the floor, sometimes in excitement, sometimes in anguish, and told the puerile stories that were repeated to his discredit, whispered to him, in strictest confidence of course, by condoling friends of the Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar types: how he sported a gold-headed cane, (which had been given him;) how he looked proud and vain and worldly; how he carried himself like a fine gentleman, and courted the world's applause by his brilliant rhetoric and stagey airs, and how all these things unfitted him to be a Methodist Bishop. Gadflies can torture and madden a blooded horse; and these petty persecutions caused the sensitive Bascom an amount and quality of suffering, throughout his whole public career, which it would be difficult to describe or measure. Even two of the older Bishops doubted the expediency of elevating him to the bench, influenced, without question, in part at least, by the same petty feelings. The man was blameless in his walk and conversation; once only was a rumor breathed against him affecting his reputation as a gentleman and Christian minister—of that I shall speak later. I have rarely known a man so sweet and tender in his feelings, so modest, even diffident, in self estimate; or one more just and kind in his recognition and appreciation of others. When his fame and influence grew great, he was the fast friend of the young and obscure, tolerant of defects, hearty in encouragement, liberal in every kind of help he could afford to those who were struggling toward excellence. Many a young preacher has he striven to shield from the buffets and scorns of which he himself had such bitter experience. His judgments of men always leaned to mercy's side, and he seldom failed to put the best construction possible upon men's motives and conduct, especially if they were unfortunate and aspersed. His filial piety and deep interest in the welfare of his brothers and sisters brought him an increase of care and distress. As his father advanced in years, although children multiplied under

his roof, there was no improvement in his financial affairs; on the contrary, they grew more embarrassed. Whithersoever he went, and however hard his own lot might be, Bascom's heart never forsook his father's home, but was full of brooding concern for the welfare of its inmates. What spare time he could get was spent by him in striving to promote the comfort of the family, laboring, as of yore, at the plow handles, with the ax, the scythe, or flail, bringing the larger part of his slender stipend to the family chest, and busying himself, in every possible way, to further the education of his brothers and sisters, and, in later years, that of their children. When he came to be a college professor and the most popular preacher in the United States, he was accustomed to spend his vacations with his father, and would return from a tour in the Eastern cities, where thousands hung enchanted on his lips, and in return offered him the Circean cup of applause and flattery, "with many murmurs mixed," to assist in the harvest of his father's crops, and, with his own hands, to cut and haul the wood for the winter's fires. I believe that he never seriously entertained the thought of marriage for himself, until his brothers and sisters were settled or started in life in the best way his providence could compass. When his beloved mother died, he was kneeling by her bedside, her hand clasped in his, and her last whisper was in his ear. When his father passed away, he was again kneeling by that bed, cheering the departing soul with God's gracious promises, administering the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and, as the old man breathed his last, the loyal-hearted son laid his head upon the same pillow and gave vent to his over-burdened breast in a flood of tears. While he was yet a young preacher, traveling the hardest circuit in the Connection, one of his sisters died and bequeathed to him her two children; he accepted the trust and religiously performed its duties, providing for their education and settlement in life. The scanty pittance he received, year after year, from the Church, was unequal to these demands, and, as the calls upon him grew more importunate, to save his family from beggary or dishonor he fell into debt: that gulf profound wherein he floundered and knew no escape. This misery began as early as 1814, and, although he had no gift for making or taking care of money, yet the anguish he suffered from the

want of it, amounting, at times, almost to the bitterness of death, was not caused by extravagance or self-indulgence. Here is a sample of the letters he had from home. His father, writing in 1825, said, "My corn is light; what little remained of our wheat crop the weevils have destroyed; my potatoes are barely the seed, and poverty crowds on every side." And this is what Bascom said in 1827: "My father is alarmingly infirm this spring. On this subject I tremble between hope and fear. I am quite fixed in my purpose to locate this fall. I am compelled to do it, and can hesitate no longer. I do not believe it is my duty to suffer, even to disgrace, in order to remain in the traveling connection. My situation is getting worse every day—the interest of the money I owe exceeds my income, and my correspondence costs me one hundred and thirty dollars a year.* My clothes are worn out, and I have not the means to replace them. What better can I do than retire from an unequal contest? I should like to remain in the traveling connection, but I am fatally doomed, after fourteen years of toil, like Cowper's stricken deer, to seek the shade and try to recover from my wounds."

A list of the books he read, if it could be had, would prove of great interest, as showing his diet, and what came of it in the way of mental fiber. You see him in these early days with Beattie on "Truth" and Blair's "Sermons" often in hand, and I suppose thoroughly in the memory. There is internal evidence, too, that the labored antithesis and the verbose efflorescence of Dr. Samuel Johnson's style had a fascination for him. Devouring greedily all books that came in his way, and through the alchemy of his memory making their contents a part of himself; earnestly striving to conform to what were recognized as the highest standards of style, without competent teachers or guides to instruct, suggest, repress, and direct, it is not to be wondered at that his taste should be at fault and his style in composition not above criticism. Young's "Night Thoughts" was a hand-book to the divines of that day, and Pollok's "Course of Time" soon won its way to equal popularity. Pope's labored and artificial verses were held to be the perfection both of genius and art. Is it strange, then, that this untutored boy, growing rapidly to intellectual manhood, should deck himself out in a

* He was, at the time, President of Madison College.

wardrobe which will not bear the exacting scrutiny of a later taste. Bag-wigs, lace ruffles, trunk hose, silk stockings, and shoes with silver buckles, are not now in vogue, but it is probable that as good men and true have worn them as any now arrayed in monkey-jackets, cut-away coats, swallow-tails, and trousers. Fashions in rhetoric change as do those in garments. Even Milton's magnificent prose would hardly suit a newspaper or review to-day; and I suppose Jeremy Taylor would be counted a bore by most contemporary fashionable congregations, and a pedant by the critics. Lovers and users of the well of English undefiled might declare Bascom's style to be sesquipedalian at times; but there were few such in the country at his day.

In 1823, after doing thorough work in some of the roughest parts of the frontier for nine years, and winning recognition as the most eloquent and powerful preacher of the Gospel in the West, through the influence of Henry Clay, Mr. Bascom was elected chaplain to Congress. When he stood for the first time behind the clerk's desk in the old Hall of Representatives at Washington, before an immense congregation, in which were the leading public men of the country, their expectation on tiptoe by reason of the unbounded praise of Mr. Clay and the other western men who had heard him, Bascom's heart failed him for fear. Hitherto he had preached in cabins, log schoolhouses, framed meeting-houses, or on camp-grounds, to a motley assemblage of men, women, and children, dressed for the most part in linsey-woolsey or deer-skin, uncritical and, even if indifferent or antagonistic, easily roused and moved. But here the surroundings were new, strange, oppressive; the assembly was illustrious, cold, satiated with public speaking, and disposed to cavil. The atmosphere of the audience froze the genial currents of his soul, and, benumbed, almost paralyzed, poor Bascom struggled through his discourse. To Mr. Clay and his other friends it seemed three hours in length, to the rest of the audience interminable, and to the preacher himself an age. I have never known so nervous and diffident a public speaker. He could not stand up to begin a service before the smallest and most obscure congregation to which he ever preached without shaking from head to foot as from a severe ague, while the leaves of the hymn book would rattle from the contagion of his quiv-

ering hand. He has often paced the floor in a kind of terrified anguish for three days and nights, almost without sleep or food, before he was to preach. His sense of the responsibility was awful—that he, a frail mortal man, should speak for the Most High God to his fellows on the infinite issues of life, on death, the judgment, and eternity. He could not recover from the chill of his first service in the capitol, and his chaplaincy in the halls of Congress was not successful. His morbid shrinking and consciousness that he had gravely disappointed the hopes and promises of his enthusiastic friends served still more to handicap him, and he had few more painful experiences than that of his sojourn in the Federal city.

The session of Congress at last closed, and Bascom's long palsy gave way under the genial influences of a Maryland camp-meeting, held not far from Annapolis. The spell of his captivity broken, he preached with a degree of unction, brilliancy, and force which overwhelmed his hearers. For many months he passed from one camp-ground to another, from Baltimore to Philadelphia, to New York, to Harrisburg, York, Carlisle, and whithersoever he went thousands hurried to hear him and were astonished, electrified, by his eloquence. For the next fourteen years (from 1824 to 1838) his career as a preacher of righteousness was unexampled in the country since the days of Whitefield. He not only charmed and entranced all classes by his sermons and lectures, arousing, convincing, persuading, overthrowing men's refuges of lies, leading them to penitence, faith, and a holier life, setting in splendid array the arguments and proofs which vindicate the claims of Christ's truth and Church; shaming men out of the scoffs and jeers and supercilious cant of so-called philosophic unbelief; but, without intending it, he gave to hundreds of men and women the scribbling itch, (*cacœthes scribendi.*) Leading editors, writers for magazines, poets and poetasters seized the pen and sought to describe this phenomenon in the pulpit. Their productions make queer reading. They were magnetized by his genius, felt the contagion of his somewhat grandiose style, and treated that generation to an amount of fustian which would now seem incredible if his biographer had not given us an overdose of it, and if stilts were not even yet dear to many hearts. Take a few specimen sentences:

He is the solitary star that fills with a flood of effulgence the skies of his own creation, and gilds with loveliness the forms which have arisen at the call of his genius. His mind, like the Olympic wrestlers, struggles for mastery wherever it grapples. Let him encounter the gnarled and unwedgeable oak of error in its century hallowed form, and the contact is like that of the electric fluid, rending and illuminating at once, but not like the fabled bolt of Jove, rendering sacred what it scarred. The fortification which he demolishes is ever after contemptible and untenable. The votary of error under any banner which Bascom may stoop to assail ever afterward will disown his flag, and be ashamed of his former inconsistency. The subject only, and with an omnipotence of power, has stood before his hearers either as an angel of light or a fearful demon; the one to sing "Peace on earth, goodwill to men," the other to forestall doom and threaten an eternity of woe. Let the inflated individual who has, in his boasted researches into philosophy, never gained sight of the shore of the great ocean of truth, where childlike Newton stood, and only picked up pebbles in his own estimation, let this vain boaster but come within the action of Bascom's intellectual battery, and a faint smoke or the mere ashes of a consumed fabric will only be left to tell where once he stood. . . .

While we were yet in a state of dubiety whether or no his audience were not to be treated to a merely nebulous disquisition of no particular merit, and asking, mentally, whether this could be the man whom Henry Clay had pronounced the greatest natural orator he had ever heard, a brilliant thought, wreaked upon eloquent and original expression, enchained our attention, and thenceforward to the close of the discourse we wist not that we were occupying a narrow spot in the middle of a crowded aisle—cabined, cribbed, confined, bound in—with the thermometer at ninety.

The text was wrought out into a world of thought, of persuasion, of imagery, to which Milton himself might have listened with an applauding spirit. To those who cannot retire into that realm of the mind which seems to open upon it the domain of immortal prophecy, the illimitable stretch of that vastness where the Omnipotent sits clothed in light as with a garment—who are unaccustomed to entertain those views which stretch beyond this visible diurnal sphere, or those rapt thoughts that wander through eternity, the sermon in question may have seemed too high wrought and sublime to sink at once upon the mind.

It must be borne in mind that these choice quotations were from the pens of men who ranked among the most admired and influential writers of that day. Bascom's speaking seems to have had the effect of dazing people oftentimes. I have known serious, sober men, past middle age, some of them

ministers, who, quitting the church after one of his sermons, would lose their way home, with which they were perfectly familiar, and wander sometimes for hours in an aimless, distraught manner.

On his first visit to Philadelphia, in 1824, Mr. Bascom met a man who had awakened a degree and quality of interest in the eastern cities unknown for three quarters of a century—a young Irishman, John Summerfield by name. Of slight build and delicate physique, he was yet able to accomplish prodigious labor, preaching constantly to vast congregations, which listened as if to the song of a seraph. His flute-like voice, soft, sweet, penetrating, touched the finest emotions by its almost unearthly music, while the saintly expression of his countenance, his attitudes and movements of perfect grace completed the irresistible charm of his personal presence. His discourses were for the most part the outgrowth of his study of Jay's "Morning and Evening Exercises," and kindred compositions, but he breathed into them the warm life of his own gentle and tender spirit, while, set off as they were by the childlike simplicity and persuasive unction of his manner, and delivered with a pleading earnestness and tremulous pathos, they melted all hearts, and won for him upon all hands the suffrage of affection mingled with veneration. Two men could scarce be more unlike than the fragile, almost angelic, young stranger from across the sea, and the robust, finely developed athlete, schooled in the canebrakes and forests of the West.

Another Irishman was just then rising into great popularity, the distinguished and unfortunate John Newland Maffit. Below the middle height because of his short legs, broad-shouldered and deep-chested—measuring, when I knew him, over fifty inches inside the arms—with a well-shaped head, the contour and impressiveness of which he strove to improve and increase by shaving the front and sides so as to give a higher and broader brow; a face not remarkable except for a good eye and the disfigurement of a hare-lip, and with a voice of rare compass and timbre, which was skillfully used in song as well as speech, and a very white, well-shaped hand, most dexterously employed, he had for many years a name and following such as have been acquired by few men. Stepping, it is said, from a tailor's bench in the modern Athens, he began his public min-

istry in New England, and in the quarter of a century that followed his first appearance in the pulpit there were few cities or towns of the United States of that day in which he did not awaken the opposite moods of admiration and antagonism. Although moving on a far lower plane than either Summerfield or Bascom, he divided the popular interest with them, and drew as great crowds as either. Without Summerfield's child-like centered piety, or Bascom's genius or intense earnestness, he had qualities of style, manner, voice, and magnetism which gained for him a wider and more clamorous popularity than is possessed by almost any preacher of this time. He was never a student; in his sermons there was neither intellectual grasp nor depth of feeling; his rhetoric was meretricious but dazzling to the general eye—all the more effective with the masses, because offensive to the cultivated few and coupled with a fatal facility of speech he seemed to them a man of rare genius. He thoroughly understood what, for want of a better word, must be called "the business of a modern evangelist," and was a consummate master of the details insuring the success of a protracted meeting. His voice, not the organ-toned instrument of a great or rich nature, was like an accordion deftly played, running through a wide range of notes, with many stops and variations, delighting and captivating the ears untrained to higher music. His faults were the product of his mercurial temperament and Celtic blood, brought into prominence by his style of work, and were heavily visited; while his abundant labors and great usefulness in the behalf of thousands that others could not win to the truth have been forgotten. I knew him well at the close of his life; his sorrowful death from a literal breaking of the heart, produced by the relentless attacks of his enemies, took place while he was preaching for me in Mobile, and I cannot withhold the expression of pity and qualified regard and affection for this once celebrated but ill-starred man.

Never was a man more free than Bascom from the pettiness of envy and jealousy toward his brethren; his hospitable heart welcomed with glowing warmth the virtues, talents, and usefulness of Summerfield, Maffit, and all other men, great or small, brought in contact with him, and, by foolish people, into comparison or competition. His sympathetic eye was quick to

perceive every form and phase of goodness and excellence, and while the meed of praise he gave them was unstinted, no man was more liberal or tolerant toward well-meaning stupidity. A warm regard soon arose between Summerfield and Bascom, interrupted for a moment by a want of tact on one side and undue sensitiveness on the other; but a good understanding was soon re-established, and their hearty friendship was only ended by Summerfield's early and deeply lamented death. A little before his own death he wrote: "Poor Maffit has at last fallen a sacrifice to the demon of persecution."

In the autumn of 1826 Mr. Bascom was appointed to Uniontown, Pa., at the western foot of the Alleghanies, where it was intended to establish a Methodist college, of which in the following year he was elected President. He gave the indefatigable labor of three years to the attempted upbuilding of Madison College, but in vain. He then acted as the western agent for the American Colonization Society, traveling widely and speaking powerfully in its interest. In 1832 he was chosen professor of Moral Science and Belles-Lettres in Augusta College, Ky., and although offered the presidency with the hearty approbation of Dr. Martin Ruter, then at its head, steadily declined the honor. His father's death occurred in the following year, upon which he took his step-mother and all his father's younger children under his roof.

Although his coming to New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore, was hailed by the acclaim of thousands, the enthusiasm attending his ministry was still greater in the West. He nowhere appeared, however, to such advantage as at a camp-meeting. A beautiful grove of sugar maples, intermixed with trees of oak, hickory, and ash, yielding a grateful shade, the groups of canvas tents, clap-boarded shanties, and log cabins, the rustic stand, altar, and benches, the glancing sunlight at play amid the leafy canopy, the motley throng of the innumerable multitude, the breath of the woodland breeze heard in the pauses of the hymns sung by countless voices, a weird accompaniment to the preacher's tones, combined to form a picturesque and harmonious environment for his sermons. But it was at night that the most magical effects were produced. The waving glare from heaped blazing pine-knots on the fire-stands at the corners of the tent-surrounded space, the

light from many lamps set in the tree branches, the ghostly moonshine shimmering through the leaves, a multitude which no man could number thronging the vast temple not made with hands, a sea of upturned faces, half revealed and half concealed by the shifting lights, every form rigid and forward bent to catch the faintest whisper, and every eye riveted on the preacher standing at the book-board.

Below him, within the altar, were gathered the venerable fathers and mothers in Israel; behind, in the ample stand, almost a conference of ministers. At the last sound of the horn he entered the stand with a hurried step, knelt for a few minutes in silent prayer, and then advanced to the front and took the hymn book. The hymn was announced, and those nearest could hear the shaking of the book's leaves, so unsteady was his hand. The compressed, bloodless lips, the pallid cheeks, the sweat upon his brow, his jerky reading, bespoke his great but subdued agitation. One of the ministers, probably Brother Gunn, for many years called, in Kentucky, the sweet singer in Israel, "pitched the tune;" it was caught up by every voice, and broke upon the still night like the sound of many waters. The music calmed and cheered him, and the brief prayer that followed was simple, direct, earnest. Then came the reading of God's Word after the same manner. Another hymn followed, during which he sat bowed, his face buried in his hands. With forced composure he again stood behind the books, and in the breathless silence gave out the text. He was still nervous, at times hesitating, embarrassed, but quickly gathered headway, and the sentences came leaping from his lips at a rate of speed unparalleled. Mr. Calhoun, the most rapid of political speakers in my time, would in his fiery deliverances to the Senate enunciate at the rate of one hundred and eighty words to the minute, by the count of the reporters. Dr. Bascom spoke at the rate of from two hundred and fifty to three hundred words to the minute, sometimes rising, in his highest energy, to four hundred, yet every syllable distinctly heard.*

The intense play of every faculty, whether physical or

*Startling as this statement may appear, it was made to me by Dr. Bascom himself. He declared that he frequently read for half an hour at the rate of four hundred words a minute, and that the words had then been counted to verify the estimate. The fact sheds light upon his temperament.

mental, can therefore be only dimly conceived. Arguments, illustrations, appeals, warnings, entreaties, rebukes, promises, came rushing from his lips with the stupendous speed of a cataract. Criticism was disarmed, but the attention so absorbed as to be almost painful. The gestures were few but expressive, the voice not musical, but singularly distinct and far reaching, and in the transport of his excitement his dark eye burned with an almost intolerable splendor. His noble figure, above the middle height, his air of high command at such a moment, gave him a port and presence almost more than human. The reasoning and imaginative powers, under the sway of the most intense emotions, acted as one, and his torrent-like impetuosity carried his hearers along, unresisting, amazed, spell-bound. So far as I know, nothing like it has been heard in this country. At times the whole congregation would rise to their feet, not knowing what they did, nor where they were. Writers may decry the spoken word, and sneeringly declare that the mission of the pulpit has ended, but until the world's end God's great Word will stand, "That by the foolishness of preaching it hath pleased Him to save them which believe."

Bascom's preaching was like the sound of a trumpet, and while the sermon lasted men forgot every thing, themselves, their surroundings, even the preacher, every thing but the wonderful strains, and the unfathomable meaning they suggested. The preacher, too, had forgotten himself, and in a kind of ecstasy gave his vision voice, unconscious of criticism, applause, of aught but the mighty theme and the Master who had given him the message. What wonder, then, if, at the close of the sermon, which lasted two hours, the people found it hard to recover the sense that they were in the leafy grove; many of them scarce knew whether they were in the body or out of the body, but felt that they had been "caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words." After the excitement of that trance it was long before the silent stars looked down on that multitude composed in sleep, and not a few unclosed eyes were greeted by the rising sun. The sermon dwelt in many a memory like the song which St. John heard, "the chorus of harping symphonies and sevenfold alleluias." Once his subject led him to describe the manifestations of God's wrath against sin. On the front bench sat a man prominent alike for his

wealth, talents, influence, and wickedness. As the vivid pictures of the flood and of Sodom and Gomorrah passed before the congregation, deep horror froze the veins of this man, and he fell in a swoon, was carried from the church senseless, and when he recovered proved to be a raving maniac, and such he lived and died. At another time Bascom was preaching in a large country church on a bright Sunday morning. The house was crowded to its utmost capacity, the windows were all open, one of which was immediately behind the pulpit overlooking the rural grave-yard. He was describing the typical forms and manifestations of the Holy Spirit. It was the baptism in Jordan, "and Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the water: and lo, the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove, and lighting upon him." As these words fell from the preacher's lips, suddenly, as an apparition, a snow-white dove flew through the open window at the back of the pulpit, and rested on his shoulder. He paused, the bird sat for an instant with folded wings, then slowly spreading them, in the breathless silence described a circle around his head, and flew back to the summer woods.*

At Saratoga, in 1838, he preached to a vast concourse in the open air, the wind directly in his teeth. The effort was too much even for his strength; his vocal chords were strained; and for the rest of his life he suffered from what was called bronchitis, and was never again the equal of himself in earlier days. Up to this time he had never preached from memory nor a manuscript, but thenceforth used his notes, depending on them more and more to put a curb upon his vehemence, and thus save his weakened throat. As he did this, his power as a speaker lessened at a corresponding pace. He never again wielded the scepter of his regal eloquence. His infirmity made him self-conscious; and self-consciousness denies access to the mountain summits of vision and inspiration.

While Professor at Augusta College he was married, in 1839, to Miss Van Antwerp of New York, and two years later was elected President of Transylvania University, and removed to Lexington, Ky., where he resided for the rest of his life. In the ever-memorable General Conference of 1844, which sat

*These incidents, as well as many other facts stated in this paper, I had from his own lips.

in New York, and in which the Methodist Episcopal Church was divided, he was a member, but, as at all other General Conferences, a silent one, except when, as the chairman of a committee, he had to read a report. Almost every other man on the floor, whether young or old, made a speech; but he, the most illustrious and powerful speaker of them all, held his peace. It was his pen, however, then and afterward, on which the Southern branch of the Church relied to state its case to the world. When the first General Conference of that Church met at Petersburg, Va., in 1846, it was thought, and justly thought, by his friends and by himself, that he ought to be elected a Bishop. Eminent as were his services, and great as was the debt of gratitude due to him, both were ignored, and he received another deep and painful wound from the hands of his brethren. He did not wish the office, nay, would have declined it, but felt that he was entitled to an election as a vote of confidence, and as an indorsement to the world of his conduct in their behalf. Instead of a seat upon the bench of Bishops, he was re-elected President of the University, made one of the Commissioners of the Church South, to settle the matters at issue with the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Editor of the "Southern Methodist Quarterly Review."

There was no compunction in placing intolerable burdens upon his shoulders; it was taken for granted that his strength was equal to any weight, that the magic of his name would crowd the halls of the university with students, and fill its empty exchequer; that as Commissioner he could collect information from all quarters, write and publish the Church's documents, and at the same time edit and publish a "Quarterly Review," without a cent of income provided.

Take this statement of his remuneration while Professor at Augusta College as another specimen of the manner in which he was paid for his services: At first his nominal salary was seven hundred dollars a year, afterward raised to a thousand; but he never, in any year, received half his salary in cash, and seldom so much; for the last six sessions of his stay he got only one dollar in five of his salary in cash. He paid for the institution several hundred dollars in gifts, subscriptions, and traveling expenses; also sixteen hundred dollars, paid by himself for board, tuition, etc. in behalf of students, without funds, sent to his care.

His expenses for eleven years exceeded his income from the college by five thousand dollars. It is not surprising, therefore, that he was embarrassed by debts; but one finds it hard to understand how the Church could suffer this noble and loyal son to struggle thus, and calmly expect him to make bricks without straw—even without clay. Chameleons are said to live on air; it seems to have been thought that Bascom could do so likewise. Of course, many virtuous people when they heard of his debts shook their heads, shrugged their shoulders, and whispered, "extravagance; what a pity he's not a good economist and content to live as a Methodist preacher ought to."

I have said that one rumor was put in circulation affecting his character and reputation as a gentleman and minister. It happened on this wise: During the angry presidential contest of 1844, when James Knox Polk and Henry Clay were candidates for the first office within the gift of the people, a friend of Bascom's, living in New York, and knowing that he was on terms of close friendship with the Kentucky statesman, wrote a confidential letter asking Bascom about Mr. Clay's private character. With the understanding that his letter was also to be considered confidential, Bascom answered telling what he believed and knew to be the truth about Mr. Clay, and in the affectionate tone in which one friend would speak of another. The seal of confidence was broken, and parts of Bascom's letter found their way into print, arousing against him the fierce wrath of Mr. Clay's political opponents. The speakers and newspapers on that side held him up to public scorn, freely ventilating the epithets which seem so dear to the hearts of many politicians, and which made so large a part of their patriotic stock in trade. Infamous charges were made against him in many newspapers, and from not a few "stumps." It was claimed that he had written an indecent letter to an old friend, and that that letter had been read by other members of the Church, who thereupon lost confidence in his Christian character. Here are extracts from Bascom's answer, which prove among other things, that he could use vigorous English.

The article from the paper to which you direct my attention is a tissue of the most stupid falsehoods, and, so far as I am concerned, there is not one word of truth in it. I had been a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church for at least eight years,

and as such filled some of the most important stations in the West, before Mr. Clay had ever seen me. Equally true is it, and Mr. Clay will attest it with more pleasure than I affirm it, that I never was indebted to Mr. Clay to the amount of a cent in my life, and my only obligations to him are on the score of friendship and good-will, to the utter exclusion of every thing implying either bounty or patronage. And the other charges of the paper are equally false and defamatory, besides being too obviously absurd and malignant to do me any harm even where I am not known. That portion of the political press which has stooped to the infamy of lying and misrepresentation to injure a man who had not interfered with the rights and functions of the press in any form, and had merely exercised the right of private judgment on a question of social justice between man and man, has deprived itself of the power of injuring me, and, by a resort to such means, has superseded the necessity of even a defense on my part.

The calumny recoiled upon his assailants, and he went on his way unscathed.

In 1850 a volume of his sermons was published, fraught with interest for the people who knew and loved him, and had heard them from his lips; but affording to others scarce a hint of his power as a preacher. In truth they were not sermons, only studies, the notes of material accumulated through nearly forty years, written at different times in many places, in blue ink, black, and red, as well as pencil; thoughts, suggestions, associations, extracts from favorite writers; ore of the mind unmolten, uncast, not the finished group in *alto rilievo*. The want of organic unity, at times even of coherence and congruity, is painfully manifest. When in the pulpit, his mind at white-heat, he fused the matter of these discourses, and gave them living form, harmonious beauty, almost irresistible power; but in the closet his efforts to do this were fruitless. Justice to his reputation demanded that they should not see the light, and he shrunk from the publication; but the stern pressure of his embarrassed finances drove him to it with a merciless force. The volume reached a sale of more than twenty thousand copies. In May, 1850, he was elected to be one of the Bishops of the Church South, and at first thought of declining the office; but the persuasion of friends and his own mature reflection led him to accept it, and he was ordained. It seemed as if the new position might re-establish him in the brilliant career of usefulness as a preacher which the injury to his throat and his taking

a professor's chair had obliged him to forego. What appeared to be the necessity of Methodism less than half a century ago, to man our new institutions of learning with the best preachers in the Connection, has turned out a serious misfortune. The teacher and the preacher, like the poet, must be born, cannot be made by man's device. The qualities which fit a man to attain eminence in the pulpit often unfit him wholly for the professor's chair, and while the duties of the class-room may prove a capital novitiate for the professor, it is doubtful if many who have become illustrious in the sacred desk have been able to adapt themselves to the routine of college life; and it is almost certain that a majority of those who tried the experiment have surrendered a large part of their influence and authority as preachers. It must be deeply regretted that Dr. Bascom ever became a college don. Had he lived long enough, his friends believe that he would, in part at least, have regained his old ascendency as the Apollos of American Methodism.

With his accustomed promptitude he set his affairs in order to begin the duties of his new office, and with his old courage started to fulfill them. His first appointment was to hold the St. Louis Conference, at Independence, Mo., in July. Cholera was raging throughout the West, and he who voyaged upon the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri rivers that season (there were no railways then) took his life in his hand. Bishop Bascom, conscious of the danger, quietly went to his work. The rivers were low and he was delayed on the way, and although starting in what seemed good time, only reached the Conference on the fourth day of its session. He preached to the edification and comfort of all who heard him, and presided with an impressive dignity and urbane grace which gave assurance of his distinguished fitness for the high place. On his way back he preached with great effect in a number of Missouri towns, but was ill when he reached St. Louis. It was Sunday morning; he was at once asked to preach, declined on the score of his illness, but after a moment said: "If you will get a congregation, I will, with God's help, preach this afternoon—it may be my last opportunity." That was the last congregation which ever hung spell-bound on his lips. He reached Louisville a few days later, started for Lexington, his home; but after an hour's drive was obliged to return, went to bed, and never left it until,

a few weeks later, his body was carried to the church, and then to the grave. When asked, toward the close, if his faith in Christ remained strong and serene, with his old emphasis he answered, "Yes, yes, yes." On the morning of Sunday, September 8, 1850, about the time at which for so many years he had been used to enter the church of God to proclaim the truths of Christ crucified, his spirit entered the "general assembly and Church of the first-born, which are written in heaven." He completed the 54th year of his age in the month that he was ordained a Bishop, and in less than four months after ceased at once to work and live on earth.

"Genius, sir!" said Dr. Johnson, "genius is labor." "Genius," said Buffon, "is patience." If these definitions be true, or even if a far larger meaning be given to the word, Dr. Bascom was a noteworthy man of genius. His temperament, narrow opportunities for improvement in early life, imperfect direction, adverse influences, prescribed limitations which he, which no man, could pass. But what Cecil said of Sir Walter Raleigh was equally true of him: "I know that he can toil terribly. He wrought, as few other men have done, to make himself a workman that needed not to be ashamed." His remarkable powers of conception, invention, sympathy, and utterance were schooled with unwearied industry, and made tributary, not to his own advancement in worldly honor or emolument, but to his Master's cause, and the loyal service of that Master's Church. We might almost fancy Bascom sitting for both the portraits Clarendon has drawn of Hampden and Falkland. Of the first, he says: "Who was of an industry and vigilance not to be tired out or wearied by the most laborious, and of parts not to be improved on by the most subtle and sharp, and of a personal courage equal to his best parts;" and of the other: "Who was so severe an adorer of truth that he could as easily have given himself leave to steal as to dissemble." A loftier word yet gives us the key to his character—"he endured as seeing Him who is invisible."

The heroic days of Methodism produced few men more worthy to be held in remembrance. In his life endless fame was predicted for him, so prodigal are we of the crowns with which we adorn our heroes. In thirty years his fame has shrunk to a tradition; in half a century more he will be for-

gotten save by the student of Methodist archives. What matter? "Had he not respect unto the recompense of the reward?"

Trusting that, at no distant day, the dust of Henry Bidleman Bascom may be placed in the grounds of the Vanderbilt University at Nashville, I turn from his grave in the Louisville burying-ground and betake me again to my path, growing somewhat lonely now because so many of those with whom I once took sweet counsel have fallen by the way, he among the rest; and as I muse upon ministers covetous of worldly fame, murmur in the darkness Tennyson's lines:

"We pass, the path that each man trod
Is dim, or will be dim with weeds.
What fame is left for human deeds
In endless age? It rests with God.

"O, hollow wraith of dying fame,
Fade wholly, while the soul exults,
And self infolds the large results
Of force that would have forged a name."

ART. II.—A GLIMPSE OF OLD TESTAMENT ESCHATOLOGY.

1 SAMUEL XXV, 29.

"And the soul of my Lord shall be bound up in the bundle of life (of lives) with Jehovah, thy God."

THIS passage seems to denote, here, nothing more than a wish that David's life might be preserved; but the form of the strange expression and its proverbial aspect intimate a higher idea: God, the source of life and the ever-flowing fountain of life, or lives. Compare Psalm xxxvi, 10, כי עמך מקור חיים, Quoniam apud te est fons vitae, (fons vitarum.) It is the fountain of *lives*, as here the bundle of *lives*, *fasciculus vitarum*, in the plural. This use of the plural (חיים, *lives*) is so constant in Hebrew that it ceases to excite our surprise, although the idea that must have given rise to such a *usus loquendi* is well worth our study. In such strange expressions as this (1 Sam. xxv, 29, and Psalms xxxvi, 10) it becomes quite significant—suggestive of thoughts which, although warranted by

the Old Testament, do not show themselves upon the surface, or obtrude themselves on the mere surface reader. The Commentary of Rabbi Tanchum on these words and those that follow is curious and deeply interesting. He refers it to the future state of the soul. This is double, and expressed by two remarkably contrasted similes—the *bundle* and the *sling*. We give the passage as found in Pocock's notes to Maimonides, "Porta Mosis," text 154, notæ 92, 93: "To some souls there is given a sublime degree, and a secure habitation with their Lord—a life immortal and not liable to dissolution. Other souls become the sport of the waves of nature; they find no security, no resting-place, but perpetual pains and unintermitting anguish, forever and forever, like stones cast out of a sling, and sent whirling about in the air, according to the strength of him who sends them. This is, in truth, the opinion of our wisest men as well as of the philosophers." It is Rabbi Tanchum's commentary on this passage, and is all designed to show the contrast, which is very strikingly brought out, between the rest, security, and blessedness denoted by the safe bundle of life to the souls inclosed within, and the unrest, the wandering, the everlasting vagrancy denoted by the figure of the sling and the souls cast out with its utmost projectile force, as would seem to be meant by the words בתוך כף הקלע, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς σφενδόνης, or, as the Vulgate has most forcibly rendered it: "porro inimicorum tuorum anima *rotabitur* quasi in impetu et circulo fundae."

The only question is, Is there any ground for such an imagination as that of Tanchum in any thing that we know of the ancient belief of the Jews respecting a spirit-world? There may be, in the first place, a pure critical objection. Even if the Jews believed in a future state or a spirit world, such a thought, it might be said, would seem out of place on such a purely secular occasion. Instead of coming from a devout prophet or psalmist, instead of being the language of exhortation or devotion, it is put in the mouth of the garrulous Abigail, in what seems a mere complimentary or salutatory formula, having no connection with any thing so serious. That was the last thing she was thinking of, even if it were a doctrine of the more thoughtful Jewish mind; she only wishes to recommend herself to David, and get him to overlook the doings of her foolish husband. This seems plausible, but, after all,

the objection of itself amounts to nothing. We need not suppose the reapers of Boaz to have been unusually devout or spiritual men, or very devout at all, when they returned the salutation of their Master with the religious formula, יהיה יברכך, "Jehovah bless thee." Still, such formulas show a religious nation, at least one that had been religious, or whose national life had had a deep religious ground. See Ruth ii, 4.

The question is not what Abigail meant, exactly, but whence came the strange formula she so flippantly, and it may be unthinkingly, uses. It might have lost its serious meaning, and come to be used in a mere formal manner, as if one should say, "May you live a thousand years," or, as the Jews sometimes used that still more solemn and spiritually significant expression, "As Jehovah liveth, and as thy soul liveth." It may be that Abigail employed it in a mere temporal sense, or as a general prayer for long life and prosperity. But none of these suggestions satisfy the inquiry. There are none of them that would have given rise to the formula. They are meanings into which it might degenerate, but to which it never could have owed its birth. The more solemn must have been first. There must have been at sometime a power or depth of meaning in it corresponding to the strange power and vividness of the language. There must have been a serious reason for these peculiar words and more peculiar figures. The "binding up in the bundle of life," (or lives, צרור, something firmly bound and holding secure,) and the "casting out of the sling," (to denote the very opposite,) must have had a strong significance to give it currency as a popular formula. The more we look at it in this point of view, the more it will be seen that the argument, instead of being in the direction of this actual objection, is just the other way.

But did it have any ground in any common belief of the Jews? It may be said that the notion of Tanchum is opposed to the silence of the Old Testament, generally, respecting a future life, and especially the recognition in it of distinct states of happiness and retribution, or of blessedness and reprobation, or *casting out*, such as might seem to be denoted by "the bundle" and the sling, if we give them this application. There is reason, however, to believe that the common popular opinions among the Jews respecting a spirit-world were more fixed and

distinct (not to say more true) than the scanty intimations that barely appear under the wise reserve of the Old Testament Scriptures. For there certainly is a reserve, even what would appear to be a studied reserve, on this subject, and reasons may be assigned—with all reverence would we say it—why Deity, in the training of his peculiar people, did not encourage those views of Hades (or Sheol) and its departments which make such a figure in the poetry and mythology of the Greeks and other ancient nations. The tendency to abuse in that age of the world was greater than their moral power. This was not owing to any intellectual or spiritual incapacity, then existing, and now outgrown, which made them incapable of receiving the dogma. We should rather say that it was held back, kept in reserve, because that full plan of salvation had not yet been revealed, that full ground of faith, without which the doctrine of Hades, or the spirit-world, is capable of so much and such gross perversion. Such a belief was in the world, had been in the world from the earliest times, but the wisdom that gave us the Old Testament histories and the Old Testament worship thought it better to hold these ideas in check, or, while confirming by unmistakable intimations, to throw over them the veil of a solemn reserve, instead of giving license to the imagination. In that state of the world there was danger of more evil thoughts coming out of the doctrine than good ones. The pious soul could rest contented with the general belief that it would be well, eternally well, with those that feared God, while to the unholy and profane a more distinct doctrine of Hades might be a fountain of malignity as well as of a false theology. In such a state it would be a source of darkness rather than light, or rather, the very light that was in it would become darkness—a "darkness visible." It is evident, from some strong intimations and prohibitions that we find in the Old Testament, that superstition, manes worship, necromancy, a spirit and practice of sorcery, real or unreal, were only likely to be its products, (if made prominent before the national mind, or if not some way held in check,) than a true spiritual fear. Thus we find necromantic usages constantly springing up among the Jews, and the most severe threatenings required to prevent them. See Deut. xviii, 11: "There shall not be found in thee one who practices enchantments, or inquires of the Ob,

(אוב,) or familiar spirit, or seeks to the dead, דרש אל המתים, for they are an abomination to the Lord, even every one that doeth these things." There is in all this no denying that the dead yet are; there is rather an affirmation and a confirmation of it: but it is treated as a fearfully sacred region, to which human curiosity, or any feeling of worldly interest, or desire of knowledge for worldly purposes, should not profanely approach. Compare Isaiah viii, 19; xix, 3; 2 Kings xxi, 6; 2 Chron. xxxiii, 6; Leviticus xix, 31; xx, 6. As to the manner or medium of the necromantic communication, see especially Isaiah xxix, 4, where it appears that it was not by rapping, but by a voice, or a supposed voice, coming out of the earth, והיה כאוב מארץ קולך.

The prohibitions prove, at least, the strength and the reality of the common belief in a spirit-world. This is especially exhibited in the story of Saul and the Witch of Endor, who was one of those practicers of a forbidden necromancy. Homer is not stronger proof for the Greek belief in Hades than this Jewish chronicle of a similar and equally vivid notion of a spirit-world among the Jews. Their notions were very much the same, in the substantial conception, with those of the other ancient nations; very much the same, in fact, with those that have always existed, and still exist, among mankind—we may even say, are rife among us at this day. Whatever their locality, it was believed that souls might be evoked, and there were persons who claimed to have the power of holding intercourse with them. Now, in connection with this belief, nothing would be more natural and consistent than the thought of some distinction among the dead, and this distinction would be predicated, in the first place, not on the idea of separate localities, but on a difference of state. Taking the thought of what is most desirable for the spiritual existence, from the stormy experiences of this life, men would sum up its bliss and woe in the two ideas of rest and restlessness. They would think of the departed as in a condition of blessed repose, or as homeless, houseless, cast out,—just as Tanchum and Maimonides have given it from the traditions, as we may suppose, of their ancestors.

These, then, are the prominent ideas: a spirit-world—rest or unrest therein. The first belief undoubtedly existed. The

dead still had a being somehow and somewhere. But this idea could hardly have been without its accompaniments. Those we have mentioned are the most natural and primitive, and all combined might very easily form to themselves such a proverbial kind of expression as that strange one we find 1 Sam. xxv, 29. The inspired language *per se*, or when it is not simply giving us the common or current language of the day, avoids such descriptions. It does not ignore the idea, or keep it wholly back, in order to give to morality the purer sanction or the stronger motive of mere temporal interest, as the Warburtonians would say; neither does it obtrusively, or even prominently, present it. The Old Testament does certainly put a reserve upon the awful doctrine of Hades, thereby not only preventing abuse, but giving it, in fact, by the very reserve, a higher moral power than it could ever have possessed among the Greeks with all their pictures of Tartarus and Elysium. Whatever allusions are made to any future condition of the pious are all summed up in those general ideas of repose, blessedness, rest, security, trust in God, and the unreserved committing of the spirit into his hands, whatever might be the condition of stillness or activity he had determined for it. Jacob knew not whither he was going; but he could say with confidence, as life departed: "I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord." The patriarchs confessed that they were pilgrims and sojourners on earth, but they yielded not their hope of "a better country," of "a city *which had foundations*,"—security, permanence, rest. Moses might not enter the temporal Canaan, but he felt assured that his name was written in the Book of Life. Exod. xxxii, 32.* The Psalmist could say: "I shall be satisfied when I awake in Thy likeness,"—"Thou wilt lead me (here) by Thy counsel, and *afterward* receive me to glory." What was the confidence of any Grecian hero in his Elysium, or his Isles of the blest, however distinct or indistinct its topography, compared with such a trust in the unknown, yet believed in, as this.

On the other hand, there are expressions in the Psalms and in

* Compare Psalm lxix, 28, cxxxix, 16—יִמָּחוּ מִסֵּפֶר חַיִּים וְעִם צַדִּיקִים אַל יִכָּתֵבוּ May not this *sepher chayim*, this Book of Lives, (Psa. lxix, 28,) and the Book "in which all our members are written," (Psa. cxxxix, 16,) be the same with the צְרוֹר חַיִּים, the bundle of lives here mentioned?

the Prophets, which, if interpreted of a future state, as may readily be done without any forced exegesis, resemble much the ideas here found by Rabbi Tanchum in this passage (1 Sam. xxv, 29.) See Prov. xiv, 32: ברעתו יִדָּחֶה רשע וחסה במותו צדיק, "The wicked is *driven away* in his wickedness; the righteous hath hope in his death." In its vividness and striking contrasts the language resembles that of this proverbial saying of Abigail. דחה denotes violent impulsion, and is parallel in this respect to "the soul or life sent forth (slung forth) from the hand of the sling." את נפש איביך יקלענה בתוך כף הקלע. So דחה is used, (Psa. xxxv, 5) ומלאך יהוה דחה, and the Angel of the Lord driveth them forth. The other word, חסה, is just the opposite of this. Its primary sense is, to take shelter, or run for shelter to any thing. The righteous hath a shelter in his death, in contrast with the homelessness, houselessness, of the wicked soul, driven forth violently, and cast out naked into the spirit-world. There may be supposed, here, an ellipsis of the word יהוה in connection with which חסה commonly occurs; or more fully, בצל כנפי יהוה, "in the shadow of Jehovah's wings," as Psa. xxxvi, 7; lvii, 1, or חסה תחת כנפיו, "takes shelter under, etc., (Psa. xci, 4;) or חסה בסתר כנפיו "in the secret place of his wings." It is the same image of security, confidence, on the one hand, and of violent expulsion and unrest in the case of the other. The one is "bound up in the bundle of life," the other is "slung out, as out of the *middle* of the sling," when the projectile force is in its highest intensity. Compare Jer. x, 18, and especially the strong language used in Isa. lxvi, 24, where the wicked are described as cast out, דראון לכל בשר, "an abhorring to all flesh."

Samuel was in the state of rest when the voice of Saul, not the incantations of the witch, disturbed him. It is clear, from 1 Sam. xxviii, 12, that the sorceress was as much surprised as Saul at the appearance of Samuel. She evidently had no faith in her power over the holy dead. It was the other class of ghosts, the restless, "perturbed" ones, with whom had been her professional intercourse, whether we are to regard her as having some real necromantic power or as being a juggling impostor, deceiving and deceived.

"Why hast thou disquieted me?" למה הרגזתני להעלות אתי, *quare inquietasti me*, says Samuel to Saul, "in bringing me up,"

ut suscitarer, למה הרגזתני, "why hast thou aroused or disturbed me?" The word is inconsistent with the idea of lifelessness, or even of torpor. It is a complaint of broken rest. It indicates a placid yet conscious state into which the troubles and unrest of the earthly life had been painfully intruded. Is not Samuel's repose, after his toilsome life in Israel, the same as the New Testament sleep?—not torpor, but a condition of conscious blessedness in strongest contrast with the tumult of the present world. Certain modern notions have transferred to the spirit-world generally all the business and bustle of this. Even its happiness is regarded as being essentially a never-ceasing activity. Even when there is a discarding of the exceedingly gross notion of our modern spirit-rappers, there is still cherished the favorite idea of a continual restless "progress," which has taken the place of the primitive Old Testament and early Christian conception of the spiritual repose of the just. It is astonishing how strongly this thought has taken possession of the modern mind of the Church. It is assumed as a matter of course, but let one examine carefully the grounds of it, and he will be surprised to find how utterly silent are the Scriptures, Old and New, in respect to this petted idea of our latest theology. They are not merely silent; their representations are almost directly the reverse of what may be called the active, enterprising, progress-making spiritualism. How beautifully is this idea of rest set forth, (Isa. lvii, 2,) יבוא שלום ינוחו על משכבותם, *venit in pacem*, rather, as the Vulgate has it, *venit pax, requiescat in cubili suo;* LXX, ἔσται ἐν εἰρήνῃ—"he enters into peace; they rest in their beds." The righteous is taken away—"he is gathered in (נאסף) from the evil to come." Compare what Christ says about gathering the wheat into his granary. Is all this blessed language predicated of no higher idea than that of a lifeless sleep in the grave, or even an unconscious torpor? For expressions most graphically descriptive of the opposite state, see the close of this very chapter. How it describes the unrest of the wicked, whether we predicate it of this or any other state of existence. Can there be a doubt that a contrast was intended between it and those commencing words in which the opposite ideas of quietude, security, and blessedness are so touchingly set forth: "The wicked are like the surging sea, כים נגרש, that cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt;

there is no rest, saith my God, to the wicked." The solemn announcement must include their future being even more so than their present mundane existence, dark and turbulent as it is—sin is everlasting restlessness, לא יוכל השקט.

The association of ideas is so natural that we are not surprised to find the vulgar notion of the bad soul's haunting disquietude set forth as a philosophic deduction by the wisest mind in antiquity. They are so naturalized, says Plato, in the Phaedon, 81, C. D., that they become visible, and these are the wandering spirits that haunt the earth in their horror of the purely spiritual state, and their longing desire to get back into their old bodies. Wherefore they are seen around the burying-places, and become shadowy apparitions that frighten the living, and from whom arise the stories of ghostly apparitions that have prevailed in every age. "It is the sluggish nature, the heavy, the earthly, the visible, (or the palpable to sense.) The soul that hath these is weighed down, and dragged back to the visible (or the world of sense) in its fear of the invisible, that is, of Hades, as it is said; and so it wallows around the monuments and burying-grounds, where these become visible shadowy apparitions of ghosts, *idola*, shades, or images, such as souls of this nature produce, seeing that they are not purely set free from the body, but still partake of the visible, (or the sensual,) wherefore they become objects of sight."

The imagery is different, but it is the same awful idea of unrest that is expressed by Peter and Jude. True, indeed, of the condition of the wicked in this world, but still more suggestive of their doom in the world of spirits,—"clouds are they without water, carried about by the winds; wild waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame; wandering stars, for whom is reserved the blackness of darkness forever," or, as Tanchum interprets, (1 Sam. xxv, 29:) "cast out from the sling, sent whirling, *quasi in impetu et circulo fundae*, the sport of the waves and vortices, finding nowhere any place of rest."

The locality of all this, whether of the rest or the unrest, is comparatively of little consequence. There may be blessedness in an *unterwelt* or subterranean world, (the notion that some would regard as so gross,) if Christ be there—the good Shepherd or Bishop of souls in the שלמה, or *terra umbrarum*—while

an aerial locality may be the abode of beings more evil than any upon the earth: see Ephesians ii, 2, *τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας* 'ΑΕΡΟΣ, "The prince of the powers (or power, collectively) of the air." It is not extravagant to suppose that there are allusions to such a state of rest in the spirit-world presented in certain favorite expressions of the Psalms, such as, סתר אהלו, the secret place of his tabernacle. Psalms xxvii, 5; xxxii, 7, סתר כנפיך, "the hiding-place of thy wings," and "thy tabernacle of the eternities," אהלך עלמים; Psalm lxi, 4, סתר עליון, "the secret place of the Most High;" Psalm xci, 1, צל שדי, "the shadow of the Almighty." All these, through similar imagery, present the same constant idea. It is protection, security, peace, having its significance for this world if any choose to rest there, but reaching its full complement of meaning only in a state of being to which these conceptions primarily and essentially belong. Such is the sense which the devout reader easily takes now, and we may rationally believe that it was not remote to the feeling and thinking of those who first employed this kind of language. It may find its application on earth, but it is too high and holy to rest there. It doubtless has a temporal significance, but, like other things in the Old Testament diction, it has the eternal shining through it. Among others, that remarkable language, Psalm lxi, 5, אהלך עלמים, "thy tabernacle of the eternities," seems in direct contrast with the transient tabernacle of the Israelitish journeyings. It is the "tabernacle which God has pitched," and which never is to be taken down or removed.

Opposed to these delightful expressions of security and rest there are others in the Scriptures whose true significance we get by regarding them in direct contrast, and as denoting a state in all respects the reverse: such, for example, as בור שאון, rendered, "the horrible pit," more correctly *fovea strepitus*, "the roaring pit," or "the pit of the awful sounds;" * the

* There is an awful passage in the myth at the end of Plato's "Republic," whether we regard it a popular myth or tradition, or a mythological theosophism invented by the philosopher, though grounded on the popular idea. Among the purgatorial experiences is the passage of a thousand years in the fiery river until it comes round to the mouth or pit where the condemned souls meet the crises of their destiny, whether to escape their purgatorial pains or to remain in them forever. As they near this *στόμιον*, or mouth, they wait in awful expectation for the pit to sound, *μυκήσασθαι*, to roar, or bellow. This is the signal of

טיט היון, the miry clay, Psalm xl, 2; the יון מצולה ואין מעמד, Psalm lxix, 2, the miry deep, or the ever-sinking quicksands on which there is *no standing*, no rest, no security; an ever going down deeper and deeper into perdition. To the same class belong the נחלי בליעל, "the rivers of Belial," Psalm xviii, 5. Some of these expressions remind us of the Greek notions of the rivers in Hades and of the Βόρβορος or mire in which lie the profane or the uninitiated,* the muddy, fiery torrents, the abode of souls condemned to everlasting restlessness and disappointment. We cannot suppose the Hebrew conception borrowed from them. May it not be the other way? The Oriental mind is content with a primitive conception, and seldom expands it. Hence the reserve every-where maintained in the Old Testament, as though it would hold the thought in check, rather than encourage the fancy in respect to it. It presents a few grand yet shadowy images of both conditions, such as the "gathering to the fathers," the "bundles of life," the "casting forth," the "angel driving into darkness," the "wicked man driven away in his wickedness;" and then allows no shading or retouching of the picture. The Greeks, on the other hand, when they get hold of such an idea, set no limits to their fancy. Other nations go still further. They make it sometimes not only fanciful, but monstrous and grotesque. This is the way with the Scandinavian mythology. There was a similar tendency, though far short of that extent, among the latter Jews. The sacred writers, however, were held in check, and this continued until the canon of the older inspiration was completed. Then came the Targumists, the Talmudists, and the later Rabbinical writers. Here the check seems wholly withdrawn, as is shown by the extravagance and abundance of their Targumistic paraphrases and their Talmudic fables. Tanchum was one of the soberest of the Jewish commentators, and he only professes to interpret, instead of improving upon, the ancient text. Thus, this interpretation of 1 Samuel

their eternal doom. The pains they suffer in the fiery stream are beyond conception, but the climax is the hour of suspense they experience as they near this fearful crisis. This is the crowning misery of the thousand years' purgation, *ἐνθα δὴ φόβων πολλῶν γεγονότων τοῦτον ὑπερβάλλειν τὸν φόβον, εἰ μυκήσαιτο τὸ στόμιον.* Though, during all this time, there are many fears, yet the fear surpasses them all lest the pit should bellow. Plato, "Rep.," 616, A.

* See the Gorgias.

xxv, 29, which he gives us, may be regarded as, in the main, faithful to the old thought of the text in its concise proverbial form; but we find no such expansions of it in the Scriptures themselves. It is not the way of the Bible to give exegesis of its own meaning. Yet such modes of expression are most significant when regarded as containing a thought so fixed and universal as to need no interpreter. Compare Daniel xii, 13, "But go thy way, Daniel, and take thy *rest*, (תנוח,) and stand in thy lot at the end of the days." תנוח is used here as denoting something which the prophet well understood, as in accordance with the common belief of his nation. It is the same with that blessed holy rest of Samuel from which Saul's earthly trouble disquieted him, when safely "bound up in the bundle of lives with the Lord his God." It is the rest described Isaiah lvii, 2, "May he rest in peace:" "*Requiescat in pace.*" This formula, too, is but another mode of saying, "Let his soul be bound up in the bundle of lives." In the mouth of the light and flippant Abigail it may have been a mere formal complimentary phrase, like the salutations of Boaz and his reapers already mentioned, *Dominus vobiscum*, or like a modern Eastern *salaam;* but in its origin it must have had a deeper significance. Had it denoted any common temporal good, and that alone, it would not have taken this highly figurative aspect and this succinct proverbial form.

There is another conclusion that Rabbi Tanchum derives from this passage, (1 Samuel xxv, 29,) which is well worthy of notice. He takes it as an unquestionable declaration of another life, implying even now a community of souls; not only of souls in the past who here had their earthly being, but of souls to be born who are yet, somehow, in the *fasciculus vitarum*, a great "bundle of life;" and he draws from it this remarkable inference as to the superiority of the Jewish nation in this knowledge (not philosophy) of the future life. "But if this be the fair intent of the words of Abigail in the text, namely, to convey this idea of another life, then is it a proof that a mystery so strange to the intellects of men, so remote from their thoughts—to the knowledge of which those most illustrious for wisdom arrive only through much labor and study, and through difficult illustrations and argumentations—that such a mystery, I say, was known in those times, and made

familiar even to the women! Surely this is a most valid argument to show that there was, in our nation, a deep and widely diffused wisdom, even as is said of them, (Deut. iv, 6,) 'surely a people wise and understanding is this great nation.'"

The expression, צרור חיים, and the prayer, והיתה נפש אדני צרורה בצרור החיים, "May the soul of my Lord be bound up in the bundle of life," Maimonides regards as the opposite of the Jewish form of excommunication on the Cereth (כרת) in the formula, "Let that soul be cut off from the people." This means, says Maimonides, ("Porta Mosis," Pocock's edition, page 154,) הכרת בעולם הזה הכרת לעולם הבא. By being exscinded (cut off) in this world, it is cut off in the *olam habba*, or world to come, and is thus opposed to that other word of Scripture, והיתה נפש אדני צרורה, "Be the soul of my Lord bound up in the bundle of life." *Quære:* Did the ideas of binding and loosing in our world what is bound or loosed in the other come from these forms into the Jewish, and from thence into the language of the Christian Church?

Cereth, Kereth, כרת, was the excision, the excommunication from the Jewish nation, from the Jewish Church, from its community of life, its *fasciculus vitarum*, or צרור חיים. Like other symbolical words of the Old Testament, it has a sense beyond the merest letter. It has a significance deepening and expanding, according to the spiritual stand-point of the interpreter, or his view of the Jewish life as merely historical, like any other national life, or as symbolical, throughout, of a far higher and more spiritual community.

Maimonides regards Kereth (כרת) as denoting annihilation. See "Porta Mosis," Pocock's edition, page 154, 10: "The most complete wretchedness is the Kereth or excision of the soul, which is its destruction—that it may no longer have continuance of being. And this is the Kereth or excision mentioned in the law; for the meaning of Kereth is the *cutting* off of the soul, as it (the law) explains and says, 'that soul shall be surely cut off'—and so they say, (our wise men,) by being cut off in this world it is cut off in the world to come, and the Scripture saith, 'Let the soul of my Lord be bound up in the bundle of life,' etc. For whoever continues in mere bodily pleasures, pursuing them alone, and rejecting truth, while ever embracing the false, is cut off from that high degree,

and remains forever mere mass or matter, separated from all life."

Some might say that Maimonides attaches too much importance to the word נפש, which is used simply to denote *person* or individual. But how came נפש, or soul, to be thus used? This is a deeper question than the common philology or the rationalizing theology can answer. We need not argue with Maimonides, in his view of annihilation, but he is right in regarding the Kereth of the law as affecting the whole being, instead of being merely a civil separation, or as having reference only to the body and the bodily life.

And so, just above this, Maimonides interprets the expression, Deut. iv, 40: ייטב לך ותאריך ימים, "May it be well with thee, and mayest thou prolong thy days," as the opposite of the Kereth. "And there has come to us a tradition which explains this as follows: That thou mayest prolong thy days, and that it may be well with thee forever in that world which is all good, and that thou mayest prolong thy days in the world which is all length;" that is, infinite in duration. This gives us the idea which the Jewish doctors had of the phrase, אורך ימים, length of the days, as employed in such passages as Psalm xxiii, 6, ושבתי בבית יהוה לאורך ימים, "and my dwelling (my fixed abode) shall be in the house of the Lord for length of days," rightly rendered in our English version, (if this view be correct,) "I shall dwell in the house of the Lord forever."

Art. III.—METHODIST DOCTRINAL STANDARDS.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

"Split hairs as much as you like, refine till you are gray about standards, and, unless you take leave of common sense, you cannot be absurd enough to teach one thing to the children and its opposite to the congregation. It would be infamous to cram into the hearts of children a faith which we believe to be false. When the Church orders that children be taught this and this, it affirms that it believes this and this; and affirms it in relations that make its teachings peculiarly and solemnly

binding. At present, the Church certainly holds the doctrines taught in the Catechism for its children." *

Such are the conclusions to which the unbiased study of our Church history and literature have led.

We now pass to the second question:

II. What is the authority of the Methodist doctrinal standards over the teaching and denominational standing of Church members?

1. *Of our official members.*

Formal subscription to the doctrinal standards is not required of candidates for membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church. In this particular it continues the policy adopted when the Methodists were only "Societies" in the Anglican Church. "There is only one condition previously required of those who desire admission into these 'Societies,' a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins." †

Wesley frequently spoke with devout gratulation of this liberality in respect of doctrinal belief. Preaching at Glasgow in his eighty-fifth year, he said:

> There is no other religious society under heaven which requires nothing of men, in order to their admission into it, but a desire to save their souls. Look all around you: you cannot be admitted into the Church or Society of the Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Quakers, or any others, unless you hold the same opinions with them, and adhere to the same mode of worship. The Methodists alone do not insist on your holding this or that opinion. . . . Here is our glorying, and a glorying peculiar to us. What Society shares it with us?

The evangelical denominations in America have learned much of this excellent Gamaliel in the matter of doctrinal liberality since then; and, like the Methodists, rely on pulpit, Sunday-school, and literary instruction for the uniform indoctrination of their adherents.

The American Church, as Wesley intended, is equally liberal. The General Rules require "only one condition" of membership. In relation to that, "are not the Articles to be considered rather as an indicatory than an obligatory dogmatic symbol, an indication to sincere men, seeking an asylum for Christian communion, of what kind of teaching they must

* "Methodist," Dec. 10, 1881. † "Discipline," ¶ 31.

expect in the new Church, but not of what they would be required to avow by subscription?" *

Once in the Church, no unofficial member can be expelled from it but for faults "sufficient to exclude a person from the kingdom of grace and glory." Dissent from the doctrinal standards does not warrant extrusion. Inveighing against our doctrines or discipline does; because it sows dissensions, occasions schisms, gives rise to strife and every evil work; and is all the more unjustifiable in view of the fact that the offender had a general knowledge, at least, of the doctrines and discipline of the Church when he joined it, and that he is at liberty to withdraw from it at any time, and to connect himself with any branch of the Church of Christ whose tenets and rules may meet with his approval.

"The maintenance of sound doctrine" demands caution of the pastor who receives candidates for Church membership into full communion, and logically justifies the question which, under instructions from the General Conference, he puts to the applicant, namely: "Do you believe in the doctrines of Holy Scripture, as set forth in the Articles of Religion of the Methodist Episcopal Church?" and to which the candidate is expected to answer: "I do."

Whether the "Form for Receiving Persons into the Church after Probation" be constitutionally binding, in view of the General Rules, and of the fourth restrictive rule, which reads: "They (the General Conference) shall not revoke or change the General Rules of the United Societies," is an inquiry that is only indirectly related to the subject of our present paper. Whatever the doctrinal opinions of the individuals received, coming as they may from under the influence of communions characteristically different from the Methodist,—if they "continue to evidence their desire of salvation" under the guidance of the General Rules, they will, in all probability, soon find themselves in perfect unison with the theology of the Church. "The spiritual life of the Church is the strongest guarantee of its orthodoxy, but not its orthodoxy of its spiritual life."

2. *Of official members.*

(1.) Stewards. These are required to "be persons of solid

* Stevens' "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. ii, p. 217.

piety, who both know and love the Methodist doctrine and discipline." *

(2.) Leaders. "The sub-pastoral oversight made necessary by our itinerant economy" † is most effective when all the leaders are "of sound judgment, and truly devoted to God,"‡ and particularly when they have pursued "such a course of reading and study as shall best qualify them for their work." § If the pastors recommend to these sub-pastors such books "as will tend to increase their knowledge of the Scriptures, and make them familiar with the passages best adapted to Christian edification," ‖ there can be little or no doubt that the Methodist doctrinal standards will be found among them.

(3.) Exhorters. These officials must pass an examination of moral and theological qualifications, that must be satisfactory to their pastors, before they can be licensed; and the subsequent renewal of those licenses is conditioned on the doctrinal as well as intellectual satisfaction given upon examination to church officials or appointed examiners.

The standards by which the orthodoxy of applicants for this species of ministerial license is invariably judged, are those common to Methodism, and "preserved in the memories and convictions" of the questioners.

(4.) Local Preachers. Formal acceptance of the acknowledged symbols of the Church is requisite in the case of all who become preachers in it. "Conformity to the doctrines of the Church is required by its statute law as a functional qualification for the ministry." ¶ If a member of the Church believe that he is moved by the Holy Ghost to preach the Gospel, the church of which he is a member must judge from his gifts, grace, and usefulness, or the absence of them, of the evangelical soundness of his persuasion; or, in other words, whether he be really called to preach or not.

If the Quarterly Conference be satisfied that his convictions are from the Holy Spirit, they may license him to preach, provided his "general knowledge of the Bible, and of the doctrines and usages of the Methodist Episcopal Church," as defined "in such course of studies as the Bishops shall prescribe," be found, on due examination, satisfactory to the Quarterly and,

* "Discipline," ¶ 131. † *Ibid.*, ¶ 58. ‡ *Ibid.*, ¶ 59. § *Ibid.*, ¶ 62.
‖ *Ibid.*, ¶ 62. ¶ Stevens' "History of the M. E. Church," vol. ii, p. 218.

also, to the District Conference, in case his application should come before the latter body.

All the books belonging to the prescribed course of study are, either naturally or by adoption, included in the *consensus* of Methodism on the essential doctrines of Christianity; and these the candidate must have studied sufficiently to enable him to declare his enlightened acceptance of those doctrines as therein contained.

(5.) Traveling Preachers. Whenever any local preacher is received as a probationer for the itinerant ministry, it is after he has given "satisfactory evidence of his knowledge of those particular subjects which have been recommended to his consideration." * He then repairs to his allotted field of labor, and employs a portion of his time in the study of the works prescribed by the Bishops, under authority of the General Conference—that is to say, of the Church—and is subjected to examination by a duly appointed committee at the next annual session of the Conference. The second year's experience is a repetition of the first. During these two years he has abundant opportunity to decide whether his theological beliefs coincide with the Methodist doctrinal standards or not.

But, say some, he is not questioned on this point. "Nowhere in the curriculum for admission, or orders, is a candidate in our Church asked if he believes in the doctrines taught in the standard authors. Such assent is neither asked nor given. Nowhere in the Discipline is there any record of such authors, as to who they are, or what they teach." †

These statements were true in part at the time they were written. But even then the "Discipline" said: "If he give us satisfaction . . . he may be received into full connection." ‡

The full acceptance of Methodist theology has always been ascertained or postulated; and had a probationer expressed conscientious dissent from any doctrine distinctive of the system, there is but scanty probability, if any, that he would have been received into the number of its recognized expounders and defenders.

"Assent" to our doctrinal standards has uniformly been

* "Discipline," ¶ 148.

† Rev. J. Pullman, in the "Methodist Quarterly Review," 1879, p. 344.

‡ "Discipline," 1876, ¶ 150.

demanded of the probationer by the common, if not by the statute, law of the Church. "All along the course there is an unvarying recognition of a system of doctrines, fairly ascertained and well understood, which the candidate cordially accepts as substantially identical with his own honest convictions, and which, therefore, he proposes to preach as agreeable to the Word of God. To this form of doctrine, whatever it may be, he is shut up by the conditions of his accepted ecclesiastical relations, and of his ordinations to the ministry; and so long as he continues to hold and occupy these relations with their legitimate obligations, he is estopped from departing from the system of faith so accepted and believed." *

Since the General Conference of 1880, every preacher, before being received into full connection with the traveling ministry, is questioned about his belief "in the doctrines taught in the standard authors," whose acquaintance he has diligently cultivated while pursuing the statutory course of study. In ¶ 152 of the "Discipline" (1880) are the questions:

Have you studied the doctrines of the Methodist Episcopal Church?

After full examination, do you believe that our doctrines are in harmony with the Holy Scriptures; and will you preach and maintain them?

To each question an affirmative reply is indispensable in order to admission. Again, in ¶ 155 (Discipline) we read: "Those ministers of other evangelical Churches who may desire to unite with our Church may be received" if, among other conditions, "they shall give satisfaction to an Annual Conference . . . of their agreement with us in doctrines," etc.

The promise made by the elder, when ordained, to "be ready with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's word," and the same promise made by the bishop at the time of his consecration to office, together with the injunction of the consecrating bishop, to "take heed unto thyself, and to thy doctrine," (¶ 497,) must necessarily be interpreted in the light of authoritative Methodist doctrinal standards.

The tenth rule for a "preacher's conduct" obliges him to "not mend our rules, but keep them; not for wrath, but

* Dr. Curry, in "National Repository," 1879, p. 359.

conscience' sake;" the eleventh, "to mind every point, great and small, in the Methodist Discipline." Were every preacher to do so, there would be no occasion to complain of heretical teaching, and, consequently, no need of prosecution for heresy, or the maintenance of doctrines contrary to the Holy Scriptures as interpreted by the Methodist standards.

Although no one will claim for our elastic system of doctrine the iron-bound completeness of creeds like the Westminster Confession, it is none the less certain that Methodists have more doctrinal harmony than most followers of more clearly defined symbols. Their internal conflicts and repeated divisions have not been the results of doctrinal controversy, but of differences on matters of ecclesiastical polity.

> Ecclesiastical history does not, perhaps, present an instance of an equal number of ministers brought into contact so close, and called so frequently together, for the discussion of various subjects, among whom so much general unanimity as to doctrines . . . has prevailed, joined with so much real good-will and friendship toward each other, for so great a number of years.*

Adequate provision is made in the Discipline for the conservation of Methodist orthodoxy.

> If a member of our Church shall be accused of endeavoring to sow dissension in any of our societies, by inveighing against either our doctrines or discipline, the person so offending shall first be reproved by the preacher in charge, and if he persists in such pernicious practice, he shall be brought to trial, and if found guilty, expelled.†
>
> When a minister or preacher disseminates, publicly or privately, doctrines which are contrary to our Articles of Religion or established standards of doctrine, let the same process be observed as is directed in ¶209, § 1; but if the minister or preacher so offending do solemnly engage not to disseminate such erroneous doctrines, in public or in private, he shall be borne with till his case be laid before the next Annual Conference, which shall determine the matter.—¶ 213.
>
> When a bishop disseminates, publicly or privately, doctrines which are contrary to our Articles of Religion, or established standards of doctrines, the same process shall be observed as is prescribed in ¶¶ 201, 202.—¶ 205.

Suspension from official functions, and expulsion from the ministry and membership of the Church, may follow conviction of the accused by the court before which he is tried.

* Watson's "Life of Wesley," Amer. ed., p. 240. † "Discipline," ¶ 228.

We now come to the third question.

III. What does the Word of God require as touching those who publicly dissent from the essential and distinctive doctrines of Methodism, as defined by its authoritative standards?

They have repeatedly expressed their assent to those doctrines, and pledged themselves to propagate them. But, if they have ceased to believe in them as correct representations of the teachings of the Holy Scriptures, ought they not to seek an honorable release from their obligations, and more congenial denominational associations? To willingly remain under solemnly covenanted engagements, and yet to preach and teach in antagonism to them, is not to "speak every man truth with his neighbor." (Eph. iv, 25.) It is to fall into one of the most pernicious practices of Romanism, and to profess faith in a system of doctrines, by contriving to sustain the position of its professed expositor, while disbelieving and denying it. If this be not hypocrisy, what is it? Practical obedience to Christ's command: "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven," (Matt. v, 16,) will cause all such dissentients to sever the links which bind them to a public course of procedure opposed to their deliberate and mature convictions. Such separation would not be schism, but commendable adherence to the truth as they understand it. The Reformers of the sixteenth century, and numberless Methodists of the nineteenth, have willingly suffered it, and that without waiting for the disciplinary action of the Churches with whom they were formerly in fellowship. "It must be remembered," however, "that to be adjudged unsound in doctrine, however lawfully in form and correctly in purpose, is not the same with exclusion from the Kingdom of God. The flock is larger than any fold, and in any case the Chief Shepherd will know his own." *

The Rock River Conference plainly expressed its opinion as to what doctrinal dissentients in the ministry ought to do by kindly requesting Dr. H. W. Thomas to withdraw from the Methodist ministry. That he should decline to do so and "court an investigation, when conscious of his utter divergence from the standard of [Methodist] belief, and when sensible of his disloyalty to the vows of ordination," said "Zion's Herald"

* Dr. Curry, in the "Independent," Nov. 8, 1881.

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> is impossible for an organization to exist without a common
> sis of belief. If a minister preaches contrary to the standards,
> he should be suppressed. If I had been guilty and proved
> guilty of denying the standards of the Church to which I belong,
> but one course would have been open to the Assembly, namely,
> to remove me from the ministry. Ministers, indeed, who do not
> agree with the recognized standards which form the bond of
> union, should not remain. Honesty requires them not to wait to
> be thrust out. As I said a few moments ago, while my opinions
> on some points differ widely from the opinions held thereon by
> some others, I claim that upon the doctrines of the Church I have
> uttered nothing contrary to the standards.

Dr. Robert Collyer, formerly pastor of a Unitarian Church in Chicago, and now pastor of a Unitarian Church in New York, is intimately acquainted with the Methodist doctrines, and at one time proclaimed them as a local preacher. But when he

of the Church imperiously demanded the ...ry measures toward him. On July 15, ...d Jewett formally charged him with ... contrary to our Articles of Religion ... doctrine," and specified the offense ...ring the inspiration and authority ... Scriptures in such way as to ...f Religion, as found in the ...copal Church." Second, "In ...t, as held by the Methodist ... the second and twentieth ...forth in the Discipline." ...leath for those who die ...ds of the Methodist ... punishment of the ...

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Dr. Thomas' persistent effor... a Methodist minister, after he ha... accord with some of its most sacred... such as are considered as essential to ... defended. The question at this point is not ... of those doctrines, but whether or not they are ... the recognized creed of the Church, and of such im... make their acceptance necessary to ministerial efficien... essential doctrinal unity of the body. This view of the ... is taken by not a few who are with Dr. Thomas in his dislik... the faith which he repudiates, among them Robert Collyer and ... Professor Swing, who confess the manifest impropriety of his continuing in a ministry whose doctrine he repudiates. Herein was Dr. Thomas' capital blunder, which neither he nor his friends can defend, and which must be condemned by all fair-minded persons as morally a great mistake. He should have gone out voluntarily, and, failing to do this, was righteously dispossessed.†

This *consensus* of opinion, as to the course a conscientious dissenter from the essential doctrines of his own Church ought to pursue, is no less agreeable to the instincts of pure and noble manhood than to the spirit of the inspired writers and the grandest examples of Church history.

But if dissentients of the type under consideration will not dissolve their relation to the Church, then what does the Word of God authorize the Church to do in the premises?

* "Christian Advocate," Oct. 20, 1881. † Dr. Curry, "Methodist," Nov., 1881.

Paul, in his epistle to the Romans, xvi, 17, answers the inquiry in the words: "I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offenses contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned; and avoid them." Of like tenor are his instructions to Timothy, (1 Epistle vi, 3, 5:) "If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness: from such withdraw thyself." Of "unruly and vain talkers," the same great organizer and administrator declared that their "mouths must be stopped." (Titus i, 10, 11.) Interpreted as these and similar instructions must be, so as not to conflict with any other injunctions of the New Testament, they do not for a moment sanction any inquisitorial measures; but they do impose upon the faithful the duty of kindly and justly exscinding the incorrigible derelict from their communion, and of stopping their mouths, so far as official utterance in the edifices owned and controlled by the Church are interested.

With the injunctions of the apostolic writers the disciplinary methods of the Methodist Church are in perfect harmony. The possibly injurious results of Methodistic liberality were once discussed in the British Conference, Wesley conclusively determined the debate by remarking:

> I have no more right to object to a man for holding a different opinion from me, than I have to differ with a man because he wears a wig, and I wear my own hair; but if he takes his wig off, and begins to shake the powder about my eyes, I shall consider it my duty to get quit of him as soon as possible.*

If Dr. Thomas be correctly reported, and there seems to be little or no doubt on this point, he did take off his wig and shake the powder about the eyes of his brethren. This they naturally resented. Intelligent and cultivated men, whose theological convictions are very deep and sincere, do not like to be denounced as bigoted, antiquated, erroneous, and altogether behind the times; and especially when they are convinced that the denouncer himself is the belated individual who is justly obnoxious to the same or similar charges. Nevertheless they patiently, tenderly, and respectfully bore with him until patience ceased to be a virtue, and the peace,

* Stevens' "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. ii, p. 217.

purity, and efficiency of the Church imperiously demanded the adoption of disciplinary measures toward him. On July 15, 1881, Drs. Hatfield and Jewett formally charged him with disseminating doctrines "contrary to our Articles of Religion or established standards of doctrine," and specified the offense as consisting, first, "In denying the inspiration and authority of portions of the canonical Scriptures in such way as to antagonize the fifth Article of Religion, as found in the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church." Second, "In denying the doctrine of atonement, as held by the Methodist Episcopal Church, and embodied in the second and twentieth of her Articles of Religion, as set forth in the Discipline." Third, "In teaching a probation after death for those who die in sin, thereby antagonizing the standards of the Methodist Episcopal Church in relation to the endless punishment of the wicked." *

By the Committee of Investigation convened by his Presiding Elder, and consisting of nine ministers of the Conference, these specifications were thoroughly sifted on the 6th of September, 1881. Dr. Thomas ably and eloquently defended himself, and was assisted by Drs. Miller, Sheppard, and Axtell, and also by learned lawyers as legal consulting counsel. In the issue he was pronounced guilty of the first specification by a vote of six to three; of the second, by a vote of five to four; and of the third, by a vote of eight to one. (New York "Independent.")

Formal trial by a committee of the Conference followed at its ensuing annual session. In vindication of himself, the accused avowed his belief that Methodism placed its chief emphasis "upon the life, the experience, the heart-work of religion, and that in matters of opinion it allowed the largest liberty." As it subsequently appeared, the "largest liberty" he had exercised was not within the limits of the doctrinal standards, but over and beyond them, and in contemptuous indifference to their authority. He had felt "at perfect liberty to deal with the forms or statements of those doctrines, and as far as possible to harmonize them with reason and revelation, and the deepest intuitions of the soul." ("Independent.") This confession implied, first, that the Methodist Episcopal "forms or statements" of doctrine are not in harmony with "reason and reve-

* "Independent," August 25, 1881.

lation, and the deepest intuitions of the soul;" and second, that he doubted even his own power to effect a satisfactory reconciliation.

Dr. Miller evinced no little legal and forensic ability in defense of his client, and argued his case with such success that "Dr. Thomas was acquitted, by a vote of ten to five, on the specification charging him with denying the inspiration and authority of the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments. On the second and third specifications, respecting the doctrine of atonement and eternal punishment, on which he was convicted, the jury stood nine to six." *

Expulsion from the ministry and membership of the Church —a species of glorifying martyrdom that the errant preacher seems to have coveted—followed this verdict of the court. But the language of one popular editor in the Church: "God be praised that there is yet energy enough in the denomination to expel a minister, though personally popular, whose teachings would strip the law of its terrors and the Gospel of its saving power," † although it voices the sentiments of the vast majority of the ministers and members of the Church, must not be construed as implying the existence of any unkind feeling toward the exscinded brother. All admired his ability and accomplishments; all conceded the purity of his character; all rejoiced in whatever good he had been enabled to do; all spoke tenderly and respectfully of him; and all would have praised the God of all grace had he seen the error of his ways, and conscientiously returned to the faith and methods of the Church. None would have blamed him had he manfully withdrawn from the Church into another fold, or done what he has done since his expulsion, namely, established a church of his own. But since he would not or could not be convinced; and because he would not retire, nor submit to the authorities he had vowed to obey, there was no alternative left but sorrowingly, yet sternly, to expel him from the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

As was to be anticipated, the destructionists of all classes, and the Protean theologians, whose marvelously elastic ductility endows them with the power to present an orthodox aspect one day, a heterodox frontispiece the next, and a hybrid, what-d'ye-

* "Independent," Oct. 20, 1881. † "Christian Advocate," Oct. 20, 1881.

call-it, visage the following; who are all things by turns, and nothing long; thundering Jupiters one Sabbath and "sucking doves" on the next, set up a tremendous howl of indignation. Their sympathy, like that of the freebooting fraternity whose grief is only for the burglar arrested or shot for his crime, went out to the man whom they held to be one with them in the attempt to rob the Church of "the faith once delivered to the saints." To them he is magnanimity, nobleness, heroism, personified. No Methodist will wish to deprive them of what comfort they can obtain in this way.

The secular papers, as a rule, held just and temperate language on the trial and its issue. The New York "Sun," one of the strong, keen, stern, but not always just and merciful, newspapers of the metropolis, in its issue of September 13, 1881, said of the preliminary investigation:

> The heresy of the Rev. Dr. Thomas related to three of the fundamental doctrines of Protestant orthodoxy that are maintained by the Methodist Episcopal Church: the doctrines of scriptural inspiration, the atonement, and an eternal hell. There was a great deal of testimony, mainly from his own sermons and conversations, to show his heterodoxy upon these doctrines. . . . It seems to us, that both by his printed sermons, and by the testimony of witnesses to his language, the charges against him were fully proved; and that, if the Methodist Episcopal Church desires to be accounted an orthodox Protestant body, his expulsion from its ministry is necessary.

"The New York 'Tribune' also had a very discriminating editorial in the same direction." *

The deliverances of the secular censors of ecclesiastical morals on the action of the Conferential court are of similar quality to those on the Committee of preliminary Investigation.

On the 30th of November, 1881, the Judicial Conference, to which Dr. Thomas had appealed from the decision of the Rock River Annual Conference, declined, by a vote of fifteen to four, to entertain his appeal; on the ground that he had forfeited his right to be heard by willfully continuing to preach since his exclusion, and by allying himself to an ecclesiastical organization independent of and hostile to the Methodist Episcopal Church. Fearless and not over-friendly critics of Methodism justify the decision of the Judicial Conference,

* "Christian Advocate," Oct. 20, 1881.

which naturally passes without question in the Church itself. While the judicial processes of the Church, in the discipline of incorrigible dissentients from its doctrinal standards, is manifestly agreeable to "God's Word written," and are all applauded by sound public sentiment, it is also gratifying to know that they have been followed by the blessing of the Great Head of the Church. The following extracts from the Chicago "Daily Inter-Ocean," of November 14, 1881, are full of interest and instruction:

Dr. Thomas was pastor of the Centenary Church for three years, and did a great work in the way of building up the congregation. People crowded the church to hear him, and no larger congregations were to be found in the city. He did not however, it is claimed, add greatly to the spiritual strength of the church. He drew to him that class of church goers whose ideas on religious subjects do not accord with the strictly orthodox, but rather tend to the liberal, or, as some call it, the heretical. None of these became members of the church, and when he left it they followed him. The membership of Centenary was, at the beginning of Dr. Thomas' pastorate, about 700, and it did not get above that figure in the three years. Some claim that it even decreased to about 500, but this is not credited by others. The class-meeting, the solid foundation upon which Methodism is built, decreased under Thomas' pastorate, and ceased to be a power in the church. At the close of his pastorate, a year ago, there were but three small classes, and they were not regularly attended.

Dr. George took charge of the church a year ago, under embarrassing circumstances. Thomas had left with the majority of the Conference against him, and a heresy trial hanging over his head. This created sympathy for him, and the man who followed him in the Centenary pulpit was supposed by the unthinking to be in some way responsible for this state of affairs. Those who were in sympathy with Dr. Thomas arrayed themselves against the Methodist Church and its representative in this pulpit. The large outside congregation, attracted to Centenary and held for three years by Dr. Thomas, left, and Dr. George came from another Conference and another State to build up a church divided against itself. He was no ordinary man, although Chicago people had not heard much of him. He was orthodox, in the extreme, perhaps, but a man of giant intellect and great powers of attraction. He appeared cold and austere when he entered the pulpit, and the little congregation at first were repelled. His voice was not so cold as his looks, and when, after the sermon, he came down from the pulpit to mingle with the people, they found him warm and hearty in his welcome. His sermons, too, were as full of originality and deep thought as those of his predecessor. His

first congregation was his smallest, and from that time the audiences have increased in size, until now they fill the church, and are as large as those attendant upon Dr. Thomas' preaching. The three small classes have increased to sixteen, and the prayer-meetings double in attendance, and the whole spiritual growth of the church such as never before in its history. The membership also has increased, and is more closely associated with the church work. The finances of a church are generally an indication of the success of a pastor. After the fire in 1871, Centenary Church had a debt of $10,000, and this gradually increased until, in 1880, the bonded debt was $14,000, and the floating debt $2,000, making a total debt of $16,000 to confront the new pastor; and part of this debt, it is said, was $500 of Dr. Thomas' salary. Dr. George at once went to work, and in less than ten months had money subscribed to pay off this entire debt, and now, practically, the church is free from debt—something never known in her history before. When he returned [from Europe] a week ago, the people did not wait for the trustees to arrange for a reception, but took it upon themselves, and gave the pastor such a greeting as could only come from those who loved him as a friend and a teacher.

There is no church in the city to-day doing a greater or better work than Centenary, and none more closely united. Dr. George is quiet and unostentatious, never catering to the public, and moving in the way he considers the path of duty. The "Inter-Ocean" believes in justice to all men, and takes this opportunity to set the facts before the public in their true light, that it may be known that Centenary Church did not cease to exist when Dr. Thomas organized the People's Church.

Receiving this as a truthful representation of the Centenary Church and its recent history, it is conclusively shown: first, that the blessing of God rests upon the Church's vindication of her doctrinal purity; second, that the unscriptural heresies of a popular preacher are far more likely "to sink the Church," than her intelligent fidelity to recognized doctrinal standards as the best attainable expositions of revealed truth; third, that contending "earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints," in the spirit and power of our Lord Jesus Christ, is the surest means of promoting the Church's prosperity; fourth, that the Church can better spare her most eloquent sons than tolerate their violations of solemn ordination vows; and fifth, that this exciting instance in a long line of precedents is an additional reason for the zealous and loving preservation of the truth as it is in Jesus, and as it is understood by the continuous documentary *consensus* of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Art. IV.—THE BEGINNING OF LIFE.

The phrase, "Beginning of Life" in the world-system, is an old and trite one, and presents an unsolved and perplexing problem; yet it seems as fresh and attractive to the men of to-day as it did to those of the nineteenth century before our era. In fact, it appeals too strongly to our intellectual curiosity ever to be dropped out of the lines of human thought. There have been hopes and expressed beliefs that the advances in biological science, especially in embryology, would soon or later bring us to the threshold of life, so that man could understand the initial life-growths, and put them into statements of cause and effect, phrase them in formulated interactions of matter and force, just as one can state the laws of chemical reaction. The aim and the hope have been to put the genesis of life in the same scientific status with the baking of bread and the formation of water and limestone. Agassiz seemed to believe that the now closed gates of life would yet stand ajar under the persistent pressure of scientific investigation. He says:* "The time has come when scientific truth must be woven into the common life of the world; for we have reached the point where the results of science touch the very problem of existence, and all men listen for the solving of that mystery. When it will come, and how, none can say; but this much is certain, that all our researches are leading up to that question, and mankind will never rest until it is answered." But, both from the nature of the problem and from the limits of scientific thought, we are compelled to the belief that the mystery of initial life will never be solved; that there will be for us no formulated statement of the interactions of the vital and other forces, bringing the fact (for it is a *fact*, a thing done, like other facts in natural processes) of the beginning of life within scientific limits, such as we have in the tabulated interactions of matter and force in the known methods of mechanical equivalents and chemical reactions. And one of the purposes of this article is to give some reasons for this belief.

To help explain the origin of life, some draw analogies between the merely chemical and the organic movements; as when

* "Methods of Study in Natural History," p. 42.

they compare the sudden starts of crystallization in a liquid with the quick conversion of nutrient matter into living tissue by the bioplasts of that tissue, as if an analogy was a solution, and as though the marvelous dynamic flow of organic force was only the overflow of chemical rills. Others compare the birth of the first of a series with the birth of an individual in that series; thus trying to make a derivative birth-life explain the mystery of the introduction of life into the world; as if reproduction in kind was the same thing as primal origination; as if the organic natural links of a genetic connection between the individuals of a species was the same thing as the origin of the species. And yet others—and notably Bain, and Tyndall also, inferentially—have sought for a partial solution of the problem of organic existence in a new definition of matter. The proposed new definition represents matter as a "double-faced," a doubly endowed something having a physical and a spiritual side, an upper and a lower side—the lower side with its inertia, color, gravity, and other physical qualities; the higher with its spontaneity and other spiritual qualities. They would thus put a spiritual potency and promise into the nebulous mist of the primordial world-dust, so as to be able, after a measureless reach of time, to take out of it a planetary surface film of vegetable and animal life, even though ages of fiery molten matter lie between the putting in and the taking out. And they do this in the face of the established fact, that no forms of life have ever been known to survive a heat much less than that which belongs to molten rock. But with the aid of all these analogies and suggestions, the method of life's origin is still a problem unsolved. Not only the origination, but also the reproduction of life, presents a like mystery. Even the advances of science, which take us from the complex adult organism backward through the embryonic stages of growth to the structureless ovarian egg, beyond which the microscope has no range of vision, and beyond which the scalpel has no point of touch, nor the crucible any chemic tests, are no advances toward an explanation of this mystery of life. Yet in spite of repeated and inevitable failures, philosophic thought will brood intensely over the life-problem, trying to put the links of causal connection between the facts and phases of the process by which the life principle weaves an organism with perfect functions out

of the functionless ovarian egg. The problem, ever present since the beginning of the race, but never solved, is to-day as fresh as ever; and the scientific imagination will project the known modes of motion of physical forces into the changes of living matter, so as to picture the tissue-weaving of organic life under modes of mechanical and molecular action. But just as none of the operations within the range of what we call natural can explain the existence and the properties of atoms in chemistry, so nothing within the known range of chemical and mechanical actions can explain the beginning of life. The existence of atoms, and that of organic life, are both births of finite being, are both to be taken as specific outcomes of Divine energy; as breaks of a supernatural intervention, which will be forever outside of the imitations of the laboratory, outside of the formulas and laws that hold the mathematical and mechanical interactions of matter and force. Not the most profoundly cultivated imagination, playing ever so precisely according to the known modes of molecular mechanical action, can ever picture how the creative energy of the Supreme Will had its outcome in new forms of existence. The beginning of life lies outside of the domain of science, out of the reach of the swiftest, surest imagination, save under the form of vague analogies; and analogies are not solutions, for the reason that the original passage from the inorganic to the organic was rather an abrupt than a transitional one by insensible gradations.

But this persistent quest for the origin of life is not irrational, for as soon as the human faculties are sufficiently developed, this topic comes up with an original freshness. It is somewhat like the search for perpetual motion, but with this difference: that in the search along the lines of causation you are at last stopped, not by the impossible, but by *the hidden.*

To the question: Whence is the vital force derived, and what is its relation to the other forces of nature? Prof. Le Conte, speaking for himself and for many physiologists,* says: "The answer of modern science to this question is: It is derived from the lower forces of nature; it is correlated with chemical and physical forces; in all cases vital force is produced by decomposition; animals derive their vital force from the decomposi-

* "Popular Science Monthly," December, 1873.

tion of their food and their tissues." Now, in the name of well-established results in science, and in the clear light of that insight of reason which demands that every change must have an adequate cause, we deny this theory of the origin of life, and at the same time deny the *correlation* of vital and chemical forces. For correlation is a technical term in science, and denotes the *mutual convertibility*, the interchangeability, of forces. Not simply their relationship, but something more; thus, heat may disappear and electricity appear in its place; this may disappear in giving rise to chemical action, which in its turn generates heat. This mutual convertibility of heat, electricity, and chemical affinity, is well understood by the phrase, correlation of physical forces.

Now, closely connected with the persistent efforts to bridge the chasm between the living and the not-living by means of an interchanging play of chemical and vital forms, that is, to substitute a general molecular mechanism for a special life-force, is the attempt to reduce *all* the physical forces to the unity of a mutual convertibility. And if all of the seemingly diverse physical forces are ultimately reducible to one force, or are simply diverse forms of manifestation of one all-energizing force, then are we pretty far on our way toward the identity of the chemical and vital forces. But, in fact, we know of no wilder dream in the domain of science than the imaginative belief that all the forms of physical energy are capable of mutual conversion; excepting, of course, that still wilder dream, that will-force on the one hand and the attraction of gravity on the other, with all the other forces that lie between or alongside, are all capable of mutual conversion, both quantitative and qualitative.

But diversity of forces, not oneness, is the speech of nature. There is no correlation of *all* the physical forces. The force of gravity is transmitted into no other; it never plays back and forth with heat, light, or electricity, as these do with each other. A stone falling to the earth has an arrest of motion and a development of heat, but gravity suffers no change with that increment of heat. When, according to the nebular hypothesis, the matter of the sun and planets was a condensing nebulous mist, gravity was there, but distinct from the atomic forces; when the matter had condensed into a cooling surface

crust, gravity was there coactive with other forces, yet distinct from them; when the air was set free as an atmosphere, and the rain-drops fell from it, gravity was there, working with other forces of chemistry, cohesion and heat, but never interchanging with them. Moreover, the recent attempt to secure the correlation of all the physical forces by the hypothetical reduction of gravity to a mode of motion of ethereal atoms, whereby this force is regarded as a sort of mechanical pressure arising from the impact of atoms in their swift and ceaseless motion, is simply an audacity of modern thought, is only the fallacious shadow of an analogy borrowed from the mathematical mechanism of the impact of bodies. The attraction that one mass has for another is supposed to be resolved into the excess of force which the impact of these whirling, driving atoms have in one direction over their impulsive impact in other directions. But this ethereal bombardment theory may be safely and sanely relegated to the limbo of scientific vagaries; for it is an illegitimate thing in science, and was born of the belief in the oneness of all the physical forces, and carefully bred in the interests of that evolutionism which seeks to evolve all diverse existing forms from some one primal form. Forces that coact, but never interchange in all their points of contact, must be held to differ essentially. The *nexus* of the attraction of gravity which lies through the universe lies outside of the correlation of the physical forces, and it is only a pleasant fiction of thought that brings it within.

Moreover, labor has been industriously expended in trying to explain the origin of life by the inherent structural energy in the molecules of matter; that is, by spreading incipient life through the whole of inorganic nature, and thus, also, to extend the range of the correlation of forces. But decisive against the whole theory is the testimony of the chemical forces when they are taken in their unbroken, unvaried line of witness reaching through the vast geological ages back far beyond the record of plant-life; for the testimony along this vast tract of time is unimpeachable, both for the diversity and absolute uninterchangeability of certain forces within the entire range of the operation of known causes. Thus, the type of an oxygen atom has always held unchanged. Any specimens taken from the oldest Azoic rocks, or from the later Trenton limestone, or coal-

measures, living plants, rain-drops, or human tissue, present no difference of properties whatever. Any one of these will form with two hydrogen atoms a molecule of water. So, also, any hydrogen atom taken from the water of the Gulf Stream, or living plant, or coal, or meteoric iron dropped to us from the stellar spaces, will unite with oxygen to form water. These two distinct substances, made such by their peculiar special forces, have kept an immutable identity through countless interactions and measureless periods of time, and when brought into contact under proper conditions, will form water just like that which fell in drops on the Laurentian rocks of the Azoic Age. There is another test of their specific identity, immutability, and non-correlation; namely, the spectroscopic. By this method the wave-lengths of different kinds of light can be measured to the one ten-thousandth part. Determined by this test, the wave-lengths of hydrogen light in Sirius, Arcturus, and remote nebulæ have exactly the same length with those of the hydrogen generated in the laboratory. Hydrogen and oxygen atoms, which are what they are in virtue of the special forces in each, are the same the universe over and the ages through, with no correlation of their specific forces. They positively declare for a diversity of forces when nature began, and with no mutual interchange into each other since then, so far as our experiments and our records can reach. We may bind these atomic forms into compounds, and then unbind them again and again; but in all their binding and unbinding they never reach the line of mutual convertibility. They are the same now, have always been, and will be while physical nature endures. When nature flung her first shuttles in the creative weaving, she had threads for warp and woof that were distinct and unchangeable. Within the range of natural causes, and across measureless reaches of time and of space, these atomic forces have had no mutual crossing. Hence we may affirm that the doctrine of a oneness of force, at either nature's beginning or in her ongoing, is simply a crookedness of the imagination, a scientific shadow of the mind's own throwing.

Professor Maxwell, in his address before the British Association in Bradford, England, says:

No theory of evolution can be formed to account for the similarity of atoms, for evolution necessarily implies continuous change,

and the atom is incapable of growth or decay, of generation or destruction. None of the processes of nature, since nature began, have produced the slightest difference in the properties of any atom. We are therefore unable to ascribe either the existence of the atoms or the identity of their properties to the operation of the causes we call natural. On the other hand, the exact equality of each atom to all the others of the same kind gives it, as Sir John Herschel has well said, the essential character of a manufactured article, and precludes the idea of its being eternal and self-existent.

The theory of the origin of life from molecular mechanics gets no help from the theory of a primal unity of force with recent diverse manifestations. Diversity of forces and harmony, not unity, is the fact at the very threshold of nature's works.

There are two views of the origin of life, to which we will now refer: one refers it to the unknown past by supposing it to be present potentially in matter; the other supposes it to have come into nature as a special intervention, as a sudden uplift, or a new direction in the processes of nature, under the creative energy of a supreme will. One is life potential in primordial inorganic matter; the other is a special life-principle "inserted into matter" at a later date. On this topic, for a bewildering looseness of scientific ideas, and as illustrating the first theory, we refer to an article in the "Popular Science Monthly," August, 1874. We refer to it, however, as an exaggerated specimen of a lack of a precise scientific education, but of which many instances meet us in all directions. This, and some that are better, are sometimes classed under the term popular science; and if they only had the hues of rhetorical brilliancy in addition to their lack of scientific truth and their tangled travesties of fact, we might be compelled to think that the plastic shaping forms of the mediæval oriental imagination had become occidental and modern. It reads:

The first appearance of organic life is the easiest step in the whole process, because nearest the inorganic kingdom. See, then, this drop of colloid matter—this protoplasm—this cell. When we have a morsel of nitrogenized colloid matter, we can easily comprehend how the attacks of oxygen will cause the evolution of these forces, which again will cause a difference of functions in different parts, which again, by this very differentiation, become organs. Without a differentiation there would be no relation of the parts, no polarity, no motion, no circulation, no

increase—the best evidence of organic life. In our most ordinary notion of a cell there is all of this, and this motion, this polarity, this circulation, can be caused by oxygen alone attacking a suitable compound. A circulation, which is but a repetition of rhythmical motion, once set up, organization is complete. Endow this with the power of inspiring other colloid and crystalloid atoms with like vibrations, attracting them into its own mass and then ejecting them again, and you have a living creature.

A little of the fast and loose play with scientific terms and phrases may sometimes be allowable, but not among the scientifically educated, nor in books intended for scientific instruction. Clear precision and statements in accord with the well-defined results of science are demanded, especially in text-books. But when we find analogy made to exactly fill the place of exact likeness; find partial put for exhaustive experiment; the part put for the whole; find instinct totally dissociated from any form of prior intelligence; find more taken out of a process than was put into it at the beginning, or inserted in it along the way; find theoretical beliefs put as final statements of science; it then becomes necessary to attend to definitions, and to demand precision and proof in regard to facts and the laws holding in the facts. It is with reference to these statements and as prompting them that we quote first from an address given by Sir John Lubbock, in York, England, 1881. He is speaking of the fertilization of flowers by insects. "The general result is, that to insects, especially to bees, we owe the beauty of our gardens, the sweetness of our fields. To their beneficent though unconscious action flowers owe their scent, their color, their honey,—nay, in many cases, even their forms. Their present shape, and varied arrangements, their brilliant colors, their honey, their sweet scent, are all due to the selection exercised by insects." Also, with a like trend of thought toward the exclusion of the supernatural within the range of nature, from inorganic molecules up through monads to man, we have the following astonishing reading: "The sunbeam comes to the earth as simply motion of ether waves, yet it is the only source of beauty, life, and power. In the growing plant, the burning coal, the flying bird, the glaring lightning, the blooming flower, the rushing cataract, the pattering rain, we see only varied manifestations of this one all-energizing force." * Such

* Steele's "Fourteen Weeks in Natural Philosophy," 1872.

statements are sometimes called popular science; but we can more precisely name them as scientific induction run wild. And we are sometimes amazed that such interpretations of the facts of nature should be set forth as if they were the well-established results of science; whereas they are rather rhetorical travesties of science and beggarly elements of a ragged philosophy. We are well aware that insects sometimes act as pollen carriers in the fertilization of plants; we also know that bees love apple-blossoms and the honey-glands of the buckwheat flower; but that the apple-drying industry now growing so rapidly, and the winter luxury of buckwheat cakes, and the chaste elegance of the fuchsia, are dependent on insect visitation, is a piece of marvelous information equal only to that other one implied in the statement, that clover-seed would be barren but for the visits of the bees to the blowing clover. Yet still more surprising is the idea that the existence of the eight honey-glands, which each buckwheat flower bears, are due to the selection exercised by insects. We had supposed that the laws of growth and special organic structure were the two main facts that had the most to do with the beauty, the fragrance, the oil-glands, of flowers and fertilization; and that the action of insects was in some cases essential, but generally either incidental or indifferent; but here we have this partial agency set forth as general. This is not exact science, but inexact confusion. Also, in regard to its wide and varied uses, we know that solar force counts for much in plant and animal life; but what shall we say to that confusing looseness of statement that makes life-force, the laws of growth, gravity, cohesion, and chemical affinity, only transmuted sunbeams? The clearest, best results of the latest science, both English and German, speak of the life-force as the co-ordinating power that weaves the varied organic tissues in fish, lion, and man out of a nutrient matter which, so far as microscope or crucible can apply their tests, is the same; yet this wondrous co-ordinating force that takes the minute ovarian egg, and, with a definite end held steadily in view, ultimately fashions the prone fish; and then, taking a similar egg, weaves out of it the tissues of erect man—this force is spoken of as transmuted sunbeams! We know that water is evaporated by solar force from land and sea; but it rises into cloud, condenses into drops, and falls as

rain, by the forces of cohesion and gravity; and these are not the modified force of solar heat, and that they should be so spoken of is simply amazing. In a branch of the oak a bud is started, grows, and then is differentiated into sepals, stamens, and pistils; and the pistil is further differentiated and finally integrated with its delicate involucral cup and its interior embryo, the promise and the potency of the future oak: and all this due to the force of sunbeams only! So, too, we have the Darwinian, or rather Häckelian, motto for an introduction to a text-book in Zoology: "Nature makes transitions; naturalists make divisions." We need only put this half-truth statement in contrast with one from Agassiz:*

> In the Radiate the whole periphery of the egg is transformed into the germ, so that it becomes, by the liquefying of the yolk, a hollow sphere. In the Mollusk the germ lies above the yolk, absorbing its whole substance through the under side, thus forming a massive, close body, instead of a hollow one. In the Articulate the germ is turned in a position exactly opposite that in the Mollusk, and absorbs the yolk upon the back. In the Vertebrate the germ divides in two folds, one turning upward the other turning downward, above and below the central backbone. These four modes of development seem to exhaust the primitive sphere which is the foundation of all animal life; therefore I believe that Cuvier and Baer were right in saying that the whole animal kingdom is included under these four structural ideas.

In the presence of nature thus having four different foundations of animal structure, and holding distinctively to these through all the stages of growth with never a line of crossing between them, to put an entrance inscription to the study of animal life of "Nature makes transitions, naturalists make divisions" is not accordant to the facts. In the same extreme evolutional trend of thought we are sometimes told that starlight falling and disappearing on the human retina reappears as a nervous molecular tremor of the brain mass; this tremor disappears as motion to reappear as thought or feeling, or both. Starlight and thought, sunshine and seeds, bees and beauty, insect hunger and buckwheat-meal, are thus brought into the relation of cause and effect, are correlated like heat and electricity.

Now, in the name of science itself, and in the higher name of

* "Methods of Study," p. 36.

philosophy, we protest against these misinterpretations of the facts of nature, against these false renderings of the laws holding in the facts. It is at least a semi-materialism which puts the beginnings, the successions, the utilities and graces of life entirely within the sphere of known physical causes and blind-brute agencies. It is at its best a bold physical theism, which the best science of Europe and America is discarding. It all reads like a rhetorical magic trick of trying to make the body of truth swim the seas with "fins of lead" and tail of cork.

Professor Le Conte's theory of the beginning of life is notable for two things: first, for the abrupt, sudden transitions in the life-process; and secondly, for its inconsistencies. We shall briefly refer to this theory. There are four plans of material existence, and, correspondingly, of their peculiar forces: (1) The elements and the physical forces; (2) The mineral kingdom and the chemical forces; (3) The vegetable kingdom and the vital forces; (4) The animal kingdom and the will force or volition. For plant life we have the following application of his theory: Atoms in a nascent state—that is, at the moment of their separation—have a peculiar, powerful affinity, and this nascent chemical energy, under peculiar conditions, forms organic matter and appears as vital force. Sunlight falling on green leaves is destroyed, consumed in doing the work of decomposition; it disappears as sunlight and reappears as chemical energy, and this in turn disappears in forming organic matter, to reappear as the vital force of the organism. There are two principles underlying this theory: (1) In all cases vital force is produced by decomposition; (2) The vital and the physical and the chemical forces are mutually convertible. To illustrate: the sunlight falling on green leaves disappears as light to reappear as vital force lifting matter from the mineral to the organic kingdom. Physical force does not become vital except through the chemical force, and chemical force does not become will except through vital force. The organic force of the living bodies of plants and animals may be regarded as so much force drawn from the common fund of physical and chemical forces, to be again all refunded by death and decomposition. At the conclusion of the article from which the above was taken, although not quite in the same order of statement, Professor Le Conte adds: "Let no one, from the above views, draw hasty conclu-

sions in favor of a pure materialism. Force and matter, or spirit and matter, or God and nature, these are the opposite poles of philosophy; they are the opposite poles of thought. The true domain of philosophy is to reunite these with each other."

But this theory, making will force and vital force only transmuted physical and chemical forces, is *materialism*, and no investiture of idealistic phraseology, or denial of conclusions, can save it from that reproachful category of the scheme of things. But it is the nature of error, when passing through minds that appreciate truth, to wreck itself on its own contradictions. So, by the side of the statements that transmute sunbeams into chemical force, and chemical force, rising from decomposition, into vital, and vital into volitional, we have the following:

Elements brought into contact with each other under certain physical conditions unite and rise into the plane of chemical compounds: so also elements brought into contact with each other under certain physical or chemical conditions, such as nascency, light, etc., unite and rise into the plane of organic matter. In both cases there is chemical union, but in the latter there is *one unique condition*, namely, the previous existence, then and there, of organic matter, *under the guidance of which apparently the transformation takes place.* So also physical and chemical forces are changed into vital force under physical conditions, with one altogether *unique* condition, namely, *the previous existence then and there of vital force.*

Again

What is the nature of the difference between a living and a dead organism? We can detect none, physical or chemical. All the physical and chemical forces withdrawn from the common fund of nature, and embodied in the living organism, seem to be still embodied in the dead, until, little by little, it is returned by decomposition. Yet the difference is immense, is inconceivably great. What is it that is gone, and whither is it gone? There is something here that science cannot yet understand. Yet it is just this loss which takes place in death *and before decomposition*, which is, in the highest sense, vital force.

The resultant of these two sets of differing statements leaves the question of the genesis of life unanswered, and as though it had not been asked; but at the same time it brings to view a law of nature of which there are no known exceptions, namely: life from previous life only; vital force from previous vital force only; bioplasm from previous bioplasm only. This is

the unique and universal law of generation and transmutation. But whence the previous life, vital force, bioplasm? Now, in answer to this we may say that the doctrine of Spontaneous Generation is unproved, and is discredited as well: also that no intensity of nascent chemical forces, set free even by the swiftest decomposition, can of themselves ever lift matter up to the organic plane. But there is another theory, as to the origin of the vital force, along which line of vision the strongest, clearest, best-educated eyes are now looking, and, from what they see, are affirming that, not by any known play of molecular mechanics, nor in any primordial tendencies, nor by any climatic environment co-operative with a capacity for variation, nor by nascent forces liberated by decay, has life been introduced, but by the specific creative acts of a Supreme Will, acting in "breaks of special intervention" in the courses of nature. Thus speak Dana, Dawson, Beale, Frey, Lotze, and others as eminent as they. And exact science as well as latest results in biology are, on the one hand, receding more and more from the confusing blunder of putting *methods* of nature for causes; of putting the *order* of movements for *ordaining* power, or law of action for directive agency; and from the unscientific theory that all the diverse manifestations of the physical forces are modifications of one all-energizing force; and also receding further than ever from the pseudo-dogma, that the life-principle is transmuted chemical and physical forces. And, on the other hand, the results of science are coming closer and closer to the belief in a Creative Mind working now and then in acts of specific interventions; acting as harmonious intrusions into nature; as new directions of its processes; as the introduction of a new force, which comes into nature rather like the quick process of crystallization than the slow, gradual evolution through long periods of time; and notably so in the introduction of plant, animal, and human life.

It is agreed that life is inconsistent with the nebulous state of matter, and equally well agreed that life is not consistent with a fiery molten condition of its material matrix; it is also agreed that as yet spontaneous generation has not bridged that chasm that lies abrupt and deep between the living and the not-living; therefore, exact science, standing in the clear light of these unquestioned facts, and standing on the clear, sharp edge

of that deep, abrupt chasm, drops her untold, incomplete story of the genesis of life; and philosophy, holding the clew of these denials, and standing in the axiomatic light that every effect or change must have an adequate cause, declares life, or the vital principle, to be not a developed growth, but a specific creation, the product of supernatural action.

If life is a specific, divine creation, how was it done? No answer to this question can be given. It lies outside of the sphere of science, outside of the known mathematical, mechanical, physical, and chemical formulas; outside of the correlations of the physical forces. We know that mind (human mind) acts on matter, and matter, by its forces, acts on mind. Light, as an undulation of the ether, falling on the nervous retina, can be conceived as passing into, "correlated with," a molecular tremor of the optic nerve; that tremor can be conceived as passing into the gray nervous matter of the brain, and inducing there a local molecular tremor of the mass; for up to this point there is a supposed mechanism of motion, not more difficult of conception than the passage of vibrations through the osseous parts of the middle ear; but how the mind is affected by the tremors of the nervous mass, whether the mind is impressed by them as a seal impresses the wax, or one force acts on another by a sort of catalysis, or whether the mind "reads off" the physical motions as a telegraph operator reads off the clicks of his instrument, or whether both of these operations, or a combination of them, is the fact, no man can tell. Science is mute as to the exact relations of physical and mental forces. Says Tyndall: "The passage from the physics of the brain to the corresponding facts of consciousness is unthinkable." "Granted that a definite thought and a definite molecular action in the brain occurs simultaneously, we do not possess the intellectual organ which would enable us to pass by a process of reasoning from the one phenomenon to the other. They appear together, but we do not know why." The contact and combinations of matter with matter and the correlations of physical forces may be stated in mechanical and chemical formulas, but as spirit, or life-principle, or organic force, or coordinating agent, are forces of a different order, of a higher plane, they cannot be examined or analyzed by any of the physical tests applicable to these lower planes of action. The

law of their action must forever be hidden from the tests of microscope, scalpel, and crucible. Their interactions, though under the grasp of law, cannot be formulated chemically, mechanically, or mathematically; nor can they be delineated accurately by any physical imagery. Also, the method by which the parent gives soul to the infant organism—gives, and loses nothing in the gift—adds other existences, each equal to itself, to the living world, but is not itself diminished, is a mystery for whose solution science has neither materials nor tests, but analogies only. This being so, much more is it true that it cannot be known how the Creative Will, acting on matter and its forces, added the life-force thereto in organic forms which were made capable of transmitting their kinds through successive generations. Under the microscope we can register the order of sequences in the facts of the growth of an individual being; we can see living bioplasm transmuting nutrient and inorganic matter into nerve, muscle, bone, and membrane; can see bioplasm in the very act of bridging the chasm between the inorganic and the organic; yet the how, the law, the scientific method of that bridging, cannot be translated into chemical, mechanical, or mathematical language. The modes of motion of the bioplasm can never take the form of tabulated equivalents or correlations of force. We bear in mind the distinction between the successions of individuals in a derived life-series, and the origin of that series, or that between reproduction and origination, and therefore must aver that if, from the nature of the problem, we cannot understand how individuals within the sphere of nature reproduce their kind, much less can we understand the method of the beginning of life, which is a new form and a new force inserted into nature, and harmoniously co-operative with it. Reproduction has less of mystery than origination, and both belong to modes of action that pass through and go beyond the known limits of science.

The hope has been cherished that observation of the pre-natal stages of growth might give a knowledge of the beginning of a derived life. How much hope lies in this direction may be gathered from the reading of one of the finest chapters in the whole literature of embryology, *The Ovarian Egg*, (Agassiz, "Methods of Study in Natural History.") It is a wonderful word-picture of the evolution of an individual life under the

directive, co-ordinating life-principle. Agassiz takes the egg of a turtle to illustrate life's structural energy, although his description extends over the period only during which the history of all vertebrate eggs is the same; that is, up to the time when the future animal is only a "dim, organless, embryonic disk." We condense his remarks, but seek to substantially preserve the wonderful, changing pictures of life's pre-natal changes; for, so far as all physical tests can apply, life, like an agent external to its work, builds from the same material, so far as known, structures differing ultimately as fish, bird, reptile, ape, and man, with never a deviation from the organic line after the start in the ancestral egg. It is to be noted that it weaves these according to different structural plans, with never an interweaving, with never even a border contact, from the first throw of the shuttles in those busy, silent looms of life. "Each after its kind" is the Mosaic record of the creative act; and a close adherence to type—that is, each after its kind—is the accordant word from the latest results in biology.

For keeping the transitional phases of growth in this picture of pre-natal growth more distinctly before the mind, we may number them.

In the turtle the ovary is made up of spherical cells that become hexagonal under mutual pressure. Between these cells the ovarian egg originates, at first a mere granule, a minute mass of bioplasm, devoid of cell-wall and nucleus, yet a true morphological unit. (1) At this stage the egg differs from the surrounding clear, transparent cells only in being somewhat darker, like a drop of oil, and is composed, apparently, of two substances, oil and albumen. This minute, fertilized egg is yet so small that its diameter must be magnified a thousand times to be plainly visible to the naked eye. For its first microscopic change it forms an investing membrane called the cell-wall. (2) Some of the albumen now separates from the oily parts, and concentrates in a luminous, transparent spot on the upper side of the egg near the cell-wall, forming the Purkingean vesicle or sac, in the center of which there soon arises a small dot—the germinal dot. In this stage differentiation begins, and plan, design, purpose, now reveal themselves. The formative, the co-ordinating power, which is here connected with organic matter, is forming the instrument it will afterward use, and

hence must be regarded, in a high sense, as external to it; for this inner sac, with its germinal dot, arises just where the head parts of the little turtle will lie. Thus the lighter and more delicate substance of the egg collects where the upper cavity of the animal inclosing the nervous system and the brain are to be; while the heavy, oily part remains below, where are to be the organs of mere animal existence. Thus, when the egg seems a mere mixture of oil and albumen, a collection of material is made that foreshadows the far-off distinction between the organs of sensation and of digestion. Cephalization is had in view from the beginning. (3) Next appear numerous minute dots in the yelk near the cell-wall on the side opposite the vesicle, where they gather into clusters of twos, threes, fives, and sevens, interlaced by a net-work of clear albuminous matter, constellations, as it were, recalling the star clusters of the heavens with their empty interstellar spaces. These increase in number and size, and always remain on that side of the yelk, while on the other side of the egg is seen the transparent Purkingean vesicle almost brilliant with light. (4) Soon in turn the albumen concentrates into clusters, among which the dark, oily bodies are distributed, and presently the whole becomes redissolved; the little system of worlds seems to melt away, but soon to reform in concentric albuminous rings alternating with rings of granules around the Purkingean vesicle, and now we are reminded of Saturn in his rings. (5) Then these rings disappear, and out of the yelk loom up small spherical dots, spherules—the smaller and clearer now gathering where the nervous masses will afterward appear, and the larger and darker collecting where the lower organs will lie. Cephalization still advances; the distinction between the location of the organs of sensation and of nutrition is still retained. (6) Presently another change: the life-force now, instead of working with the two kinds of matter, seems to deal with each spherule, causing each one to assume the ordinary cell characters of outer cell-wall and inner sac; this inner sac forming on the side like the Purkingean vesicle, but, unlike it, soon floats away to the center, and in it there arises a brood of oily, crystalline bodies that multiply and grow until this inner sac, or mesoblast, is so filled with them that the outer sac, or ectoblast, becomes a mere investing halo. Then every mesoblast contracts and divides

across in both directions, separating into four parts, then into eight, then into sixteen, and so on until every cell is crowded with hundreds of minute mesoblasts, each containing the indication of a central dot, or entoblast. At this period every yelk cell is itself like a whole yelk; for each cell is as full of lesser cells as the yelk bag itself. (7) When the mesoblast has thus become subdivided into hundreds of minute spheres, the ectoblast bursts, and the new generations of cells thus set free collect in that part of the egg where the embryonic disk is to arise. This segmentation continues until the whole yelk is taken in, and soon there is formed the filmy embryonic disk, organic promise of little turtle, about which there soon form layers of white, or albumen, the outermost of which harden into a shell from the deposit of lime in the albumen.

Thus, embryological investigations teach us that, though the ovarian egg is identical, so far as we can determine by physical tests, in material and structure with the surrounding cells, yet it differs from them in the principle of life, that immaterial something which eludes all analysis, but which may be traced by its action in the material forms that express it. For it gathers other substances about the physical germ, absorbs them into it, makes them serve it until the organs are fashioned; for the *first function of an organ is to form itself.* Before the lungs breathe, they make themselves; before the stomach digests, it makes itself; before the tongue tastes, or the ear hears, or the eye sees, they make themselves; before the nerves are shaken by contact with the external world, they fashion themselves for those delicate tremors of contact; before the brain is used for thinking, or for reflex action, it weaves itself. Through all these phases and differences of growth the vital principle is active, first preparing the material and then co-ordinating it, weaving it into blood cells, nerve cells, flesh and tendon cells; each of which after its kind, under the directive life agency, makes itself according to type and plan. There is no action like this in the chemical and mechanical world. The life-force did not come up, as Le Conte says, from the lower forces of nature; it came down into them from a higher, and thenceforward was not blended with them in the unity of correlation, but in the harmony of a coactive and directive controlling relation.

Under the microscope we are carried back toward the beginning of the life of an individual being, but we are no closer to the solution of the mystery of existence. We can pass back beyond the stage where we see the structural differences of the four great branches of the animal kingdom are laid; yet, of all our scientific clews, even though to them the aid of the clearest, best-trained imagination is brought to bear, no one can lead us across the threshold of life with a measured, solid tread. This quest of the genesis of life by science is like the quest of the Holy Grail by the knights of King Arthur; and there will be no Sir Galahad to find it; for above this mystery no "clouds are broken in the sky;" no voice of a "correlated" unity ever comes up to us from the chemic molecule and the living cell; no sharpest insight of vision will ever detect the likeness of unity between radiance of spirit and radiance of sun and star. This intellectual curiosity, "whose odors haunt our dreams of the perfect oneness of all that was and is," will never find any thing closer than analogy between running streams and flow of thought; will find only analogy between the graceful geometric frostings on the window-pane under a December sky and the molecular architecture of the living eye formed in an inner darkness to match an external light.

It should be remembered that we cannot make any real advance in the quest for the origin either of a derived or a primal life unless we can get an intellectual representation of it under some of the known methods of physical nature, which methods can be reduced to formulas, or stated in some terms of equivalence. Simply to note and state co-existences and sequences, as so many differentiations and integrations, is not complete science, much less is it philosophy, though it may be knowledge. When, therefore, we have the successive stages of growth in the ovarian egg, from the minute, structureless bioplast up to the animal in its full functional activities—if then we cannot state by what processes each stage has been derived from the previous one, we have no scientific solution of the problem. And since science fails to give us any intellectual representation of the *nisus* at the beginning, as well as fails to put a complete *nexus* between the changes of growth, we call this life-quest an unsolvable problem.

Speaking, then, according to the truth of facts, we are con-

strained to say that the beginning of a reproduced life under the agency of animal force, and the origin of the first life under the pressure of the Divine Will, lying, as both do, outside of the known mathematical, mechanical, and chemical processes of nature, must always remain an unsolved and an unsolvable mystery.

ART. V.—THE RELIGION OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

THE Assyrian religion, as may be seen, has become decidedly solar and sidereal. The gods of the pantheon have become identified with planets and stars, thus assuming a double character, mythological and sidereal. The sun has different names (as in Egypt) at morning, evening, and midday: "the son of life," "the god of death," and "the southern sun." The same cuneiform character, whose phonetic value is *an*, means both star and deity. Merodach, "the circle of the sun," is Mercury as a morning star, and Jupiter as an evening star, and is called by different names: "the messenger of the rising sun," "the light of the heavenly spark," and so on, in the several months. The moon is "the star of Anunit" and "the star of the Tigris." The sun is "the star of the Euphrates." Mercury is "the messenger of the rising sun;" Venus, "the proclaimer of the coming sun;" Ishtar, "lady of the defenses of heaven;" Saturn, "the eldest born of the sun-god;" Jupiter is identified with several stars, as "the star of Merodach" and "the flame of the desert;" and Mars, "the star of the seven names." The stars are called "judges," and the pole-star "the judge of heaven." The colors of the garments of the Chaldean priests are symbolical of the heavenly bodies, to whose worship the priests are devoted. Red symbolizes Nergal, or Mars; blue symbolizes Nebo, or Mercury; and pale yellow symbolizes Ishtar, or Venus. Here we see the close connection between Assyrian mythology and stellar worship, and how the study of the stars became almost a religious duty.

The Assyrians possessed a regular ritual and rubric. Each day of the year was assigned to a special deity or a patron

saint, and special services and ceremonies were observed. In the "Babylonian Saints' Calendar," which is of Accadian origin, sacred rites are prescribed in honor of twenty gods of the pantheon. The Assyrian word for sabbath is *Sabattu*, "a day of rest for the heart." The sabbath was very rigidly observed. The flesh of birds and cooked fruits could not be eaten, nor garments changed, nor white robes worn. The king could not ride in his chariot; no laws could be made; no military commands issued; no medicine taken. It has been thought, however, that these restrictions refer to hebdomadal days of evil omen, while the true Assyrian sabbath was a "day of joy." * Each month was dedicated to a special god.†

"Though religious uniformity," says Rawlinson, "is certainly not the law of the empire, yet a religious character appears in many of the wars, and attempts seem to be made at least to diffuse every-where a knowledge and recognition of the gods of Assyria." ‡ Again he says: "In every way, religion seems to hold a marked and prominent place in the thoughts of the people, who fight more for the honor of their gods than even of their king, and aim at extending their belief as much as their dominion." § Kings are set up and thrones cast down by the gods. Kings are responsible to the gods, and must rule in righteousness. The inscriptions contain many moral as well as political precepts, and, almost without exception, begin and end with prayer and praise to the principal deities. Assyria is "the empire of Bel," and altars are "the footstools of the great gods." ‖ Babylonian inscriptions largely concern the erection of temples. Proper names frequently contain as elements the names of one or more gods. About two thirds of nearly a thousand Assyrian names, collected by Sir H. Rawlinson, have the name of a god for their chief element.¶ Nebuchadnezzar is high-priest of Merodach. ** Nebo is "bestower of thrones in heaven and earth." Sennacherib introduces the Assyrian religion in conquered countries.†† Naram-Sin, son of Sargon I., is raised by his subjects to the rank of a deity, as is shown on a cylinder found by General di Cesnola among the archæological

* Lenormant, "Beginnings of History," p. 248, *et seq.*

† "Records of the Past," vol. vii, pp. 155–170, Sayce.

‡ "Herodotus," vol. i, p. 398. § "Ancient Monarchies," vol. i, p. 241.

‖ "Records of the Past," vol. xi, p. 20. ¶ "Ancient Monarchies," vol. ii, p. 249.

** "Records of the Past," vol. v, p. 123. †† *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 27.

treasures of the Cyprian Kurium. Amar-agu before him had also been worshiped as a god.* People swear by the name of the gods and the king. Lawsuits are held in the temples.† Assurbanipal causes conquered kings to swear "to worship the great gods." ‡ A monarch's success in war or the chase is ascribed to the help of his guardian deities. Hazael (?) brings his gods to Esarhaddon, who says: "I had pity on him; those gods, I repaired their injuries, the *emblem* of Ashur, my lord, and the writing of my own name I caused to be written upon them, and I restored them to him again." § When Esarhaddon dedicates a temple, he prays that the "bull of good fortune may never cease to watch over it." ‖ Sargon is "the mandatory of Bel, the lieutenant of Ashur." He erects statues and altars to the great gods. "The god Sin shone on the top of the temples and shadowed the battlements (?)." ¶ Nabonidus erects a temple to the moon, "king of the stars upon stars," in the city of Ur, and prays: "The fear of the great divinity in the hearts of their inhabitants fix thou firmly! that they may not transgress against the divinity." "Fix thou firmly in his heart that he may never fall into sin." ** Tiglath-Pileser I. dedicates twenty-five captured gods "for the honor of the temple of the queen of glory." †† Ashur is one of his "guardian gods." He prays Anu and Bin to support the men of his government, establish the authority of his officers, bring rain, give victory, reduce hostile kings and keep them in allegiance to his descendants. ‡‡ He desires to worship "honestly with a good heart and pure trust." §§ In 2280 B.C. a powerful king of Elam, Kudur-Nankhundi, ravaged Erech, and carried off to Shushan the image of Ishtar. After 1635 years this image is recaptured and restored by Assurbanipal. Sargon sacrifices "pure victims, supreme sacrifices, expiatory holocausts;" and offers frankincense vases in glass, chiseled objects in pure silver, heavy jewels, "sculptured bulls, winged quadrupeds, reptiles, fishes, and birds, symbols of abundance of an incomparable fecundity." ‖‖ Tablets and cylinders with their sacred writings are deposited in the foundation stones of buildings. ¶¶

* "Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.," vol. v, p. 441.
† "Records of the Past," vol. v. p. 109. ‡ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 96.
§ *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 115. ‖ *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 123. ¶ *Ibid.*, vol. xi, p. 33, *et seq.*
** *Ibid.*, vol. v, pp. 146–148. †† *Ibid.*, vol. v. p. 15. ‡‡ *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 25.
§§ *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 26. ‖‖ *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 55. ¶¶ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 29.

Among the Assyrians and Babylonians we meet with the same fundamental religious beliefs which are common to most religions—the primal innocency of man, the introduction of sin, human responsibility, the efficacy of prayers and sacrifices, a future life, and, with less certainty, the distinction of rewards and punishments. With these beliefs are others of a superstitious character, which we have already considered. We meet also with temples, altars, libations, sacrificial victims, prayers, hymns, pompous ceremonials and processions, gorgeous vestments, feasts and fasts, singing and dancing, and learned priests. Mingled with all are uncleanness, cruelty, and gross idolatry. The images of the gods are more frequently worshiped than the gods themselves. The king unites the priestly with his regal office, and sometimes arrogates to himself the attributes of the gods. The religion has become a mighty power, and can be wielded as an instrument of tyranny.

The Assyrians had their "Book of Worship," "Book of Magic," "Book of Explanations," "Book of Prayer," and "Book of Praise." The collection of hymns Lenormant compares with the Rig-Veda of the Hindus. We meet, again and again, with passages which powerfully confirm and illustrate the Holy Scriptures. Agreeing in the main features, yet differing in details, we have accounts of the creation, the flood, the tower of Babel, and the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah. The fall of man is represented on seals. Here we have figures of our first parents; the tempting serpent, the "enemy of the gods," and, like the Zoroastrian Angrômainyush, "full to the brim with death;" and the fruit of the tree.* We have a curious account of the fall of the rebel angels, which we give on a future page. The flaming sword in the legend of the fight between Bel and the Dragon, and the sacred grove of Anu, guarded by a sword turning in all directions, may be compared with the "flaming sword" of Genesis iii, 24.† The Alapi, winged human-headed bulls, which guard the entrances of palaces and temples, were called *Kirubi*, Hebrew "cherubim." Another word which comes to us from Assyria is important. The name "Shed" is

* The most ancient Accadian name of Babylon, *Tin-tir-ki*, signifies "the place of the tree of life."

† Lenormant has a profound discussion on *The Kerubim and Revolving Sword* in his "Beginnings of History," chap. iii.

"given to the genii, or demi-gods, who wielded the powers of nature, represented by the winged bulls which guarded the portals, sometimes replaced by winged lions which symbolized a similar genius. This is, indeed, both in name and meaning, identical with the 'Shedim' ('devils' in our version) of Deuteronomy." Deut. xxxii, 17; Psa. cvi, 37. Shed may be identified with *Set*, an Egyptian deity, which was also a god of the *Hyksôs*. It has been suggested that, if we omit the points, "the vale of Siddim" (Gen. xiv, 3, 8, 10) may be read "the valley of Shedim," where the Canaanite gods were specially worshiped. These "Shedim" were the idols of Canaan.* We call attention to another word. Lilit, "the black," was an evil spirit. The Arabian Lilith, according to the cabalistic rabbis, was said to have been the first wife of Adam, whom she deceived by taking the form of a woman. She had seven hundred and eighty-four children—all devils. She was also the goddess of impurity.† Upon the birth of the first child, Arabian nurses threw stones at the foot of the bed to drive her away. Isaiah says, (xxxiv, 14:) "The wild beasts of the desert shall also meet the wild beasts of the island, and the satyr shall cry to his fellow; the screech-owl shall rest there and find for herself a place of rest." The Hebrew original, translated "screech-owl," is *Lilith*, or night-spirit, (לִילִית).

The seventh day, as we have seen, is already sacred, and the number seven is a most sacred number. The seven spirits warring against heaven remind us of the battle of the giants in Grecian mythology. The Babylonians believe in augury. Ezek. xxi, 21, 23. They have extensive tables of omens, derived from dreams, births, entrails, the hand, animals, objects met, and so on. Their literary remains present fables, in which animals, especially the eagle, the serpent, the fox, or jackal, the horse, the ox, and the calf possess the gift of speech, and play an important part. They strive to arrest plagues by supplications. The spirit of Heabani is raised from the dead, thus reminding us of the story of the Witch of Endor. They believe in dreams. A dream is sent to the army of Assurbani-

* "Times of Abraham," pp. 149, 150, 182.

† On the "children of God and daughters of men," of Gen. vi, 2, Lenormant has a learned discussion, full of curious material, in his recent work, "Beginnings of History," 1882.

pal: Ishtar of Arbela appears to them, and says, "I march in front of Assurbanipal, the king whom my hands made;" and they rejoice.* There are a multitude of vindictive passages. We meet with the prayer to the gods: "Mightily may they injure him, and (with) a grievous curse quickly curse him." The literature is full of rhythmic imprecatory charms, translations of Accadian originals, made as early as 1600 B.C. Exorcisms are used to avert such enchantments. There were different schools of priests, who "disputed at their learned discussions about the pre-eminence of their divinities and the efficacy of their sacrifices." † Rich gifts are offered to the gods and perfect sacrifices, as "white lambs," are sacrificed. The gods give soundness of heart, soundness of flesh, healthy days, extended years, a scepter of justice, a lasting throne."‡ The sun-god, "the mighty eye," is supplicated to "remove our sin." § Again we meet with the prayer, "May they pardon my sin, my wickedness, (and) my transgression." ‖ The Accadians believed that the gods visited only the highest parts of the earth, hence the lofty eminences upon which they worshiped. The seat of the gods was the "Mountain of the East," the "Mountain of the World," like the Greek Olympus and the Hindu Meru.

The Assyrians believe in future rewards. The good man is escorted to the home of the gods by the guardian deities. That he may better pass through the judgment that awaits him, he is permitted to eat from sacred plates and drink celestial waters from sacred vessels. After having been found without fault before the gods, "the goddess Anat, the great spouse of Anu," protects him "with her sacred hands." Then Iau transports him into "a place of delights" in "the land of the silver sky," where he is provided with delicious food and the water of eternal life, and where he sings his song of "thanksgiving." ¶ The Assyrians believe in the efficacy of sacred texts or phylacteries, talismans, and amulets. Sanduarri, king of Kundi and Sitzu, who contends against Esarhaddon, writes the names of the "great gods side by side," and trusts in their power, perhaps wearing them upon his person.** Images of the gods are

* "Records of the Past," vol. i, p. 85.
‡ *Ibid.*, vol. xi, pp. 17, 82.
‖ *Ibid.*, vol. ix, p. 151, Sayce.
** *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 112.
† *Ibid.*, vol. ix, p. 18.
§ *Ibid.*, vol. xi, p. 83, Sayce.
¶ *Ibid.*, vol. xi, pp. 161, 162, Havely.

placed on either side of the door to guard from disease. Holy texts are also used for the same purpose. They are sometimes bound about the statues of the gods or the head of the sick man.* This may be largely an inheritance from the earlier Accadian magic.

Human sacrifices are offered—sometimes the sacrifice of the first-born. Micah vi, 7. "The Sepharvites burnt their children in fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharvaim." 2 Kings xvii, 31. We have already noticed the recovery of the two cities of Sippara, the cities of Sepharvaim. Important literary treasures have been recovered by this discovery. The Sepharvites and men of Cutha had been transplanted to Samaria by Sargon. 2 Kings xvii, 24–31. Adrammelech was probably "fire-king," an epithet of the sun-god. The latter element of the names is *melech*, king—the infamous "Moloch." Anammelech was a name of Anunit, a name so changed probably in contempt. Monumental information confirms the statement of Herodotus of the annual auction of young girls at Babylon.

It is a common punishment to throw the criminals into a furnace or den of lions or among wild bulls. This we learn from the annals of Assurbanipal. Thus Daniel is powerfully confirmed. The following judgment of Lenormant, at least, as "regards the foundation of the work," will be appreciated:

> The language of the book of Daniel, interspersed as it is in various places with Greek words, proves without doubt that the definitive translation, as we possess it, is posterior to the time of Alexander. But the foundation of the work dates much farther back; it is tinged with a very decided Babylonian tint, and certain features of the life at the court of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors are there pictured with a truth and exactitude to which a writer a few centuries later could hardly have attained.

Portions of three books of magic have been discovered corresponding exactly to the three classes of Chaldean doctors which Daniel names together with the astrologers and divines.†

More horrible cruelty is shown in the following inscription: "If the son(s) of Sippara, of Nipur, and of Babylon, their children to war-horses offering, (let) war-horses upon their children feed, upon the watch the enemy descend, their soldiers are slain,

* "Records of the Past," vol. iii, p. 142. † "Chaldean Magic," p. 14.

(their) armies and men are slaughtered, the god of famine (devours) his soldiers for food, the face of his soldiers he dismays, and with him goes." * (Diomedes, son of Mars and Cyrene, king of the Biscares of Thrace, fed his mares on human flesh. He was slain by Hercules, and was devoured by the same mares, which then became tame.)

Assyrian conquests were carried on with all manner of cruelties. The dead were beheaded and the heads stacked. The bodies were thrown in heaps or left scattered upon the field. The living were mutilated. Eyes were plucked out; hands, ears, noses, cut off; many were flayed alive. Their laws were most severe. Criminals were cast into furnaces, or thrown to lions and mad bulls. Their religion was full of all cruelties. Human sacrifices were offered, and women prostituted in their temples.

The Assyrian religion was not unlike that of other branches of the Semitic race. There were the same gods worshiped by the Assyrians, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Himyarites, Arabians, and Edomites. Wherever our information is sufficiently full we meet with the same cruelties. The Phœnician religion is defined by Movers as "an apotheosis of the forces and laws of nature, an adoration of the objects in which these forces were seen, and where they appeared most active." "Terror was the inherent principle of this religion," says Creuzer; "all its rites were blood-stained, and all its ceremonies were surrounded by gloomy images. When we consider the abstinences, the voluntary tortures, and, above all, the horrible sacrifices imposed as a duty on the living, we no longer wonder that they envied the repose of the dead. This religion silenced all the best feelings of human nature, degraded men's minds by a superstition alternately cruel and profligate, and we may seek in vain for any influence for good it could have exercised on the nation." Lenormant agrees with these writers when he says: "Round this religious system gathered, in the external and public worship, a host of frightful debaucheries, orgies, and prostitutions. . . . The Canaanites were remarkable for the atrocious cruelty that stamped all the ceremonies of their worship and the precepts of their religion." † "All the atrocities of the Phœnician worship were practiced at Carthage, particu-

* "Records of the Past," vol. vii, p. 121, Sayce.

† "Ancient Hist. East," vol. ii, pp. 222, 223.

larly the burning of children. These barbarous sacrifices took place every year, and were frightfully multiplied on the occasion of public calamities, in order to appease the wrath of the gods." *

The Scripture estimate of the character of the Assyrians is fully confirmed by the monuments. The Scriptures call them "a fierce people," (Isa. xxxiii, 19,) and their city "a bloody city, full of lies and robbery." Nah. iii, 1. They are violent and treacherous, covenant-breakers, who "despise the cities and regard no man." Isa. xxxiii, 1, 8. Their pride calls down upon them the divine wrath. Ezek. xxxi, 10, 11; Isa. x, 7–14; xxxvii, 24–28; Zeph. ii, 15. Their national emblem is a lion that "tears in pieces enough for his whelps, and strangles for his lioness, and fills his holes with prey, and his dens with raven." Nahum ii, 11–13. When Nineveh repented under the preaching of Jonah, it was by turning from evil and violence. Jonah iii, 8.

The following curse is pronounced against him who removes his neighbors' landmarks:

> If a leader, not of low degree, if a citizen shall this plot of land injure or destroy the boundary-stone so that it shall not be conspicuous, shall remove this stone (here) placed, whether an injurious person or a brother, whether as one who would take it away, whether as an evil person, whether as an enemy or any other person, or the son of the owner of the land, shall act falsely, shall tamper with it, into water, into fire shall cast it, with a stone shall break it, from the hand of Merodach-zakir-iskur, and from his seed shall remove it, whether above or below shall break it in pieces, may the gods Anu, Bel, Hea, Ninip, and Gula, the lords of this land, and all the gods whose memorials are made known on this tablet, violently make his name desolate; with unspeakable curse may they curse him; with utter desolation may they desolate him; may they gather his posterity together for evil and not for good; until the day of the departure of his life may he come to ruin, while the gods Shamas and Marduk rend him asunder; and may his name be trodden down.†

Probably the Assyrians believed that such curses had power within themselves, in the very words used, to work out their own fulfillment.

* "Ancient Hist. East," vol. ii, p. 280.

† Inscription of Merodach-Baladan IV., "Records of the Past," vol. ix, pp. 35, 36, Rodwell. Cf. Num. xxii, 5, 7.

The following prayer the loyal subject offered in behalf of his sovereign:

Length of days,
Long, lasting years,
A strong sword,
A long life,
Extended years of glory,
Pre-eminence among kings,
Grant ye to the king, my lord,
Who has given such gifts
To his gods.

The bounds vast and wide of his empire,
And of his rule,
May he enlarge and may he complete;
Holding over all kings supremacy,
And royalty, and empire,
May he attain to gray hairs and old age.

And after the life of these days,
In the feast of the silver mountains, the heavenly courts,
The abode of blessedness;
And in the light
Of the Happy Fields,
May he dwell a life
Eternal, holy,
In the presence of the gods
Who inhabit Assyria.*

The soul of the departed, like a bird with shining wings, soars away to the skies. In heaven the good man is clothed in white raiment, and is fed by the gods in the company of the blest with celestial food and ambrosial drinks.

If we cannot deny some beauty to the prayer just given, we must allow a spirit of devotion as the inspiration of the rules for prayer which we take from an old liturgical collection:

Pray thou, pray thou!
Before the couch pray!
Before the throne pray!
Before the canopy pray!
Before the *nadni*, the dwelling of lofty head, pray!
Before the light of dawn pray
Before the fire pray!
Before the dawn pray!
By the tablets and books pray!
By the fire and . . . pray!
By the hearth pray!

* "Records of the Past," vol. iii, pp. 133, 134, Talbot.

By the threshold pray!
By the side of the foundation pray!
By the side of the well (pool) pray!
By the side of the river (canal) pray!
By the side of the boat pray!
In riding in the boat pray!
In leaving the boat pray!
At the rising of the sun pray!
At the setting of the sun pray!
To the gods of heaven through the altars of the earth pray!
By the altar of god or goddess pray!
In leaving or entering the city pray!
In leaving or entering the great gate pray!
In leaving or entering the house pray!
In the street pray!
In the temple pray!
On the road pray!*

Surely, if these rules were observed, the Assyrians were a religious people. Their religious character is further shown from the fact that the most prosaic astronomical and astrological tablets frequently end with a prayer to the gods. Perhaps, like the Athenians to whom Paul preached, the Assyrians were "in all things somewhat superstitious or religious," (Acts xvii, 22, Revised Version,) while their cities were "full of idols," (verse 16.)

The gods visit and comfort the righteous man when he is sick. "But Ishtar, who in her dwelling is grieved concerning him, descends from her mountain, unvisited by men. To the door of the sick man she comes. The sick man listens. 'Who is there? who comes?' 'It is Ishtar.'" In company with other gods she enters. They give him "bright liquor" from shining cups, and pray that the sun-god may "receive his soul into his holy hands."†

We meet with real penitential prayer, sometimes clothed in imagery not unlike that of the Psalms of David. The following Babylonian penitential psalm is called forth from a soul in deep distress. It is the cry of the soul after God.

O my Lord! my sins are many,
My trespasses are great;
And the wrath of the gods has plagued me with disease,
And with sickness and sorrow.

* "Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.," vol. vi, pp. 541, 542, Boscawen.
† "Records of the Past," vol. iii, p. 135, Talbot.

I fainted; but no one stretched forth his hand!
I groaned; but no one drew nigh!
I cried aloud; but no one heard!
O Lord! do not abandon thy servant!
In the waters of the great deep, seizehis hand!
The sins which he has committed turn thou to righteousness!*

Many passages of Scripture will be suggested with which such religious utterances as the following may be compared:

Who can compare with thee, O Ninip, son of Bel? Thou didst not stretch forth thy hand (in vain.) . . . O thou! thy words, who can learn? Who can rival them? Among the gods, thy brothers, thou hast no equal. . . . In heaven, who is great? Thou alone art great! On earth, who is great? Thou alone art great! When thy voice resounds on heaven the gods fall prostrate. When thy voice resounds on earth the genii kiss the dust. . . . Keep thou the door of my lips! Guard thou my hands, O Lord of light! . . . O Sun, to the lifting up of my hands (in prayer) show favor! . . . O my God, my sins are seven times seven! . . . Before his god in prayer he fell flat on his face.

Self-mutilation was practiced. "He who stabs his flesh in honor of Ishtar, the goddess unrivaled, like the stars of heaven he shall shine; like the river of might he shall flow." This reminds us of the false prophets against whom Elijah contended.†

Justin Martyr says that Jewish exorcists made use of magic knots to charm away disease. The Babylonians did the same. A woman's linen kerchief is twice knotted with seven knots, sprinkled with white wine, and bound about the sick man. He is then sprinkled with holy water. If all this be done, then the gods will protect him, and Merodach will "find him a happy habitation."‡ This looks very much like "extreme unction." In this case the disease is not cured, but the man is saved. Since the Babylonians believed that diseases were unused by evil spirits, these diseases could be cured by spiritual forces. This, again, is the old Accadian magic. We meet also with the belief that sins might be inherited from the parents, or imputed from an elder brother, or even some unknown person.§

The Assyrians knew one supreme God. At Erech was a

* "Records of the Past," vol. iii, p. 136, Talbot.
† "Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.," vol. ii, pp. 51, 52, 57–60.
‡ "Records of the Past," vol. iii, p. 141. § *Ibid.*, vol. iii, pp. 149–141.

school of monotheism as late as the times of the Romans. Tablets found at Warka are now in the British Museum, containing inscriptions, in which the only name of the deity is "God One," and this name is many times repeated. Says Lenormant, "When we penetrate through the gross surface of polytheism, which it had acquired from popular superstition, and revert to the original and higher conceptions, we shall find the whole based on the idea of the unity of the Deity, the last relic of the primitive revelation disfigured by and lost in the monstrous ideas of pantheism, confounding the creature with the Creator, and transforming the Deity into a god-world, whose manifestations are to be found in all the phenomena of nature." * Polytheism is shown in the early inscriptions. The temple of the moon-god was built by King Ligbagas in Ur, the most sacred city of the ancient Chaldeans. The same king erected temples to Ishtar at Erech; Samas at Larsa; Il, "the king of the gods," at Nirgulla; Bel at Nipur, and a separate one to Belat at the same place. Perhaps in the reign of Ligbagas, instead of Sargon I., may be placed the great religious reformation. "In truth, polytheism was stamped on the earth in temples and towers, and the warlike or beneficent works of kings. Rimmon was the patron of the all-important irrigation; Sin, of brickmaking and building; Nergal, of war. Polytheism glittered in scrolls of light in the constellations of the firmament; it measured days and months, and years and cycles, and by its auguries of good or ill decided the least ways of house-life and the greatest collisions of nations." † Sin and Nebo were worshiped at Haran, which remained a center of heathenism down to the fifth century of the Christian era. Such was the polytheism of both the first and second home of Abraham.

It is most interesting to compare the Chaldean account of the creation with that of Genesis. Our first account we take from Berosus, a Babylonian priest, who lived about 330 to 260 B.C. There is no doubt, as may be learned from the inscriptions, if compared with Berosus, that he wrote in perfect good faith. Berosus says that in the first year there came from the Erythræan Sea, Oannes, an animal endowed with reason. In form he was half man and half fish, and his language human. He

* "Ancient Hist. East," vol. i, p. 450. † "Times of Abraham," p. 12.

taught the people letters, arts, and sciences; he taught also con cerning the origin of mankind. Berosus gives us his account: According to the teaching of Oannes, there were in the beginning only darkness and an abyss of waters. In this abyss dwelt monsters formed of different parts of different animals. Their queen and mother was Omoroka, (Um-Uruk, "the mother of Uruk,") in the Chaldean language *Thavatth*, (*Tiamat*,) in Greek *Thalassa*, "the sea." Now Belus came, attacked Omoroka, and cut her into two parts. He destroyed the monsters of the deep, and made of the two parts of Omoroka heaven and earth. "All this," says Berosus, "was an allegorical description of nature." The meaning seems to be this: Belus divided the darkness, separated the waters from the waters, and reduced all to order. The race of animals then existing, not being able to bear the changed physical conditions, died. As the account further goes: Belus then cut off his own head, and the other gods mixed the blood with earth and made men and animals as they now exist. Belus also made the sun, moon, planets, and stars.

According to Damascius, Sigê was the primitive substance of the universe. From Sigê came Apason and his wife, Tauthe, who is called the mother of the gods. Her first-born is Moymis, "the intelligent world." She also bore Dakhe and Dakhus; and again Kissare and Assorus, from whom were Anus, Illinus, and Aus. Belus, the maker of the world, is the son of Anus and Dauke.

We leave these accounts for a moment, and look at the first of the creation tablets. Here we read:

> When the upper region was not yet called heaven, and the lower region was not yet called earth, and the abyss of Hades had not yet opened its arms, then the chaos of waters gave birth to all of them, and the waters were gathered into one place. No men yet dwelt together; no animals yet wandered about; none of the gods had yet been born. Their names were not spoken; their attributes were not known. Then the eldest of the gods, Lakhmu and Lakhamu, were born and grew up. . . . . Assur and Kissur were born next, and lived through long periods. Anu . . . . The rest of the tablet is wanting.*

In this tablet the first existence is *Mummu Tiamatu*, "the chaos of waters," the Moymis and Tauthe of Damascius.

* "Records of the Past," vol. v, pp. 113–116, Talbot.

Tiamatu is the Thavatth of Berosus. The Assyrian and Babylonian artists represent Tiamatu as "a monster in whom all the disorder of the primitive creation was reflected," having "the body, the head, and the fore-paws of a lion; the wings, the tail, and the hind-claws of an eagle; while the neck and upper part of the body are covered with feathers or scales." The same word is the Hebrew *tĕhôm*, "the deep," of Gen. i, 2. This "deep" is *tohû*, "without form." Both Genesis and the monuments make a watery chaos precede the formation of the world, and use the same word to name this chaos, and with this account Damascius and Berosus agree. Lakhmu and Lakhamu, male and female personifications of motion and production, are Dakhe and Dakhus, the *rûach*, "spirit," of Genesis. The next step, the creation of Assur and Kissur, agrees with Damascius' account of the creation of Assorus and Kissare. Next, in the Chaldean tablet, we have the name of Anu; but, unfortunately, the remainder has not been recovered. Perhaps it related the creation of the great gods, Anu, Elum, and Hea, the Anus, Illinus, and Aus of Damascius, symbolizing heaven, earth, and sea. The Oannes of Berosus has been identified with Aus and Hea. Sigê is the Accadian Zicu or Zicara, "the heaven;" and Apason is Apsu, "the deep."

If all of these be mere coincidences, the coincidences are certainly very remarkable. We cannot but conclude, upon careful investigation, that all these accounts of the creation have a common basis. The Phœnician cosmogony may be profitably compared, and we shall find the same general agreement. Therein we find as its basis a trinity, *Baau*, or chaos, spirit or desire, and *Môt*. Môt is interpreted as "slime," and is also termed *Ulâmos*, or "time;" and again the primordial "egg," out of which came heaven and earth. This trinity corresponds to the Accadian trinity, Anu, Hea, and Mulge, already mentioned. The wife of Hea is Davkina, or Dauke, which has been identified with *Bohu* of Gen. i, 2, and Phœnician Baau. "Baau is said to have been the wife of the wind, Kolpia; and we thus get a striking resemblance to the Chaldean Triad of the Demiurge, the sky and the earth, whose spirit broods over the abyss, and is wedded to Baau. Even the language of the biblical account, in which *Elohim* 'carves' the heaven and the earth out of a primeval chaos, his spirit brood-

ing over the deep and wasteness of the earth, shows a similar coloring."*

Much of the Chaldean account of the creation has not been recovered. We must be content to pass on to the fifth tablet, which gives the work of the fourth day of Genesis. We read as follows:

He constructed dwellings for the great gods. He fixed up constellations whose figures were like animals. He made the year. Into four quarters he divided it. Twelve months he established, with their constellations, three by three. And for the days of the year he appointed festivals. He made dwellings for the planets; for their rising and setting. And that nothing should go amiss, and that the course of none should be retarded, he placed with them the dwelling of Bel and Hea. He opened great gates on every side; he made strong the portals, on the left hand and on the right. In the center he placed luminaries. The moon he appointed to rule the night, and to wander through the night until the dawn of day. Every month, without fail, he made holy assembly days. In the beginning of the month, at the rising of the night, it shot forth its horns to illuminate the heavens. On the seventh day he appointed a holy day, and to cease from all business he commanded. Then arose the sun in the horizon of heaven (in glory). †

We have here the creation of the heavenly bodies, the appointment of the moon "to rule the night," the division of the year into seasons, months, and days, and the appointment of festivals. Compare the statement of Genesis: "And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years," (i, 14.) The resemblance is striking. A most interesting part of this tablet is that concerning the fixing up of the constellations, "whose figures were like animals." We must date back the beginnings of astronomy to remotest antiquity.

A portion of the seventh tablet is saved, and gives the creation of "cattle of the field, beasts of the field, and creeping things of the field;" corresponding with the "beast of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind," of the sixth creation day of Genesis (i, 25). Not only in substance, but also in

* Letter of Prof. Sayce to "The Academy," March 20, 1875; quoted by Lenormant, "Chaldean Magic," pp. 123, 124.

† "Records of the Past," vol. xi, pp. 117, 118, Talbot.

the order of creation, the tablets agree remarkably with the Bible.*

A second account of the creation, coming from Cuthah, and older than our first account, shows marked differences, while agreeing in important particulars with Berosus. According to this tablet, the first creation was one of monsters and giants, "men with the bodies of birds of the desert, human beings with the faces of ravens;" "the terrible brood of Tihamat, the principle of chaos and night. Among them were seven kings, all brothers, the sons of King Banini and Queen Milili, who ruled over a Titanic people 6,000 in number. The eldest of the brothers was called 'the thunder-bolt,' which gives us a clew to the atmospheric origin of the myth." These giants are at last defeated and destroyed by the gods.† These legends, in their origin, probably date back centuries before the time of Abraham. We may hope that the spade will yet uncover the Accadian originals.

An Assyrian tablet contains a most curious account of the revolt of the angels. At the first, all was peace and harmony in heaven. When God laid the foundations of the earth, "the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy," (Job xxxviii, 7,) but there were angels who "kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation." Jude 6. According to this tablet, while the hosts of heaven were engaged in holy song, the signal for revolt was given; upon which part of the heavenly hosts broke out in curses, and were cast out of heaven. We give a portion of this interesting legend as translated by Talbot:

> The Divine Being spoke three times, the commencement of a psalm. The god of holy songs, Lord of religion and worship, seated a thousand singers and musicians, and established a choral band, who to his hymn were to respond in multitudes. . . . . With a loud cry of contempt they broke up his holy song, spoiling, confusing, confounding, his hymn of praise. The god of the bright crown, with a wish to summon his adherents, sounded a trumpet blast which would wake the dead; which to those rebel angels prohibited return. He stopped their service, and sent them to the gods who were his enemies. In their room he created mankind. The first who received life dwelt along with him.

* Later translations of the creation tablets make a few important changes, which, however, do not affect the value of the comparisons suggested in this paper.

† "Babylonian Literature," p. 33.

May he give them strength never to neglect his word, following the serpent's voice whom his hands had made. And may the god of divine speech expel from his five thousand that wicked thousand who, in the midst of his heavenly song, had shouted evil blasphemies! The god Ashur, who had seen the malice of these gods who deserted their allegiance to raise a rebellion, refused to go forth with them.*

It may be noticed in this connection that the mediæval Church also believed that man was created to fill the void left by the rebel angels.

The epic of Izdubar is, in all respects, a most important production. Any account of the Assyrian religion which neglects this great national epic will be very defective indeed. We endeavor to furnish a general outline of this mythological and religious work: The husband of Ishtar—Dumzi or Dumuzi by name, (Tamzi, Tammuz, of Hebrew history, "the son of life,") the analogue of Adonis—is the chief of Erech. After his death she rules in his stead. She begins to lead a dissolute life, and soon becomes the scandal of the kingdom. Humbaba, or Hubaba, a powerful Elamite chieftain, invades and conquers the kingdom. (*Humba* was an Elamite god.) This occurs about 2280 B. C.

Izdubar (this is but a provisional conjectural reading; George Smith identifies him with Nimrod) has a dream. The stars of heaven fall. They strike him on the back. He beholds a terrible being, with claws like a lion, standing over him. He calls upon the wise men to interpret the dream. He offers them rich rewards if they prove successful. None of them are able to show the interpretation of the dream. Izdubar is sorely troubled.

He thinks of Heabani, "creation of Hea." This monster is a satyr which avoids human society, dwells in a forest in a cave by himself, by the side of a great river. His only companions are the wild beasts which surround his gloomy dwelling. He is represented as half man and half bull, somewhat resembling the Minotaur or Pan of the Greeks. Hea has endowed him with great wisdom, for which he has become renowned. Izdubar calls upon him to interpret the dream. At first he is angry because his solitude has been thus invaded. At length the god Samas persuades him, and Zaidu, "the hunter," son of

* "Records of the Past," vol. vii, pp. 127, 128.

Izdubar, with the help of two dissolute women, Harimtu and Samhat, entices him to Erech.

Izdubar prays and offers sacrifices to Samas and Ishtar. After this, in company with Heabani, he goes to the palace of Humbaba. Humbaba is slain, and the two heroes carry away trophies of their exploit. Izdubar now becomes king of Erech.

Ishtar proposes marriage to Izdubar, but is refused. She is angry, goes to heaven, and complains to Anu and Anatu. A "divine bull" is created to slay Izdubar, but the latter procures the assistance of Heabani, and they slay the "bull." (Representations of this conflict are to be found on the monuments.) Ishtar rages, and curses Izdubar. She goes to Hades to summon unearthly powers against him, "to the house where all meet, the dwelling of the god Irkalla—to the home men enter, but cannot depart from; to the road men go, but cannot return. The abode of darkness and famine, where earth is their food, . . . ghoul-like birds flutter their wings there." It is not an easy matter to gain admittance to this realm of the shades, for there are seven gates which must be passed, and each gate is well guarded. She applies for admission at the first of the seven gates, threatening to let out the dead as vampires if her request be not granted. After considerable difficulty the porter is commanded by Ninkigal, "goddess of the great region," to admit her. Through the seven gates she passes, but at each is compelled to leave some portion of her attire and ornaments—her crown, her earrings, her necklace, her mantle, her bracelet, her tunic—until, naked at last, she appears in the presence of Ninkigal, who derides her. Namtar, the plague demon, smites her for her sins with loathsome diseases in the sides, eyes, feet, heart, head, and limbs. She still nurses wrath and jealousy against Izdubar.

There is great grief upon the earth at her departure, for every thing goes wrong. Upon the petition of the gods, Hea, "lord of deep thoughts," undertakes her release. He creates *Uddusu-namir*, a monster half man and half bitch, and, like Cerberus of the classics, having more than one head. First he forms a figure of clay, and then breathes into it, and it is alive. This monster he sends to Hades with the command to secure the release of Ishtar by magic rites. He succeeds, although at first Ninkigal only strikes her forehead and bites

her finger. Namtar heals Ishtar of her disease by pouring upon her the water of life, and she returns to earth receiving back her clothing and jewels as she passes through the seven gates.

Now Anatu, the mother of Ishtar, plots against Izdubar. She smites him with a terrible disease. His friend and ally, Heabani, is killed by an unknown reptile or insect, called *Tambukki.* Izdubar is weighed down with great grief, and for advice goes in search of his father, Hasisadra, son of Ubaratutu. He reaches a fabulous region, in which there are monsters with feet resting in hell and heads towering into the heavens. They possess great power, and control the sun. A scorpion man with his wife, "burning with terribleness," guards the gate. Izdubar reveals to them his purpose. The monsters endeavor to dissuade him from proceeding, and describe in unmeasured terms the dangers of the journey. He pleads the necessity, and they permit him to pass. He reaches the sea-coast, and his progress is again barred by two women, Siduri and Sabitu. Having prevailed with them, he meets with a boatman, Nes-Hea, and with him journeys by water. Through many adventures and perils, in which we will not follow him, he at length reaches the land where his father dwells, and unfolds his mission. In the course of his reply Hasisadra says, "Spoiling and death together exist; of death the image has not been seen. The man or servant, on approaching death, the spirit of the great gods takes his hand. The goddess Mamitu, maker of fate, to them their fate brings. She has fixed death and life; of death the day is not known." Again Hasisadra, who is the Chaldean Noah, says, "Be revealed to Izdubar, the Concealed," and relates the story of the flood. It is in substance as follows: Hasisadra is ordered to build a ship six hundred cubits long and sixty cubits wide, and the same number in height. He is commanded to "cause also the seed of life of every kind to go up into the midst of the ship." There must be placed in the ship "thy grain, thy furniture, thy goods, thy wealth, thy women slaves, thy handmaids, and the sons of the host (the beasts) of the field, the wild animals of the field." The ship is made according to directions, and covered outside and inside with pitch. Hasisadra makes a trial trip, and is satisfied with his work. He is forewarned of

the time when the flood will be sent upon the earth. He enters the ship with his family and people. All animals and all his possessions are brought into the ship. He shuts to the door. A black cloud rises in the sky. The thunders roar; the rain descends in torrents; the flood reaches heaven. The earth is made a waste and the wicked are destroyed. There perish all "living beings from the face of the earth." "The brother saw his brother no more; men knew each other no longer." Only the gods who seek refuge in "the heaven of Anu" are saved. "Six days and nights passed, the wind, the whirlwind, (and) the storm overwhelmed. On the seventh day at its approach the rain was stayed, the raging whirlwind, which had smitten like an earthquake, was quieted. The sea began to dry, and the wind and deluge ended." Corpses of men are now seen floating on the waters "like sea-weed." The ship stands on the mountain of Nizir. After seven days a dove, a swallow, and a raven are sent forth. The dove and swallow return. The raven returns not, thus showing that the waters were drying from the face of the earth. Hasisadra goes out from the ship, and having erected an altar, sacrifices to the gods. A rainbow appears in the sky, by which the gods descend to the sacrifice. The gods repent of the deluge they have brought upon the earth, and promise that the world shall not again be covered by a flood. And now Hasisadra, along with his wife and people, is translated to heaven. The rest of his followers settle in the plains of Babylonia. (The name of the eleventh month in the Chaldeo-Babylonian year means "the curse of the rain.")

The story ended, Izdubar returns, having been healed of the disease with which he had been cursed by Anatu. He is accompanied by his boatman to Erech. By means of enchantments the shade of Heabani is raised, and with him Izdubar again communes.

Such are the main features of the Epic of Izdubar, so far as it has been recovered and interpreted. With a number of discrepancies the story of the deluge shows close general agreement with the inspired record of Genesis.* We may also profitably compare the Izdubar deluge legends with the statements of Berosus. Hasisadra is the Greek Xisuthrus. "Its

* "Chaldean Genesis," pp. 175–314. For comparison of accounts of the deluge see especially pp. 304, 305; also Rule's Oriental, Records, Monumental," pp. 13–33.

meaning appears to be 'shut up in a box or ark,' from the two characters signifying 'inclosed' and 'box,' respectively." *

This epic is arranged in twelve books. The tablets from which it is taken are probably as old as 1600 B.C. Sayce places the composition in about 2000 B. C., and the independent poems from which it has been formed to the centuries immediately preceding. The twelve adventures of Izdubar remind us of the twelve labors of Hercules, and mythologists have worked out the comparison in great detail. Many scholars believe it to be a solar epic, (Hercules may be a solar hero,) the twelve books answering to the signs of the zodiac and the twelve months of the year. Some writers, as the late George Smith, of the British Museum, believe it to rest on a historic basis. It does not enter into our purpose to discuss these questions. We may, however, hazard the opinion that that philosophy which refers every thing in ancient and heathen mythology and religion to the heavenly bodies, especially the sun, for its explanation, has been pushed entirely too far. The solar theory of mythology, which has accomplished such grand results, cannot do every thing. A too enthusiastic disciple may bring into disrepute the safe teachings of a master, or even a master may unconsciously close his eyes to valuable sources of information. We may admit the solar character of the epic, and yet believe in its substantial historic basis. This interpretation seems to be the most reasonable. It would not be difficult to show that whatever theory of interpretation may be adopted for the Izdubar Epic, the relation of the flood legend (which forms its eleventh tablet) to the Bible will be but slightly affected.

The recovery of the literatures long buried in the unknown Sanscrit, Zend, Egyptian, and Assyrian languages has created many chapters of history, while it has necessitated the re-writing of many others. The Egyptian and Assyrian literatures have also necessitated the re-writing of many chapters of skeptical criticism, while they have annihilated many others. Contemporary and yet more ancient records have grandly confirmed and illustrated many portions of the Holy Scriptures. The Bible has lost nothing and gained much from all modern research. It may be considered a providence that these "evidences" have been so wonderfully preserved during thousands

* "Archaic Dictionary," p. 17.

of years to be brought to light just when of priceless value to strengthen Christian faith in the divine authorship of the word of God.

Many of the passages from Assyrian records compared with Scripture prove only that human nature is the same the world over. Other passages, such as the accounts of the creation and the flood, point to a common basis. In many cases the Assyrian records antedate the biblical, and even the traditions which Abraham inherited. It is evident that wrecks of important primitive revelations and historic documents have been preserved in the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris. Truth, wherever and whenever found, is divine. If the Bible bear the seal of God, our faith in its divinity and power is not weakened though fragments of the same truth be found indigenous in every land.

ART. VI.—METHODIST FOREIGN MISSIONS.

Missions and Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By JOHN M. REID, D.D. In Two Volumes, with maps and illustrations. New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 12mo, pp. 462, 471.

Sixty-Third Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the year 1881. 8vo, pp. 331. Printed for the Society.

THESE books treat almost entirely of matters of facts, of work actually done. Our purpose shall be to go over the same ground, not so much to tell anew their story, as to examine the processes followed and the results reached, and, as far as may be, to detect the inspiring and guiding spirit of the work; to find out its rationale, and to note its successes and failures.

Dr. Reid's volumes deserve a commendatory notice as a work prepared with care, written in attractive style, and furnishing us a needed source of information. In writing them, no doubt he accomplished just what he designed, which was to put into a form easily accessible, and sufficiently condensed to bring them within readable limits, the chief facts of the past doings and achievement of the Society—that is, the Church—of which he is the trusted agent and representative. The work is, however, a condensed history, in the narrative sense of that word, dealing in facts, details, processes, and records of results; leaving all

the philosophizing, the making of deductions, and the judging of men and measures to the reader; and, within his purpose, the work is what it should be. It appears to be entirely trustworthy in its statements, and fair in the presentation of its facts.

The missionary work here brought into notice is of comparatively recent date, having been originated only a little more than fifty years ago. True, the Methodist itinerancy was always essentially a missionary agency, and its ideal sphere of action was, from the first, world-wide; but the expansion of its work, and its purposed extension to foreign lands, seemed to call for some more definite arrangements for its direction and maintenance than had appeared to be necessary in the home work, and in response to that demand (A. D. 1819) the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church came into existence. Its primary design was to aid in carrying forward the work of the itinerancy "throughout the United States and Territories," but in the original constitution the clause was added, rather prophetically than for present use, "and also in foreign countries." Its income, which for the first year was less than a thousand dollars, advanced year by year, and in 1829 exceeded fourteen thousand dollars.

Down to that date, the term "itinerancy," as applied to the Methodist ministry, retained its proper etymological and usual lexicographical meaning, which has since been largely modified. Till then that ministry was chiefly "in the saddle," and as the Seventy, sent by Christ only to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel," went forth "without purse or scrip," so these going among the people of the land were expected, in military phrase, to "live on the country." But with changes wrought by the lapse of years it became at length almost a necessity to aid at the outset the adventurous pioneers who might be sent out to "take up new work." To provide and apply such subsidies was therefore the chief business of the Society for its first two or three decades.

The true missionary spirit—that which looks beyond its own home and kindred, and longs to carry the Gospel message to those who sit in the darkness of heathenism—was but faintly manifested in early Protestantism. It began to show itself, however, during the latter years of the last century, and in the early part of the present it was developed in organic forms

among the principal bodies of English-speaking Protestantism; and of this movement in evangelical Christendom the organization of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and its subsequent devotion to foreign missions, was a natural result. That, too, was the heroic age, the period of romance, in respect to foreign missions. The whole subject was seen in a *glamour*, not to say a *mirage*; the missionary seemed to go forth, "taking his life in his hand," with the combined spirits of the monk and the crusader. All that, however, is now largely modified, for the better in some things, but not entirely, for there is a legitimate place for enthusiasm in such a work, and it is only right that that element in human nature should be actively consecrated to the cause of Christ. The marvelous results of missionary work in Tahiti, South Africa, India, and Madagascar reported among the home churches, and supplementing the earlier stories of Hans Egede and Christian David, were firing the hearts of both British and American Christians, all of which found its appropriate expression, not only in the poetical imagery and spiritual inspiration of which Bishop Heber's missionary hymn is a bright example, but also in substantial deeds whose results remain. As now contemplated, after the lapse of more than half a century, that era is seen to have been "the fullness of the time," for the advent of the new spirit, and the inauguration of a new departure in the living Church. The call had gone forth, and all evangelical Christendom was responding, and the great heart of Methodism burned with a holy zeal to have a share in the glorious enterprise.

The occasion, which soon became more than an opportunity, for entering a foreign mission at length came to the authorities of the Methodist Episcopal Church from an unexpected quarter. The large development and apparently immovably fixed position of that greatest and most fearful anachronism of the age, American Slavery, had cast loose upon society a pariah class of free Africo-Americans, whose presence was at once a menace to the institution of slavery and an appeal to the pity of the benevolent and philanthropic; and strangely enough these two forces united to originate the scheme for colonizing them in Africa. In one of the earliest of these emigrant expeditions were found a number of persons who had been Methodists

in America, one of whom—Daniel Coker—was a licensed preacher, and these during the voyage united to constitute themselves a Methodist Episcopal Church, and so the Church was thus early set up in that distant land.

The African Mission.

These things became known in the Church at home, and it was agreed that they should be understood as providential indications of its duty in the matter; and yet it was nearly two years before the work appeared in a practical form. It was determined that, as soon as the proper man for the work could be obtained, the work should be undertaken, and at length such a one was found in the person of Rev. Melville B. Cox, a native of Virginia, a man of good parts, of a most amiable spirit, and with deep piety, but in delicate health, and (consequently, perhaps) affected with a kind of dreamy melancholy. His career as a missionary was brief but brilliant. Before setting out for his distant field, he is reported to have said to a young friend on parting, "If I die in Africa, come after me, and write my epitaph: 'Let a thousand fall before Africa shall be given up.'" On his arrival at his post of duty he wrote back: "I have seen Liberia and live: It rises up yet as a vision of heaven." After only a few short weeks of earnest labors among formidable difficulties, he fell a victim to the acclimating fever. Re-enforcements went forward, a year or two later, and the Liberia mission was thenceforth a recognized fact. But in less than a year after the arrival of the re-enforcements, of the two missionaries, one had died, and the other had returned, leaving only one white person, a woman, in the field. Thus far the results achieved were much greater at home than abroad, in giving to the pent-up missionary spirit of the Church a method for expressing itself, and a mission field toward which to look and upon which to lavish its sympathies.

It has become, perhaps unduly, the fashion to speak of that mission as a failure, which is partly true and partly not. After all its mishaps and discouragements, due chiefly to the lack of effective superintendence, it has now more than twenty traveling preachers, and nearly three times that number of local preachers, and over two thousand Church members, which is about one tenth of the population of the Republic.

Besides the work done by the colored men, the mission has been the scene of some decidedly heroic labors by white missionaries, both as ministers and teachers, and in no other field probably have such labors been productive of better or more abundant fruit. The history of that mission, covering more than fifty years, is especially worthy of careful and honest study, in both its successes and its failures, the former of which demonstrate its abundant capabilities, and the latter stand out as beacon lights to show how things ought not to be done. And of the latter class of lessons the home administration has as much need as those in the foreign field.

The Oregon (or "Flathead") Mission.

Our second "foreign" mission, in the order of time, was that to the Indians beyond the Rocky Mountains, along the Columbia River. It forms a part of one of the most remarkable and romantic chapters of American history, and it has in itself certain peculiarly interesting circumstances. Of these we can write but briefly, although they are the conditions among which matters must be considered. From the time that Captain Cook, the famous ocean explorer and the first circumnavigator of the globe, drifted along our Western coast, and sighted from afar some of its headlands, until the extension of the boundary line on the parallel of forty-ninth degree of north latitude, the proprietorship of the region of the Columbia River had been an open question, which the fur traders sought to determine in favor of Great Britain, and the missionaries in favor of the United States—a strife in which, as every body knows, the missionaries were the winners. The story of the inception of that mission is an illustration of the proverb that fact is stranger than fiction. In the spring of 1832, four Indians, differing in appearance from any known tribe, appeared in St. Louis, then a small frontier town, saying, as best they could make themselves understood, that they had come from beyond the great mountains, sent by their people, to procure a wonderful book, sent from heaven, which they had been told that the white men possessed, and which made them great and powerful. They were "Flatheads,"—Nez-Perces—and Captain Clark, who made the famous overland journey in 1804–5, known in history as that of *Lewis and Clark*, and who was now in St. Louis, knew

something of their tribe. But it was cold comfort that the poor Indians received from those among whom they fell, and when they at length turned their faces westward, without the wonderful book, they said sadly, "We go back, and our people will die in darkness." Their story at length got abroad, and of course awakened a very deep interest. Dr. Wilbur Fisk, the President of Wesleyan University, became especially active in urging that the Methodist Episcopal Church should at once send out a mission to this interesting people, and the Church every-where seconded the call, and in 1834, when Captain Wyeth, the fur trader, set out with an expedition for Fort Hall, two missionary companies accompanied him—one, Methodist, consisting of Jason and Daniel Lee, Cyrus Shepard, and T. L. Edwards; the other from the American Board, consisting of Rev. Dr. Whitman and Rev. Samuel Parker and their wives. They proceeded that season only as far as Fort Hall, and the next year descended into the valley of the Columbia. Having ascertained that the "Flatheads," to whom they were especially sent out, were an inconsiderable tribe, and at that time gone away to a considerable distance, the Lees and their associates passed down the river to Vancouver, and soon after located and went at work in the Willamette Valley. The mission was vigorously prosecuted, both by preaching to the adults and teaching the children in school, and was quite largely re-enforced, two years later, by an overland company, and still more largely by a kind of missionary colony, which left New York in October, 1839, proceeding by way of Cape Horn, and arriving in the Columbia the next spring. But all these magnificent provisions failed to insure success, for causes now easily understood. The home office was wholly inexperienced in the conduct of such an enterprise, and those charged with administration of the work were evidently unequal to the undertaking. In 1846 Rev. George Gary was sent out from New York to supersede Mr. Lee in the superintendency, who, using the discretionary power given to him, proceeded to dispose of most of the property of the mission, and to bring the whole work, which had been a mission to whites rather than Indians, within the narrowest possible limits. In 1848 the General Conference instituted the Oregon and California Mission Conference, which four years later was divided into two,

and as both Oregon and California had become part of the territory of the United States, so the missions were no longer "foreign." In respect to the Indians, this, as nearly all other Indian missions, was largely a failure, but it was most timely, and afterward eminently successful in its influence over the incoming white population. Nor is there any good reason for suspecting either the zeal or the integrity of those charged with the work, though evidently they were not in all things equal to the duties devolved on them.

Missions in South America.

When the Methodist Episcopal Church began to look beyond the bounds of its own country for fields for evangelical enterprise, its attention was quite naturally directed to the countries of the southern portion of our own continent. The countries of that region had not long before become free states, most of them republics, and it was hoped that in all of them religious liberty would be granted. As early as 1832 the General Conference indicated its wish that a mission to that part of the world should be undertaken, and accordingly, in 1835, Rev. Fountain E. Pitts, of Tennessee, made an exploring tour down the eastern coast as far as Buenos Ayres, returning early the next year. The General Conference of 1836 again expressed its interest in the work, and recommended that at least two missionaries should be sent out. The points selected for occupation were Rio Janeiro and Buenos Ayres. To the former Rev. Justin Spaulding was sent, who was joined a year later by Rev. D. P. Kidder, as assistant missionary, and R. M'Murdy, as teacher. The work appeared to open favorably, and the missionaries, while acquiring the Portuguese language, engaged in preaching to the seamen of the port and distributing the Scriptures, both in the city and in the interior, in which they seem not only to have been allowed full liberty, but also enjoyed the warm sympathy of many of the officials and other chief citizens, encountering only such opposition as came from the wordy attacks of some of the priests. After three years' residence Mr. Kidder, on account of the death of his wife, was compelled to return home, bringing his infant child, and soon after the Board, alarmed at the state of the funds, declined to authorize his return, and a year later Mr.

Spaulding was recalled, leaving his work in the hands of the missionaries of the American Board, by whom it has been prosecuted with a good degree of success. The abandonment of such a work, among such conditions, appears quite inexplicable. The mission in Buenos Ayres was begun by Rev. F. E. Pitts, already named, in 1836, who entered into a work that had long been carried on by Presbyterian missionaries, but was about this time given up, somewhat as that at Rio Janeiro was afterward given up by the Methodists. As his visit was intended to be only a temporary one, and chiefly for observation, he gave place, after a few months, to Rev. John Dempster, who engaged heartily and successfully in his work, which, however, he was not permitted by the local authorities to extend beyond the resident foreign population, an inhibition which remained without any relaxation till 1852, when a more liberal policy was introduced. For nearly twenty years the work of the mission was thus shut up to the foreign population, which, however, was relatively large, and to a considerable extent made up of persons permanently domiciled in the city; and among these a successful and highly beneficial work was maintained. In 1839 Rev. W. H. Norris went to Montevideo, but found the city beset by a hostile army and the whole country convulsed with war. He was able, however, to enter upon his work among the foreign residents, and for some time to prosecute it with good prospects of success. A school of high grade was also projected at Buenos Ayres, under the direction of Professor Hiram A. Wilson—now of Saratoga—and soon a promising academy for children of American, English, and German residents was established. Mr. Norris also opened a school at Montevideo, and asked that a teacher might be sent to assist him. But in the fall of 1841, Mr. Dempster having returned temporarily, as he intended, to New York, it was resolved by the Missionary Board to discontinue the mission "for want of funds." The reasons assigned more in detail were that the Society was already in debt five thousand dollars, and "that our labors in South America have been less productive of visible good than we had hoped." As viewed at our distance of forty years, the treatment of all these South American missions appears quite inexplicable; and they compel to the conclusion that either less than the whole truth is revealed

in the records, or else that the missionary authorities at home were sadly, not to say culpably, deficient in faith and devotion to their work. And this view is confirmed and intensified by the fact that the foreign residents of both these cities strongly objected to the discontinuance of the missions and schools, and offered, if they could be renewed, to carry them on almost entirely at their own expense. This was actually done at Buenos Ayres, and a church was built soon after and placed under the care of Mr. Norris; and upon his return to this country in the spring of 1848 he was succeeded by Rev. D. D. Lore, and the work has been continued by successive appointments to the present time. Two mistakes, arising from inexperience and insufficient appreciation of the best methods for prosecuting their work, were here made by the missionary authorities: one, overcarefulness in respect to incurring debts and trusting to the future liberality of the Church to pay them, by which they permitted much well-begun work to perish; but this mistake has since been corrected, and the opposite policy has been practiced quite as freely as prudence would allow. The other mistake was in failing to sufficiently rely upon the people served for the pecuniary support of the work; and this they continue to be very slow to learn, greatly to the detriment of the home treasury and of the manly self-respect of the people served.

The later history of the work was not unlike that of the earlier days of the mission, though its later fruits were more encouraging. In 1856 Rev. William Goodfellow became its superintendent, and continued in that office for over ten years, during which time not only was the local Church at Buenos Ayres edified and increased in numbers, but some efforts were also made to extend the work to the native population. After Dr. Goodfellow's return, in 1870, Rev. Henry G. Jackson was appointed his successor, and ten years later he was succeeded by Rev. T. B. Wood, who had been for some years serving as a missionary in the country. He is now at the head of the mission, having Rev. J. R. Wood, his brother, and Rev. I. F. Thompson for assistants. The work has recently assumed a more decidedly aggressive attitude than at any previous time, and it gives promise of becoming really what its name imports —a mission to the people of south-eastern South America.

Dr. Durbin's Secretaryship.

The middle of the century marked a crisis in the affairs of the Methodist Episcopal Church in respect to both the home administration and the extension of the foreign work. Neither of the three early foreign missions had proved satisfactory. Liberia, though it had been the object of very high hopes, and was looked to as the door opening to the heathen masses of the interior, and though vast sums had been lavished upon it, was not justifying the expectations of its friends. Oregon had ceased to be a foreign mission-field, both by its incorporation into the territory of the United States and by the diversion of the attention of the preachers from the Indians to the white settlers; and the South American mission was only a chaplaincy for the foreign population of Buenos Ayres. The home administration was by no means effective. There was a manifest lack of the knowledge and skill in adaptation in the home office which the longer experience of later years has brought to it. About that time Rev. Dr. Durbin became chief secretary, whose advent to the office constituted a new epoch in the Society's affairs. His first efforts were directed to the awakening a zeal for missions in the Church generally, for doing which he relied less on his own marvelous power as a public speaker than on, first, showing something to be done, and, second, by organizing the working forces of the whole Church for missionary action. The work in Liberia was strengthened, and (with a very doubtful liberality) its annual appropriation for several years averaged over thirty-five thousand dollars; and, as has been shown, the work in South America was resuscitated and given a new lease of life. The new mission in China (begun in 1847) was strengthened, and received liberal grants of money. Missions were also begun in Germany, Sweden, India, and Bulgaria. The Church responded grandly to these practical appeals from the home office, and from an income of eighty-four thousand dollars, in 1848, it increased steadily till it reached its maximum of six hundred and eighty thousand in 1872, the year of Dr. Durbin's retirement. During these years the entire structure of the Church's missionary arrangements was reconstructed, revolutionized. It had been simply a voluntary organization, through which the Church op-

erated, and hence the missionary administration of the Church is still spoken of as "the Society;" but now it was wrought into the organic structure of the Church, as among its direct and principal functions. Every local church is an auxiliary, every pastor an agent, every church officiary a portion of the working force, and every Sunday-school is designed to be an active and co-operating agency.

The scheme, as a project, shows the mind of a statesman, and its successful organization and practical operation indicate rare administrative abilities. Many wise and excellent men had given their earnest thoughts and prayers, as well as the diligent labor of their hands, to the interests of the cause of missions in the Church, but it was for Dr. Durbin to animate with a new life and thoroughly marshal its working forces for efficient action. Its present greatness and its multiplied fields of labor, upon which the sun never sets, is his best monument.

The China Mission.

Long before any such had been undertaken, it had been felt that the Methodist Episcopal Church ought to have a well-established mission somewhere in the great outlying world of heathenism, and an answer to this feeling found expression in the year 1847, when a missionary expedition sailed for China. Two young men, Messrs. Collins, of Michigan, and White, of New York, were chosen for the work, who sailed from Boston for Canton, having Foochow for their point of destination. They were furnished in their own persons with fair natural parts, a college education, (and Mr. White had also a medical education,) personal piety, and zeal for souls. They lacked maturity of mind and heart; they knew very little of public life and the ways of the world, and, in common with nearly all Christendom, they knew very little about the philosophy and the practical working of missions among non-Christian peoples. Six months after their departure they were at their place of destination, ready to begin their wearisome preparation for their work, to master the language and to gain access to the people. They were disliked, as "foreigners," and became objects of curiosity by reason of their complexion and their dress; but this soon changed to indifference, or only served to mark them as objects for the cupidity of the average Celestials. In

October, of the same year, a re-enforcement was sent forward, consisting of Rev. Henry Hickok, with his wife, (but on account of his failing health he was compelled to return the next year,) and Rev. R. S. Maclay, a name that has since become famous in the work of missions. All of these, however, except the last, were compelled to abandon the field after only a few years, and before seeing any real fruit of their labor, leaving Mr. Maclay in the superintendency. In 1851 the mission was further strengthened by the arrival of Rev. I. W. Wiley (now Bishop) and Rev. James Calder, and two or three years later Revs. E. Wentworth and Otis Gibson. But affairs were not hopeful; not a convert had been made; the government was unfriendly; the mission suffered greatly from sickness and deaths, especially among the females, and at one time only Mr. Wiley and his wife remained at Foochow, both in delicate health, the latter dying soon after. The first baptism took place in 1857, ten years after the commencement of the mission, and twelve more during the year. Rev. S. L. Baldwin joined the mission in 1858. Whether this want of success at the beginning was a necessity of the case, or owing to the want of that kind of faith in the missionaries which expects present results, and obtains them because they are expected, cannot now be determined; but from the date of the first baptism the work has proceeded steadily and hopefully, and the Foochow mission has been recognized by competent judges as among the best of its kind. Through its action Christianity has been naturalized in China, so that it is no longer a foreign religion, and the mission itself has become multiplied into four distinct works, located, at somewhat remote points, in Central, Northern, and Western China.

India Mission.

As soon as Dr. Durbin came to the missionary secretaryship his attention was directed to India as a desirable field for missionary occupation. Accordingly, at his suggestion, the General Committee, in November, 1852, placed the necessary funds at the discretion of the Board of Managers, to be used for opening a mission in India. After this it was felt that the next important consideration in the case was to find out the right man to inaugurate the work, as only to one of mature

years and tested ministerial character could such an enterprise be intrusted. Accordingly, after some delay and much correspondence, choice was made of Rev. William Butler, of New England Conference, an Irishman by birth, educated at Didsbury College, and formerly a traveling minister of the Wesleyan Connection. He sailed from Boston in April, 1856, and in September following was in Calcutta. After a full and brotherly consultation with some of the chief missionary workers in India, it was determined to select the north-western provinces—Oude, Rohilcund, and Gurhwal—lying between the Ganges and the Himalayas, as the places to be occupied. Having canvassed the territory and estimated its requirements, Mr. Butler concluded that to effectively operate the proposed work twenty-five missionaries would be necessary, and for these he asked. Of course this requisition could not be at once complied with, and very soon other events demanded the attention of all in India. The very next year the Sepoy Rebellion swept over India like a tornado, and for the time all other interests were in abeyance. In the spring of 1858 two additional missionaries—Messrs. Humphrey and Pierce—having arrived, and also a resident Englishman, Mr. Josiah Parsons, a local preacher, having been accepted as an assistant, work was actually begun at Bareilly, in the far north-west, learning languages, arranging for homes, opening schools, and preaching to the European residents. These were the beginnings; the history of the years that have followed, their labors and trials, and, above all else, their successes, would require volumes for their full statement. It has been specifically a working mission, with every thing to be accomplished by steady and persistent efforts. It is chiefly a mission among heathen idolaters, but also in the presence of a dominant nominal Christian civilization, and under the protection of a Christian government. In the larger towns and along the lines of travel are found, in considerable numbers, English residents and their mixed-race descendants, called Eurasians, and all through the land are a large number of Mohammedans, the descendants of earlier conquerors, proud, bigoted, and fierce, and restrained from violence only by their later conquerors, the English. But the great body of the people, numerically, and their multitude seems like the "leaves in Vallombrosa," are Hindus, the an-

cient people of the land, of many castes, each separated from all others by impassable barriers, most of them very poor, ignorant, superstitious, and both mentally and morally degraded, with only the fewest present sources of enjoyment, and utterly without hope. The attempt to Christianize such a people must be a labor of love, to be sustained only by the most unbounded faith in the saving power of the Gospel; and yet, that it is a hopeful work is demonstrated by substantial results.

The India Mission has been prosecuted on a broad and liberal scale from the beginning. About fifty missionaries, proper, have been employed, with more than as many women, either wives of missionaries or else teachers under the care of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. No doubt some mistakes have been made in its affairs, in the appointment of missionaries and in the internal administration; for those who have made the former are not infallible, and those who have been charged with the latter have all along justified their claim to be human. And yet it stands forth to-day, after the experiences and tests of a quarter of a century, a *model mission;* eminently such on account of the devotion of its members to the one great work of saving souls, for the steady persistence of the missionaries in their appropriate work in the face of great difficulties and discouragements, and of the broad and enlightened statesmanship of their plans and purposes. And in all this the work has been liberally sustained by the home office. Nearly one and a half millions of dollars have been given to it, and all its interests have been cared for and demands responded to with a truly parental liberality; and after all requisite deductions have been made, it may still be claimed that the results achieved abundantly justify all the outlay that has been made in money and labor. These are now embodied in an Annual Conference, after the home model, containing 21 American ministers, 10 Anglo-Indians, 11 ordained and 40 unordained native preachers, 400 native helpers of various kinds and degrees, with 3,200 Church members, 8,000 children in day-schools and 12,000 in Sunday-schools, 22 houses of worship, and church and school property valued at considerably more than $300,000. These churches, made up for the most part of the very poorest of the poor, are also beginning to contribute a considerable per centage of their own church expenses.

Southern India—William Taylor.

While in India, though a little out of the order of time, we may pause to notice the work in the southern portion of that vast and populous country. It was an old mission field long before the agents of the Methodist Episcopal Church had entered that country; but still there was, and there still is, an abundance of unoccupied room in every portion of that immense field. Near the end of 1870 Rev. William Taylor, in the course of his seven years' evangelistic tour round the world, came to India, and during the next year labored chiefly among our missions in Northern India, preaching in English wherever he could get hearers, and through an interpreter to the natives, not without good results, but not entirely to his own satisfaction. In November of that year he was in Bombay preaching in English, at first in the chapel of the American Board's Mission, and afterward in a large hall. He had now struck the right vein—had found a people to whom to deliver his message. It is estimated that there are in India, chiefly in the sea-port towns and along the principal lines of travel, not less than 150,000 Europeans, or the children of such, (Eurasians,) English-speaking, nominally Christians; many of them somewhat educated, often men of very positive characters, but socially outcasts, and for the most part entirely godless. These were just the men to appreciate the street-preaching apostle of San Francisco, and toward them Mr. Taylor especially directed his evangelistic efforts; and, like the publicans and sinners of the times of Christ, they heard him gladly, believed, and were converted. Afterward the work spread to Poona, Kurrachee, Madras, and Calcutta; and in all these places souls were converted. And now came the more difficult question, What shall be done with them? for they must have spiritual nurture or they will perish, and their last case be worse than the first. The first expedient was to organize them into "fellowship bands," each with its appropriate leader, not unlike Mr. Wesley's "Societies;" but later, yielding to the requirements of the case, Mr. Taylor gave them a virtually complete Church organization. The work also called for additional ministerial labor, and such was supplied partly by old residents of India, now quickened into new religious activity, and partly by new-comers from

America, drawn thither, without any formal appointment, by the fame of Mr. Taylor's work, and some, a little later, by episcopal appointment; but in all cases they were to depend upon those among whom they labored for their maintenance. In December, 1873, Bishop Harris having gone thus far around the world, from east to west, came to India, and with the hearty concurrence of all parties erected Mr. Taylor's churches into an integral portion of the Methodist Episcopal Church, constituting them a district of the India Conference. In 1876 these were given a separate organization of their own, as the South India Conference, a mission of the highest type in respect to its evangelistic aggressiveness, and eminently Pauline, in that it is built upon no man's previous labors; but, unlike almost every other mission, it has been from the beginning self-supporting, never having received a dollar from any missionary organization, beyond its own bounds, for either the maintenance of its laborers, or for building its houses of worship, its schools, or its dwellings. Its success and the growth attained are the vindication of its policy, and though its conditions may have been exceptionally favorable to such an undertaking, still it has demonstrated the possibility of missions among non-Christian peoples without outside support. That work, as it stands forth to-day, is Mr. Taylor's vindication, made effective, however, by a most noble band of his fellow-laborers in the Gospel.

Bulgaria.

Among the favorite schemes that engaged Dr. Durbin's attention during the early years of his administration was the mission in Bulgaria. When Kossuth was in this country, in 1851, he called attention to the openings in European Turkey for Protestant missions. The officers of the American Board considered the case, but decided that they could do no more in that region than they were already doing; but suggested that the Methodist Episcopal Church should be invited to consider the case. The subject was accordingly referred to the General Committee by the Corresponding Secretary, in November, 1852, with a decided expression in its favor, and the sum of $5,000 was placed at the disposal of the Bishop in charge of foreign missions for the commencement of the work. Bulgaria was selected, as an unoccupied field, at the suggestion

of Dr. Riggs, of the American Board, at Constantinople; but nothing was actually done till more than two years later, and it was not till 1857 that missionaries were sent forward, when Revs. W. Prettyman and A. L. Long began their work at Shumla, on the Black Sea. In November, 1858, Rev. F. W. Flocken, who spoke both Russian and German, was added to the missionary force. In 1859 Mr. Long removed to Tirnova, where, near the close of that year, he began preaching in his own house to such companies as he could collect, which quite naturally awoke the opposition of the priests of the Greek Church, though some of a better class showed him great favor; among them was Gabriel Etieff, who had before been in the employ of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and who now became Mr. Long's assistant and colporteur. At the same time Messrs. Prettyman and Flocken continued their studies of the Bulgarian language at Shumla, the former preaching in English and the latter in German to the resident foreigners. The next year Mr. Flocken began work at Tultcha, on the Danube, preaching and distributing tracts, as opportunity offered, in Bulgarian, Russian, German, and English, and a little later he opened a school in his study, which was soon attended by more than fifty children, and most of these were also induced to attend the Sunday-school for religious instruction. Here three or four Russians were baptized, and the beginnings of a real evangelistic work appeared. But the whole country was rocked by both political and religious controversies; the Bulgarian Church laity, especially, desired to be separated from the authority of the Greek Patriach; the Papists were intriguing to have them united to Rome, and the political state of the country was on the borders of revolution. All hope of reviving and using, as an evangelistical agency, any of the churches of the country was at length abandoned, and, in utter despair of accomplishing any thing, Mr. Prettyman resolved to abandon the mission and come home, and Mr. Long removed to Constantinople in order to make that city the base of his further operations. Here (1863) he was associated with Dr. Riggs in the revisal and publication of the Bulgarian Testament for the British and Foreign Bible Society. He also issued, during 1864, a small paper, "The Morning Star," which had a considerably extensive circulation among the

Bulgarians; and though the work of evangelization made very little visible progress, precious seed was being sowed among that people which has since yielded fruit. In 1865 Bishop Thomson was in the mission, and, with Mr. Long, visited the chief points in Bulgaria, and it seems that he was deeply impressed with the apparent possibilities of the work; and on his return he recommended re-enforcements, which, to some extent, were sent forward. A real revival occurred at Tultcha, and also at Sistof. A long series of conflicts, persecutions, successes, and discouragements make up the record of the decade, 1870–80. Mr. Long accepted a chair in Robert College, most of the missionaries left the country, and for a time the work was abandoned by the home authorities, to be renewed again the next year, 1873.

In 1874 Bishop Harris visited the mission, called all the workers together—American and natives—and reorganized the work, which seemed to him to be full of promise. But with the next year came the Russo-Turkish war, of which Bulgaria was the battle-field, and the whole land was swept with a hurricane of destruction and massacre, ending in the erection of the independent Principality of Bulgaria. During these fearful years the mission was entirely broken up and scattered, and a large part of the converts were actually massacred by the Mussulmans, and all the missionaries were called home. But at the earnest prayer of the native preachers in the country, and with the hope that in the new order of things, in free Bulgaria, something better could be done, in 1878 Mr. Flocken was directed to return, which he did, and was not long after followed by Messrs. Challis and Lounsberry, and Messrs. Economoff and Thomoff, native preachers, who had been for some years in this country, students in Drew Theological Seminary. The work, thus renewed, has advanced only moderately, but perhaps not the less hopefully, and in the judgment of the home administration it still affords promises of ultimate success. Probably both the possibilities and the difficulties of the work have been underestimated; the working force has never been equal to the demands made upon it, nor have the means at its disposal been adequate, and the men themselves, faithful and godly missionaries, have not been for the most part endowed with the requisite force and tact, breadth of views and executive talent

that the work in a pre-eminent degree requires. In respect to silent moral educating influences no doubt Dr. Long has rendered an inestimably valuable service, both political and religious, to Bulgaria; but to redeem that land it must be taken hold of with a strong hand. The Church must move upon it in force if it is to go up to possess the land.

Italy.

In Roman Catholic countries and among peoples of the Latin race two missions have been undertaken comparatively recently: in Italy and in Mexico. A mission to Rome was the life-long dream of that veteran hater of Romanism, Dr. Charles Elliott, who for forty years ceased not to press the subject upon the Church, but who died without seeing even the beginning of his Church scheme, though possibly the influences that he left behind him at length became effective, for a member of his family (Dr. L. M. Vernon) was at length the founder of that mission. After the decease of Dr. Elliott, Rev. Gilbert Haven (Bishop) became its champion, and he succeeded (in 1870) in procuring a grant from the Board of Managers in its favor, and in 1871 the work was actually begun, Dr. Vernon being sent out to explore the land, and, if found practicable, to begin the work. The Wesleyan Church of Great Britain were already in the country, having missions established at many of the chief centers, and at their first meeting "Rev. Mr. Piggott, the Wesleyan Superintendent, proposed the union of their forces and ours in one missionary movement, *to constitute one Italian Methodism*, believing that such united action would be approved and sustained by the Wesleyan Missionary Society. Dr. Vernon at the time concurred in this proposal and reported it favorably to the Mission Rooms. . . . The Board steadily advised a Methodist Episcopal Mission," (Dr. Reid.) As the Wesleyans were first in the field, the complaint against us for "intrusion" is not without some semblance of justice, if indeed there can be such a thing as "preemption rights" among Churches, or as between distinct but fraternal Methodist bodies. As simply a question of policy, having the best interests of Christ's Kingdom and the advancement of "Ecumenical" Methodism for its object, the refusal to accept the proposition for united action, and for the localization of

Methodism in Italy, self-governing and largely self-supporting, it is at least open to some questioning. As the result of that determination there are now in Italy two Methodisms, of which ours is the second in age and in numerical extent, operating in the same general localities and sometimes in the same towns, a policy which would seem to be not altogether favorable to either economy or "fraternity." In 1872 Rev. F. A. Spencer became connected with the mission, but continued only one year. Bologna was first selected as the seat of the mission, which has since been transferred to Rome, and its working force augmented by the accession of a number of able and valuable native laborers, both Protestants and converted Romanists. The conversion of Count Campello, and his *quasi* and temporary connection with our work, was an event rather notorious than really profitable. The progress of the mission under the wise and energetic administration of Dr. Vernon, who is its only American minister, has been steady and as rapid as could be expected. The work has been organized as an Annual Conference, having (in 1881) thirteen native preachers, with about a thousand Church members, two church buildings with parsonages, of an aggregate valuation of thirty-three thousand dollars; *two hundred and forty-two* Sunday-school scholars (!), and two hundred and sixteen dollars (twenty-one cents per member) contributed for self support (!!). Probably future reports will set some of these things in a better light, for it may be hoped that even Italian Methodists will be taught that "the collections" are inseparable parts of their religion. If not too late, it might be wise to reopen the subject of the consolidation and naturalization of the now separate Methodist bodies in the kingdom of Italy.

Mexico.

The second mission among peoples of the ecclesiastical and ethnic type referred to above is that in Mexico, undertaken about ten years since. In November, 1871, the sum of ten thousand dollars was placed in the hands of the Board of Managers to be used in the interests of a mission in that country, if found to be practicable. A year later, Dr. William Butler, the pioneer of the mission in India, was sent out to explore the field, and, if the way should seem to be open, to commence

the work; and before the end of 1873 he was fairly settled down to his work, and was joined the same year by Rev. T. Carter, of New York, (who returned the next year,) and a little later by Rev. J. W. Butler (his son) and Rev. C. W. Drees, (now in charge.) Dr. Butler entered upon his work with characteristic vigor and boldness, managing his somewhat delicate relations with the government with admirable address, and, despite all obstacles, the mission has been a success from the beginning. It has required a rather liberal use of men and money, administered in some cases without very exact conformity to the instructions from the missionary office, but so as to *bring things to pass*, which, though, perhaps, not always a safe method of proceeding, is to some extent justified by the outcome, especially as compared with the conservative feebleness exercised in some other cases. Its statistics for 1881 show nine foreign and eight native missionaries, about seven hundred members, and nearly the same number of Sunday-school scholars; it has nine church buildings, valued, with other real estate, at nearly a hundred and twenty thousand dollars; and best of all in what they promise, the contributions of the churches for their own running expenses make a decidedly respectable showing. If the Mexican mission has been a rather expensive one, (costing about two hundred thousand dollars to date,) it has something to show for this outlay. Here, too, our work is proceeding side by side with that of another Methodism, (the Church South,) suggesting thoughts of a desirable consolidation.

Japan.

Nearly simultaneously with the opening of the two last-named missions was the beginning of the strictly heathen mission in Japan. The first steps toward its establishment were taken in the autumn of 1872, and the next year Rev. R. S. Maclay, of the Foochow (China) Mission, who was then in this country, was appointed its superintendent. He was soon followed by Revs. J. C. Davison, Julius Soper, and M. C. Harris, and their wives, and, not much later, by Rev. I. H. Correll, (from China.) Bishop Harris also visited Japan, almost at the same time, and aided by his counsel in the beginning of the work. The work so begun was a marked success from its incipiency, presenting a marked contrast with that at

Foochow, for in a little over two years the first converts, a gentleman and his wife, were baptized. The progress of this mission has been from the beginning simply marvelous as to its early success, its steady and relatively large increase, and especially its decided and wholesome religious character. To this no doubt the peculiar state of mind of the Japanese at the time largely contributed; the deference of all classes for our western, and especially American, civilization and ideas, and their loss of faith in their ancestral religion, without relapsing into general unbelief and indifference. But the missionaries themselves went there expecting early and abundant results, and for these they lived and labored and believed, and it was done for them according to their faith. There are now in that field, occupying the chief cities, twelve foreign missionaries, distributed, with their native preachers (seven ordained and eight unordained) in three districts, and more than six hundred Church members, and every department of the work shows signs of a wholesome vitality. In that country, also, there are already two or three other kinds of Methodist missionaries, suggesting the inquiry whether both fraternity and efficiency might not be promoted by a closer, organic union.

Germany.

German Methodism, of the specific type represented by the Methodist Episcopal Church, both in America and Europe, is inseparably associated with the name of Rev. William Nast, who, in early life a student at Tubingen, a classmate of David Frederic Strauss, came to America in 1828, utterly without faith, but very ill-at-ease, and having come into certain Methodist associations, he was converted at a Methodist revival, at Danville, Ohio. He soon after began to preach, but found himself unable to use the English language, and therefore his efforts were turned toward his own countrymen—emigrants. Out of these labors grew up the now widely-extended German element in the Methodist Episcopal Church, whose history, however, does not fall within our present design. The German Methodists in this country not only reported to their kindred at home the news of their newly-found salvation, but also soon began to cast longing looks toward the fatherland, and to plead that some one of their ministers might be sent a

missionary to Germany; and accordingly, in October, 1849, Rev. Ludwig S. Jacoby, a converted Israelite, who had been laboring in St. Louis, was appointed to that service. But coming to his own people he found that they cared very little for himself or his mission; that Bremen, where he proposed to begin his work, was little better than a heathen city, with its Sabbath desecration, its unfrequented churches, its unspiritual but exclusive ministry, and every-where prevalent worldliness. He, however, entered upon his work in faith, though against appearances. A hall for public worship was procured in Bremerhaven, and in due time souls were converted, as the missionary expected. A Sunday-school was established, a rather rare institution in Germany at that time; a small weekly paper, *Der Evangeliste*, was published, and other appropriate measures used to keep the work in motion.

In 1850 Messrs. Louis Nippert and C. H. Doering, natives of Germany, but naturalized American citizens, were added to the mission, and Dr. M'Clintock also visited it, and aided by his presence and counsels in the work. In 1852 was held the first formal session of the missionaries for mutual consultation respecting their work, and in 1856 it was erected into a "Mission Conference." From that time onward, through great labor, some peril, and a pretty liberal outlay of money, the work has spread nearly all over Germany and the German cantons of Switzerland. It has a membership of nearly 12,000, about 70 traveling and 50 local preachers, and 20,000 in the Sunday-schools; 75 churches and 50 ministers' "houses," together valued at $400,000; also a large amount of school property, including an endowed theological seminary—the Martin Institute—which has been presided over by Dr. W. F. Warren, President of Boston University, and by Dr. J. F. Hurst, (now Bishop Hurst,) and is now under the presidency of Dr. Arnold Sultzberger, a Swiss. In it a large share of the members of the Conference have been trained for their work. There is also, after the almost universal fashion with Methodist bodies, its "Book Concern," with its weekly "Evangelist," and the needed supply of Sunday-school and missionary publications, as well as "books of the general catalogue."

These statistics show very clearly that our variety of Methodism is fairly established, "grounded and rooted," and some-

what "built up" in the land of the Reformation; and yet ours is only one of several varieties, one of which, the British Wesleyan, preceded us in time, and has also become well grounded and somewhat numerous in a number of the chief cities. There are also one or two other American varieties operating in that country. On this subject a late annual report of the mission remarks: "It would be a means of progress if the several branches of the Methodist Church in Germany were united. We should need fewer preachers and chapels, and the impression we should make on other denominations would be a good one," all of which is too evident to be for a moment questioned; and since every body confesses that it ought to be, how is it that nothing effectual is undertaken looking to such a consummation? Is it not about time that the Methodism of Germany, now forty thousand strong, with its nearly two hundred traveling preachers, should be emancipated from its foreign and colonial condition by consolidating itself into an organic unity, a *German Church*, not an American or an English exotic, standing in its own individuality, self-governing, and, much more largely than now, self-supporting?

Spiritually, German Methodism possesses some marked characteristics. It shows very clearly the mingling of American and German peculiarities, while Dr. Nast's marked type of religious experience has affected it quite largely, and for its good. It is somewhat pietistic, and yet not wholly without rationalistic tendencies, nor is it subject to any strong puritanical tendencies. It is somewhat sturdy in the assertion of its own thoughts, perhaps a little restive under authority; but having been accustomed from the beginning to look abroad for help, there has not been the best possible development of the spirit of manly independence and self-reliance. American Methodism attained its majority and became an independent body at eighteen years old, having cost the Mother Church *one hundred and fifty dollars*. German Methodism has reached nearly twice that age, has received from the parent body not less than a million dollars, and is still a minor and a beneficiary.

Sweden, Norway, and Denmark.

The Methodism of the Scandinavian Kingdoms originated in New York City in 1845, when Rev. O. G. Hedstrom, a

member of the New York Conference, a native of Sweden, was appointed a missionary to the Swedes in the lower part of the city, of whom it was said there was not less than three hundred, with no provision for their religious culture. An old vessel, that had before been prepared and used as a place of worship, was obtained, and the work commenced. Pastor Hedstrom—by which title he was called by his countrymen—was evidently peculiarly adapted to the work to which he was thus called. He was in the prime of life, not specifically an educated man, of fair natural abilities, with the kind of magnetic enthusiasm that characterizes the people of the northern kingdoms, to which mental qualities the peculiar stamp and impulse of American Methodism was now added. He seemed never to have had a rationalistic doubt, and his faith in the power of the Gospel to save all men was unlimited. His preparation for and his call to this work reminds one of Dr. Nast's in respect to the Germans, both by their coincidences and their contrasts. The entire conditions and arrangements of the work were eminently opportune. The "Bethel Ship" soon became all that its name implied, and its fame was spread over all the seas, and every port into which Swedish or Norwegian sailors came. By a happy coincidence, which may without superstition be termed providential, soon after the beginning of this work the streams of Scandinavian immigrants, which have since swelled to so great a volume, began to flow into this country; and these were met at their coming by Pastor Hedstrom and his helpers, and so the "Bethel Ship" became known as a kind of immigration office, where many a forlorn stranger heard his native tongue in the land of his exile, and received sympathy and direction, mingled with warm and affectionate religious instruction. These, in passing away into the remote North-west, carried with them and naturalized in their new homes the form of Christian life which they had learned at the "Ship," and from these have grown up the now extensive and vigorous Swedish missions and churches in all the North-western States and Territories. And as many of the converts made at the "Bethel Ship" were sea-faring men, these, on returning to their own country, told among their kindred and acquaintances the story of their conversion, and soon the fire was kindled among them also. Numerous

letters were likewise sent home by the converts, telling the same wonderful story, and through their influence many a susceptible heart was impressed, awakened, and saved; and so in both Sweden and Norway the story of early German Methodism was repeated, with certain natural variations, and with even more remarkable spiritual features.

A Swedish sailor, Mr. John P. Larsson, was converted at the "Bethel Ship," and soon after returned home, where he began to publish abroad the great things that had been done for him; and, though he bore with him no Church authority, he soon found himself forced into the work of preaching Christ and of caring for the newly converted. And as the work detained him at home, and grew on his hands beyond his powers of administration, he sent the Macedonian cry across the ocean, to Pastor Hedstrom, for assistance and instruction. The Missionary Board recommended that Mr. Larsson should continue in the work, and also voted two hundred dollars for his immediate use; and so Methodism became a fact in Sweden, with the converted sailor for its evangelist. In 1855, while Mr. Larsson was engaged in an extensive and powerful revival at Calmar, he was joined by Mr. S. M. Swensen, a layman from New York, a class-leader at the "Ship," who entered heartily into the work, and continued his labors there for several months; and thus the Methodism of these parts assumed from the first the characteristics of a deep and earnest spiritual revival, to which the Scandinavian character appears to be specially adapted. At the same time, and in much the same way, the work proceeded in Norway, first under the labors of Mr. Peterson, who was joined in 1856 by Rev. Christian Willerup, a native of Denmark, who had been from his youth in America, where he had entered the itinerant ministry. A few years later Mr. Willerup was sent to his native land, to plant a mission in that kingdom also. The progress of the work in the three Scandinavian kingdoms for the last twenty years has been a steady growth in numbers and strength, until it has become firmly established in all the chief centers, and widely diffused among the smaller towns and the rural parishes. The petty annoyances by the local officials, encountered at the beginning, have nearly ceased, the more certainly and effectually because it is known that King Oscar himself bears no unfriendly

feeling toward the movement. At present the work in each of the three kingdoms has its own organization, those in Norway and Sweden being constituted Annual Conferences. Sweden has 67 traveling preachers, 9,232 members, 57 church edifices, and a still larger number of halls and other buildings used for public worship. Norway, 46 ministers, 3,375 members, and 22 churches, while in Denmark there are 9 ministers, 798 members, 7 churches, and 50 other places of worship. The whole amount of appropriations to these missions from the beginning is rather more than three quarters of a million. Their church property amounts to nearly three hundred thousand; their annual contribution for church building and for the support of their ministers to about four thousand. It may be hoped that in the near future their contributions will much more nearly approximate their expenditures, for large and long continued feeding is always unprofitable.

At this point, want of room compels an abrupt closing with the "improvement" of the fact presented that we intended to make. What we have shown is, however, the best possible argument for both the demand for the work described, and the fidelity and efficiency with which it has been prosecuted. The Methodist Foreign Missionary work stands before the Church and the world, deprecating no amount of honest and fair criticism, and seeking to be justified as to the past and trusted for the future, and only so far as its own record shall challenge such treatment. In another article we may attempt to bring into view some of the lessons learned by this half-century's experiences.

Art. VII. — THE PROBLEM OF OUR CHURCH BENEVOLENCES.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

The parting command of the Son of God to his disciples was, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." The majesty of these words is absolutely unparalleled. Jesus often spake as never man spake, but in uttering these words he spake as he never spake on any other occasion to mortal hearers. No other words ever spoken to any class of

human beings ever imposed or defined such an obligation. Perhaps he never uttered any other command to men with such a concentration of motive. The gathered intensity of his life-long purposes and love was in his words. They were spoken with the power that could pledge the guidance and energy of the Holy Ghost about to fall upon the wondering hearers. They were intensified with the purpose of resuming the scepter of omnipotence, now for the first time taking it with the hand of glorified humanity. And he spoke them with his mind filled with plans and purposes of preparation among the many mansions of his Father's house, to receive the mighty tide of redeemed humanity to be turned heavenward by those obeying this command.

These words were to rouse and rally and inspire men to a life-work of the loftiest and most sustained heroism, and to test the fidelity and capacity of every one called to be a disciple; and on the manner of the reception of this Gospel he then and here predicated the salvation or damnation of every hearer.

O, miserably do they err who deem their Christian duty done when the Church at home is well sustained! The Church of Christ is organized as an invading army, and the home Church is its base of operations. But what shall we say of an invasion whose utmost success is that of standing still? Is not that resisting enemy already triumphant that can confine the attention and resources of his invader to works of self-preservation? Instead of conquering, the Church is ever in danger of being overcome by the spirit of the world; and such is the temper of the foe, that the most vigorous offensive is the best, the safest, and the cheapest defensive measure.

The Church as a local institution exists for a twofold purpose: First, for the conversion of sinners in its vicinity and the edification of its members, enforcing on them the duty of a life of holiness and self-denying consecration to the service of God. Second, to organize and execute measures for giving the Gospel to the regions beyond.

But can that be a true conversion at all that does not carry with it some important knowledge of the life and work of a believer? And can that be a sound edification that allows one of the foremost of duties to fall into desuetude and forgetfulness? There is no escape from the conclusion, that just in

so far as a Church is not disciplined to the duty of the world's conversion, so far it is in the condition of the blind led by the blind.

Wherever the Church is spiritually alive the ear is open to the Macedonian cry, and the heart feels the force of the Saviour's great command, and the response is proportioned to the degree of faith working by love and the knowledge of the subject possessed by the Church at the time.

The response to Christ's command by the Churches in this age is almost entirely in their organized benevolences for aggressive evangelical work. It is so in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Here the Missionary, Church Extension, Tract, Sunday-School, Freedmen's Aid, and Educational Boards and Societies, together with a proprietary interest in the American Bible Society, these almost exhaustively constitute and measure what this great Church is doing toward the world's evangelization. Beyond these are but few fragmentary efforts which, like the aerolites among the planets, scarcely count in their attraction or impact. An occasional sporadic exception only proves a lesson of needed enlargement and perfection of method, and is quickly learned. These are parts of the great missionary movement. They are parts of unequal magnitude, but each indispensable, and none can be neglected without impairing the efficiency of the whole, and it is doubtful whether for years to come any one of them could be consolidated with another without loss to the whole.

Hence the immense importance of these benevolences, which not only gather and use the material resources, but also call forth and fix upon their objects the prayers and faith-power of the Church.

What is the Measure of the Church's Obligation?

To this question we get the uniform answer from every side, as in case of any truism, that the obligation is only measured by the ability; but when we ask for the measure of the ability the answers are innumerable and endlessly discordant.

Churches enough to make whole Conferences, and large ones at that, are giving a few pennies per member and declaring themselves at the utmost limit of their ability; they groan under their burdens, and think one of the chief reasons why

they are so often behindhand with their finances is because of the drain of the benevolences on their resources, and many of their leading members would think an attempt at an advance only a proof of rashness.

At the other extreme, with a curious gradation between, are persons of high intelligence, and always careful in forming their opinions, who believe the evangelical Churches now possess potentially the spiritual and actually the material resources to carry the living Gospel to every human being within ten years, and that, too, without asking a single individual to do any thing unreasonable, or to make a sacrifice greater than many are now making for the blessed Master with joy and gladness. They are persuaded that if all believers should gather as one man at the mercy-seat—as was intended by the original projectors of the Week of Prayer—and fixing their minds on the one object alone, ask the Lord for the world's conversion, and for the baptism of the Holy Ghost upon themselves every one, to fit them fully for their part of the work according to God's provision and measure, and if they should persist, Pentecost would be re-enacted on a scale as broad as evangelical Christendom, and the Spirit would call out tens of thousands who would go abroad with power that would force itself through the resistance of unknown tongues; and even by the preaching through interpreters—as with Brainard among the Indians at Crosswicks, and Taylor in South Africa, and many others of less renown among men—conversions with power would occur by hundreds; and God, honoring his servants as he always does when they are faithful, would pour out his Spirit upon the heathen till the very rumor of the coming Gospel would cause them to gather together by thousands—as in Fiji and Madagascar, beyond where a missionary had ever trod—and call upon the God of the Christians to accept them, and to send them a teacher to tell them the words of life. Then what a field for the coming preacher to broadcast the Word! Out of these multitudes of believers there would not fail to arise many a Luther and many a Knox, many a Wesley and many a Whitefield, many an Asbury and many a Nast, to complete the work of evangelization, and organize these newly-conquered provinces of the kingdom of God. The money? A needed million is so hard to get now. Hundreds

of millions would be needed then, and these would be forthcoming as spontaneously as the shekels at Pentecost, or as the offerings of the Macedonians, made beyond their power, in the depths of poverty and affliction, urging them upon Paul when they had such weighty reasons for keeping them at home. He only prays the Spirit of God into his imagination and not into his heart who does not pray up within himself a liberality as royal as the king's sons. Would the Church be impoverished? Nay, but enriched by perceiving many of her own outlays to be needless, and by accessions from every class, high and low, who could reimburse her five fold every year without loss to themselves out of the savings from expensive vices.

Another answer to the question of the Church's ability is furnished by what is actually now being done by a part of the Church. There were, in 1882, more than twenty thousand members of the Methodist Episcopal Church who gave more than their full share of an aggregate of twenty millions of dollars to these benevolences. That is to say, if each member of the Church of equal ability with these respectively had contributed as they did, the sum would have exceeded twenty millions. And it is probable that hardly any of these noble givers have overdone their giving, and that an increase of their piety, wisdom, and knowledge of the matter would increase the contributions of nine tenths of them. It is certain that these collections appear to them less burdensome than they appear to any other class of the Church's membership.

If we test the Church's ability by the tenth of the income of its members—the lowest amount mentioned in the Scriptures as acceptable when a proportion is mentioned at all—and if we say the rule may admit of many exceptions, it remains that the exceptions are chiefly among those having the least income, (and still they could usually give something,) and that all persons of the average prosperity of the class to which they belong, throughout nearly all the industries of the land, should not give less than a tenth. It remains, too, that many should give more than a tenth; and as these are generally such as have the larger incomes, therefore it is entirely within bounds to say that the Church's average should be one tenth; then, with half that sum the home Church could be far better supported than now, and leave the other half, or five per cent. of the general

income, to supply the means to carry out the Saviour's great command. This would multiply the present collections by a very large factor, and give an astonishing product! An average of one per cent. would produce about three times the amount now received.

Actual Condition of the Benevolences.

A careful tabulation of the average contribution per member to all these collections in every charge in the United States, as the statistical reports stood in the middle of the year 1881, gave the following:

104	charges,	comprising	24,377	members,	giving	from	$2	50	upward.
61	"	"	14,272	"	"		2	00 to $2	49
123	"	"	25,762	"	"		1	50 to 1	99
389	"	"	79,504	"	"		1	00 to 1	49
545	"	"	100,862	"	"			75 to	99
1,145	"	"	201,155	"	"			50 to	74
2,517	"	"	429,081	"	"			25 to	49
2,468	"	"	408,384	"	"			10 to	24
1,759	"	"	340,746	"	"				9
727	"	"	45,711	"	"		nothing.		
240	"	about	12,000						
9,858			1,681,854						

The application of certain rules of analysis and classification, (see Methodist Quarterly Review, January, 1882, pp. 52, 53,) and which have never been invalidated, showed:

Amount Contributed per Member.	Number of Charges.	Number of Members.	Giving Nothing.	Giving as in ordinary basket collection.	Somewhat more than in ordinary basket collection.	Large givers from middle and lower classes.	Large givers.
$2 50 up.	104	24,377	10,567	8,776	2,352	2,438	244
2 00 to $2 49	61	14,272	6,184	5,138	1,685	1,150	115
1 50 to 1 99	123	25,762	11,163	10,134	2,573	1,720	172
1 00 to 1 49	389	79,504	34,451	31,791	8,095	4,770	397
75 to 99	545	100,862	43,707	42,696	10,086	4,037	336
50 to 74	1,145	201,155	87,167	87,436	20,115	6,035	402
25 to 49	2,517	429,081	228,843	164,767	28,606	6,436	429
10 to 24	2,468	408,384	217,805	168,002	20,419	2,056	102
9	1,759	340,746	181,731	155,268	3,407	340	....
No report.....	713	45,711	45,711	....	....	....	....
No members..	240	12,000	12,000	....	....	....	....
		1,681,854	879,329	674,008	97,338	28,982	2,197

There is an appreciable error in these figures, because they were based upon the reports of membership made before the new method of reporting was adopted, and which were somewhat inflated with names of members that had disappeared. The

adoption of the new method, and especially of the rule requiring "the number of known members at the end of this year," has probably reduced that inflation during the last eighteen months by a number that would fall somewhere between fifty and seventy-five thousand. This has accounted for the apparently slow growth of the Church in numbers during the time.

Having adopted the policy, in this work, of keeping safely within the line of indisputable facts and unassailable inferences from them, an allowance of fifty thousand has been made for this contraction. That is, the rules of analysis and classification have been adjusted by the changed conditions required by this supposition. The change was effected in this way: It is manifest that every unreal member would fall into the class of non-contributors; therefore, after the results had been obtained under the working of the rules as they stood, the required proportion, 48,412, was deducted from the class of non-contributors and distributed among the other classes by the same rule that had governed the body of the membership. The remaining 1,588 of the 50,000 represents the contraction in the 42,128 members of the 628 charges contributing nothing.

A year's experience, if this work is continued, will show how nearly correct is the working hypothesis thus obtained, and how nearly this estimate covers the actual contraction. The error at most will fall below two per cent. Another very slight change in the working of the rules was made by placing the class giving from 75 to 99 cents per member partly under the rule of the preceding class, to meet a changed condition probably occasioned by the improved financial condition of the country. The effect upon the whole, caused by this change, is very slight, and is in the direction of a more favorable showing.

The reports in the General Minutes of 1882, tabulated with equal care as the preceding, show that besides nine charges reporting collections but no membership, and whose membership cannot be got from the preceding reports, there are:

Charges.	Members.	Average.	Charges.	Members.	Average.
130	31,909	$2 50 up.	2,671	439,094	25 to 49
83	20,134	2 00 to $2 49	2,142	354,733	10 to 24
202	43,895	1 50 to 1 99	1,455	288,268	Under 10
609	110,426	1 00 to 1 49	628	42,128	Nothing.
730	130,760	75 to 99			
1,441	250,191	50 to 74	10,091	1,711,538	

Then, applying the rules of analysis and classification, with the modifications needed to meet the changed conditions as explained above, we find the number of each class of givers as follows:

Charges.	Members.	Average.	Giving Nothing.	As in ordinary basket collection.	More than in ordinary basket collection.	Large givers from middle and lower classes.	Large givers.
130	31,909	$2 50 and up.	12,762	12,242	3,292	3,285	328
83	20,134	2 00 to $2 49	8,115	7,695	2,497	1,661	166
202	43,895	1 50 to 1 99	17,692	16,873	6,017	3,013	300
609	110,426	1 00 to 1 49	44,507	42,632	16,287	6,431	569
730	130,760	75 to 99	52,785	47,465	24,675	5,386	449
1,441	250,191	50 to 74	100,839	115,344	25,769	7,724	515
2,671	439,094	25 to 49	221,030	165,606	45,224	6,782	452
2,142	354,733	10 to 24	178,757	137,115	36,887	1,880	94
1,455	288,268	Under 10	145,107	139,896	2,969	296	...
628	42,128	Nothing.	42,128	....	....	....	...
10,091	1,711,538		823,722	684,868	163,617	36,458	2,873

This shows a decrease of 55,607, or .06 per cent. of the non-contributors, about half of which is accounted for by the contraction of the membership. The class contributing as in ordinary basket collection taken at every service by the trustees increased 10,860, or .02 per cent. Those giving somewhat larger sums than in ordinary basket increased 66,279, or .67 per cent. The large givers from the middle and lower classes increased 7,476, or 26 per cent. The class of large givers increased 676, or 31 per cent.

These increments, at the respective averages assigned them in the tabulation of eighteen months before, would produce:

10,860 giving 10 cents	—	$1,086	
66,279 " 51 "	—	33,802	
7,476 " $10	—	74,760	
676 giving $125	—	84,500	
Total.....	....	$194,148	

Now, turning to the General Recapitulation in the General Minutes, we find the increase reported is $184,691. The summaries in the reports include about $21,000 in the former and $14,000 in the latter case evidently raised for local institutions of learning, but reported as if raised for the Board of Education and auxiliaries. This item was deducted in the first calculation, and must be in the latter to make the cases parallel. Then we find the results required by the increments of these different classes under the rules differ from the actual increment as shown in the General Minutes by only $4,543. Certainly this is a most surprising proof of the correctness

of the rules of analysis and classification applied to the tabulated averages, and which in their turn are accurate because proved uniformly by reverse arithmetical process. And it may be confidently expected that the same process will trace with satisfactory accuracy the collections of any year or variation of totals while the present method of taking the collections prevails.

And further, when an advance is effected, it is clear from what classes the added money comes—from the liberal few. That is, the liberal few are affected by the methods now used and the pressure as now applied. They respond more or less in proportion to the urgency of the appeal, while the great mass of the membership are unaffected by special appeals, and continue nearly stationary at their low figures. In this case, the part of the advance of $184,691 contributed by 1,672,207 members was $34,888, or an average advance of two cents each; while the part contributed by 39,331 members was $149,803, or an average advance of $4 05 each.

Distribution.

When we ask how the contributions of the people are distributed among the different benevolences, and how each one is sustained in different parts of the country, then a good system of tabulation is needed.

It will not suffice to take the Minutes and look at the compactness of the tables, the fewness of blanks, or even the magnitude of the totals. One church often gives respectability to the totals of a whole district. And as to the blanks, sometimes they would better serve the cause by remaining to tell the truth than do the figures that displace them. A few years ago, the constant reiteration of nearly every Secretary speaking at Conference was, "Take a collection;" "Take a collection, if you only get a few shillings, and give the people a chance to give." The glaring blanks gave a striking text to the speaker; they glared at the pastor and presiding elder till they produced an uneasy feeling. A few elders took pride in having their preachers report "No blanks." And for the most part the resultant change was an omnibus collection, but little increased by being omnibus, or divisions and subdivisions of little sums raised for a few of them among the whole, and so filling blanks without increase. The practice is now one of the most noticeable

characteristics of some districts and of some whole Conferences, and many pastors have the confirmed habit of leaving this kind of footprints on each successive charge. It is curious to see how little money can be made to do great things in filling blanks. Multitudes fill every blank, Woman's Foreign Missions included, with punctilious fidelity, and generally with uniform amounts, at an aggregate expense of ten cents per member. After these come other multitudes who do it just as well at half the expense; and after these come crowds of others in descending grades, till half a cent per member answers every purpose. Not a blank in some places, and in others only an occasional one, is left to cast a reproach or check the triumphant report of the presiding elder at Conference. But, alas! the benevolences are not profited by the agitation, and few are they who lay it to heart.

The proper way to show what is real and what is seeming in this matter is by applying standards.

The Newark Conference has adopted a system of standards; possibly other Conferences may have done something of the kind. Of this system, the *Minimum Standard* is for Missions, 40 cents; Church Extension, 8 cents; Freedmen's Aid, 7 cents; Bible, 4 cents; and Tract, Sunday-School and Education each 2 cents; total, 65 cents. This is understood to be too low by half to serve as a fair *Average Standard* for the Newark Conference, or any other in places where the work is established and the region is fairly prosperous.

Now, taking for a guide the average pastoral support and the character of the collections actually taken, we find this *Minimum Standard* is too low for a fair average standard in sixty-seven Conferences. By dividing it and calling the half of it a Sub-Minimum Standard, we can apply this last to eleven Conferences more. Then there will remain eleven Conferences still which will be tested with equal fairness by bisecting the standard last used, being a quarter of the Minimum Standard. Call this the *Minor Sub-Minimum Standard*, and applying these standards to every collection reported in every charge in the United States, counting the missionary collection blank only when not taken in either Church or Sunday-school, and calling those "slighted" which fall below the standard, and those "standard" which equal or exceed it, we have the following:

	CONFERENCES.	Missionary.				Church Extension.				Tract.				Sunday-School.				Freedmen's Aid.				Education.				Bible.			
		Blank.	Slighted.	Standard.	Per cent. of Standard.	Blank.	Slighted.	Standard.	Per cent. of Standard.	Blank.	Slighted.	Standard.	Per cent. of Standard.	Blank.	Slighted.	Standard.	Per cent. of Standard.	Blank.	Slighted.	Standard.	Per cent. of Standard.	Blank.	Slighted.	Standard.	Per cent. of Standard.	Blank.	Slighted.	Standard.	Per cent. of Standard.
1	Baltimore	12	75	62	.43	13	111	15	.11	47	76	16	.12	43	82	14	.10	27	100	12	.09	46	65	28	.20	48	77	14	.10
2	Central Pennsylvania	3	100	74	.42	6	135	36	.20	27	138	12	.07	7	133	19	.11	10	134	33	.19	29	102	46	.26	63	129	8	.05
3	East German	1	6	35	.83	3	8	31	.74	2	12	28	.67	1	19	22	.52	3	38	1	.02	2	4	36	.86	3	30	9	.21
4	East Maine	13	87	3	.16	32	0	1	.01	41	50	11	.11	38	55	9	.09	39	60	1	.01	43	46	13	.13	87	62	3	.03
5	Kansas	17	154	6	.03	41	132	4	.02	65	166	8	.02	66	165	6	.03	55	120	2	.01	55	45	77	.44	94	68	23	.13
6	Maine	22	81	5	.05	25	76	7	.06	30	61	8	.07	35	57	16	.15	34	57	7	.06	40	41	37	.25	42	58	14	.13
7	Missouri	6	111	4	.03	15	102	4	.03	32	80	2	.02	36	83	2	.02	26	95	1	.02	43	70	8	.07	57	68	16	.15
8	Newark	6	147	58	.26	48	139	19	.09	50	105	51	.25	54	96	56	.27	52	140	16	.08	57	84	65	.32	81	88	42	.20
9	New England	20	141	64	.28	33	128	14	.06	119	93	33	.10	119	74	32	.14	73	110	42	.19	105	31	89	.40	137	88	6	.03
10	New England Southern	21	120	37	.21	33	122	24	.13	63	99	33	.13	64	78	36	.20	42	114	15	.06	73	51	54	.30	77	92	9	.05
11	New Hampshire	23	83	21	.17	25	62	39	.31	47	61	18	.14	44	62	20	.16	34	88	9	.07	53	39	34	.27	55	53	19	.15
12	New Jersey	5	103	79	.43	13	145	20	.11	30	111	46	.25	32	105	50	.27	28	151	14	.07	25	88	80	.43	33	125	22	.16
13	New York	6	154	32	.21	50	153	34	.14	78	136	40	.17	37	118	47	.19	30	148	14	.08	32	72	78	.42	116	77	49	.29
14	New York East	26	134	79	.33	76	139	24	.10	86	76	77	.32	90	75	74	.31	78	137	24	.10	115	43	81	.34	123	80	36	.15
15	Northern New York	7	115	50	.29	25	139	18	.10	29	107	36	.21	25	123	24	.14	23	138	12	.07	24	88	66	.38	33	118	21	.12
16	North Indiana	2	120	21	.15	15	117	11	.08	37	100	6	.04	34	103	6	.04	15	116	12	.08	59	68	16	.11	75	64	4	.03
17	Philadelphia	12	117	103	.44	19	184	39	.17	20	129	33	.36	26	144	62	.37	26	187	19	.08	31	124	77	.33	31	172	29	.12
18	Saint Louis	13	105	8	.06	29	88	9	.07	44	70	12	.10	43	64	19	.15	37	87	2	.02	48	60	18	.14	81	40	5	.04
19	South Kansas	12	133	4	.03	20	115	14	.09	33	113	3	.02	30	113	6	.04	27	114	8	.05	27	45	77	.52	84	39	6	.04
20	Troy	9	136	41	.22	14	149	28	.12	26	136	24	.13	27	125	34	.18	27	142	16	.09	35	94	57	.31	58	76	57	.31
21	Vermont	24	130	11	.07	27	129	9	.05	42	106	17	.10	40	91	34	.21	28	126	11	.07	39	63	64	.39	62	96	17	.10
22	Wilmington	6	73	34	.29	6	103	6	.05	12	73	10	.09	13	85	17	.15	15	95	2	.02	15	53	47	.41	18	98	4	.03
23	Wyoming	9	133	35	.20	2	163	11	.07	10	150	17	.10	9	152	16	.09	2	165	10	.06	4	120	58	.30	29	137	11	.06
24	Austin	4	9	19	.43	7	7	9	.39	12	3	8	.35	9	3	11	.48	11	9	3	.13	10	4	9	.39	18	4	1	.04
25	California	13	72	33	.28	41	89	18	.15	36	38	27	.28	55	43	20	.17	49	59	10	.08	56	28	39	.33	61	30	27	.23
26	Central German	..	26	63	.71	9	6	74	.83	2	63	24	.27	3	63	23	.26	11	78	..	..	4	21	64	.72	9	67	13	.15
27	Central Illinois	4	61	94	.59	11	89	66	.40	13	117	36	.28	12	119	35	.21	7	113	46	.28	34	61	71	.43	89	28	54	.33
28	Central New York	7	118	79	.35	19	127	58	.28	42	147	15	.07	48	129	27	.13	28	141	26	.17	38	53	113	.55	79	118	13	.06
29	Central Ohio	2	52	71	.57	17	91	17	.14	37	82	6	.05	37	81	7	.06	16	94	15	.12	46	54	25	.20	55	51	19	.15
30	Chicago German	..	16	41	.72	6	15	36	.68	2	43	12	.21	1	45	11	.19	2	45	8	.13	4	22	31	.54	3	53	1	.02
31	Cincinnati	3	91	50	.35	10	104	30	.21	22	97	15	.10	23	94	18	.13	8	108	26	.19	38	73	33	.23	68	63	15	.12
32	Colorado	3	13	32	.67	4	5	39	.81	11	23	15	.31	11	18	19	.40	11	26	12	.26	11	6	31	.65	17	20	11	.23
33	Columbia River	5	30	6	.15	6	14	21	.51	19	19	3	.07	17	13	11	.27	16	21	4	.10	17	12	12	.29	14	15	12	.29
34	Des Moines	7	108	36	.24	22	119	10	.07	56	93	2	.01	51	96	5	.03	33	112	5	.04	54	51	76	.50	106	39	6	.04
35	Detroit	25	103	44	.19	75	135	22	.09	108	51	15	.06	159	47	26	.11	98	118	16	.07	188	23	71	.31	177	50	6	.02
36	East Ohio	6	147	42	.22	12	161	32	.16	80	156	10	.05	98	150	17	.08	111	176	8	.04	33	111	51	.26	70	120	6	.03
37	Erie	3	125	35	.22	28	130	11	.07	42	102	19	.12	42	97	24	.15	21	136	6	.04	47	46	71	.44	88	70	6	.03
38	Genesee	14	128	32	.17	35	141	46	.21	50	131	41	.18	50	121	51	.23	32	147	43	.19	28	34	161	.78	91	117	14	.06
39	Illinois	8	114	92	.43	39	157	18	.08	51	122	11	.05	69	132	18	.08	47	149	18	.08	71	110	33	.15	131	27	56	.26
40	Indiana	5	103	5	.05	35	76	2	.02	42	64	1	.01	49	63	1	.01	37	74	2	.02	48	59	6	.05	72	40	1	.01
41	Iowa	2	77	30	.28	18	84	7	.06	54	50	5	.05	45	55	9	.08	21	88	5	.03	32	43	84	.31	60	82	17	.16
43	Kentucky	19	68	5	.06	40	44	5	.06	61	24	4	.04	64	22	3	.03	45	40	4	.04	54	26	9	.10	65	17	7	.06
43	Michigan	33	174	42	.17	39	177	27	.11	106	121	16	.07	93	124	23	.09	49	168	26	.11	96	75	71	.29	129	102	12	.05
44	Minnesota	23	108	28	.23	28	83	52	.33	76	71	17	.10	73	63	28	.17	49	96	19	.12	51	15	101	.62	108	41	20	.12
45	Nebraska	12	65	6	.07	20	58	1	.01	46	42	1	.01	44	39	6	.07	36	52	1	.01	32	22	35	.36	55	29	5	.06
46	Nevada	4	12	8	.32	12	5	7	.29	21	...	3	.13	19	1	4	.17	20	2	2	.08	18	1	5	.21	13	..	11	.46

CONFERENCES.	Missionary.				Church Extension.				Tract.				Sunday-School.				Freedman's Aid.				Education.				Bible.			
	Blank.	Slighted.	Standard.	Per cent. of Standard.	Blank.	Slighted.	Standard.	Per cent. of Standard.	Blank.	Slighted.	Standard.	Per cent. of Standard.	Blank.	Slighted.	Standard.	Per cent. of Standard.	Blank.	Slighted.	Standard.	Per cent. of Standard.	Blank.	Slighted.	Standard.	Per cent. of Standard.	Blank.	Slighted.	Standard.	Per cent. of Standard.
47 North Nebraska	7	29	..	..	8	23	6	.17	16	18	2	.06	18	16	2	.06	16	20	..	..	19	18	9	.25	28	9	4	.11
48 North Ohio	3	87	34	.27	11	83	30	.24	38	66	20	.16	35	72	17	.14	16	88	20	.16	36	40	48	.39	62	50	12	.10
49 North-west German	2	26	40	.59	23	4	41	.60	5	62	1	.01	4	61	3	.04	6	63	..	..	3	8	57	.84	63	23	3	.04
50 North-west Iowa	11	65	5	.06	16	21	44	.54	32	40	9	.11	28	41	12	.15	19	46	16	.20	28	22	31	.25	37	29	15	.19
51 North-west Indiana	7	88	17	.15	27	74	11	.10	62	57	3	.03	50	59	3	.03	27	73	12	.11	37	44	31	.29	80	26	6	.05
52 North-west Norwegian	1	7	26	.76	2	29	3	.09	9	19	6	.18	9	18	7	.21	9	24	1	.03	8	4	27	.79	11	21	2	.06
53 North-west Swedish	..	11	35	.76	..	10	36	.78	7	32	7	.15	7	31	8	.17	2	37	3	.07	1	..	45	.98	45	2	1	.02
54 Ohio	2	121	35	.22	17	129	13	.06	37	120	3	.01	38	116	5	.03	21	123	15	.09	53	91	25	.16	54	84	21	.13
55 Oregon	2	38	6	.11	14	27	11	.21	29	15	6	.15	29	11	10	.23	28	26	1	.02	26	17	9	.17	28	9	17	.33
56 Pittsburg	3	106	34	.21	22	94	17	.12	55	82	6	.04	46	87	10	.07	19	98	6	.04	61	56	26	.18	81	58	4	.03
57 Rock River	8	70	122	.61	32	88	91	.44	92	80	59	.26	54	76	70	.35	21	92	87	.44	85	33	142	.71	75	19	113	.57
58 Saint Louis German	1	28	58	.67	20	57	63	.42	10	71	6	.07	9	59	19	.22	18	69	..	..	10	24	53	.61	82	58	9	.10
59 South-east Indiana	3	79	7	.08	7	77	5	.06	15	73	2	.10	14	71	4	.04	8	79	2	.02	16	54	19	.21	89	36	1	.01
60 Southern California	10	21	9	.23	16	13	11	.28	22	9	8	.20	16	11	13	.32	21	16	3	.08	18	4	18	.45	36	10	4	.10
61 Southern German	1	..	22	.96	1	21	1	.04	4	16	4	.17	4	15	4	.17	7	16	..	..	10	10	3	.13	16	16	1	.04
62 Southern Illinois	..	96	29	.23	8	119	9	.07	11	105	10	.08	9	14	14	.19	10	114	3	.02	14	70	43	.34	85	25	20	.16
63 Upper Iowa	..	82	72	.47	11	105	38	.27	26	113	15	.10	28	105	21	.14	9	117	28	.19	10	89	65	.42	56	62	16	.10
64 West German	2	14	30	.65	22	18	6	.13	5	32	19	.41	7	21	18	.39	20	26	..	..	9	8	29	.68	7	33	6	.13
65 West Virginia	9	118	5	.04	30	93	..	..	66	65	1	.01	63	68	8	.02	55	75	2	.01	68	55	9	.07	60	61	11	.08
66 West Wisconsin	3	88	23	.20	15	87	19	.11	43	65	6	.05	41	64	9	.08	29	73	2	.01	43	40	31	.27	60	48	6	.05
67 Wisconsin	14	81	46	.33	24	90	27	.19	43	75	28	.16	41	66	34	.24	29	85	27	.19	30	26	85	.60	100	36	6	.04
By Sub-Minimum Standard of 20 cts. for Miss., 4 Ch. Ex., 1 Tract, 1 S.-S., F. A. 4, Ed. 1, and Bible 2 cts. Total, 33 cts.																												
68 Lexington	48	73	1	.01	58	50	14	.11	67	46	9	.08	67	45	10	.09	63	46	13	.11	68	40	19	.16	92	24	6	.05
69 Louisiana	12	60	4	.03	16	52	8	.11	24	45	3	.09	25	43	8	.11	19	49	8	.11	29	33	14	.18	33	41	2	.03
70 Mississippi	28	88	1	.01	58	53	1	.01	84	29	..	..	60	45	7	.06	44	62	6	.06	88	28	7	.06	96	17	..	..
71 South Carolina	7	90	2	.02	37	62	..	..	72	27	..	..	46	49	4	.01	54	45	..	..	69	25	5	.05	83	17	..	..
72 Virginia	6	30	7	.16	15	20	8	.19	27	9	7	.16	27	9	7	.16	29	13	1	.02	33	5	6	.14	33	7	3	.07
73 Washington	5	110	3	.03	18	98	4	.03	64	47	7	.06	68	33	15	.13	37	78	3	.03	47	46	26	.21	86	33	..	..
74 Delaware	2	63	3	.04	4	65	..	..	12	56	1	.01	10	54	5	.07	11	58	..	..	18	36	15	.22	17	51	1	.01
75 Holston	4	54	2	.03	15	42	3	.05	37	31	2	.03	24	33	3	.05	28	32	..	..	27	26	7	.12	35	24	1	.02
76 Tennessee	..	46	2	.04	7	41	..	..	17	21	..	..	17	22	2	.17	4	41	3	.06	13	34	1	.02	22	26	1	.03
77 Texas	4	64	..	..	10	46	12	.18	30	35	3	.04	22	37	9	.13	12	52	18	.26	29	23	17	.25	33	35	..	..
78 West Texas	5	54	1	.02	15	38	7	.12	32	28	..	..	26	34	..	..	20	27	13	.29	46	2	12	.20	38	22	..	..
By Minor Sub-Minimum Standard for Miss. 10 cts., Ch. Ex. and F. A. each 2 cts., Tr., S.-S., and Ed. each ½ ct., Bible 1 ct. Total, 16½ cts.																												
79 Arkansas	21	22	6	.12	37	8	4	.09	43	6	..	..	39	4	6	.12	36	6	7	.14	46	2	1	.02	48	1	..	..
80 Blue Ridge	4	24	1	.03	18	11	..	..	25	4	..	..	24	5	..	..	28	1	..	..	23	1	3	.10	27	2	..	..
81 Florida	7	11	24	.57	16	14	12	.39	31	5	1	.14	31	4	7	.17	15	19	8	.19	29	8	4	.10	8	34	..	..
82 Little Rock	8	15	1	.04	19	4	1	.04	22	1	1	.04	19	5	2	.21	17	7	..	..	22	2	..	..	24	..	..	..
83 North Carolina	6	36	..	..	12	29	1	.02	20	22	..	..	11	25	6	.14	22	33	..	..	14	20	8	.19	24	18	..	..
84 Alabama	6	16	2	.08	15	7	2	.08	5	19	..	..	16	7	1	.04	22	2	..	..	19	5	..	..	20	4	..	..
85 Central Alabama	12	36	..	..	21	26	1	.02	36	10	2	.04	25	12	11	.23	24	21	3	.06	34	12	2	.04	44	4	..	..
86 Central Tennessee	4	33	13	.27	12	26	11	.22	18	20	11	.22	18	15	16	.33	18	26	5	.10	19	17	13	.27	26	23	..	..
87 East Tennessee	3	25	3	.10	7	21	1	.03	8	20	6	.24	6	10	13	.45	6	20	3	.10	9	15	6	.21	14	14	..	..
88 Georgia	4	18	9	.29	9	12	10	.33	24	5	2	.06	20	1	10	.33	23	7	1	.03	21	5	5	.16	24	4	..	..
89 Savannah	23	57	9	.10	29	43	16	.18	47	22	19	.22	34	23	32	.38	29	37	23	.28	46	22	21	.24	84	23	1	.01

Here we find in the Missionary Columns, out of the sixty-seven Conferences tried by the standard of forty cents, there are thirteen Conferences having over 50 per cent. of standard collections. They include every one of the nine Conferences of the foreign-born brethren and four others, and they rank as follows: (1) Southern German, 96 per cent.; (2) East German, 83; (3) N. W. Swedish, 76; (4) N. W. Norwegian, 76; (5) Chicago German, 72; (6) Central German, 71; (7) Colorado, 67; (8) West German, 65; (9) St. Louis German, 63; (10) Rock River, 61; (11) Central Illinois, 59; (12) N. W. German, 59; (13) Central Ohio, 57 per cent.

In the Church Extension columns there appear nine Conferences that have, over 50 per cent. of collections, as high as eight cents per member. Six of these are of the foreign-born, five German and the N. W. Swedish. The Colorado, Columbia River, and N. W. Iowa are the other three.

In the Tract Society columns, the only Conference in the sixty-seven that has more than 50 per cent. of collections, as high as two cents per member, is the East German; while ten of them have not over 2 per cent. of the number of collections, amounting to so much as two cents per member.

In the columns of the Sunday-School Union, the East German Conference is the only one again that has over 50 per cent. of collections, amounting to so much as two cents per member, among the sixty-seven.

In the columns of the Freedmen's Aid Society there is not one of these Conferences having 50 per cent. of collections, amounting to so much as seven cents per member. The highest is the Rock River, 48 per cent., and the next to it is the Central Illinois with 28 per cent. At the other extreme, we find nineteen of these Conferences do not exceed 2 per cent. of collections up to this standard.

The Educational columns have so much money reported in them that was raised for local institutions of learning, and not for the Board of Education or auxiliary societies, as to affect considerably a comparison like the preceding. This important Board needs reconstruction. It is capable of great improvement in respect to its methods, efficiency, and harmony with the other benevolences of the Church.

In the columns of the American Bible Society, the Rock

River Conference is the only one that has so much as 50 per cent. of collections, amounting to so much as four cents per member.

Let it be kept in mind that the standard by which these collections are tested is about half high enough for a fair average for the Conferences respectively, while we note that in the whole Church in the United States 25 per cent. of the Missionary collections are standard; 16 per cent. of the Church Extension; 11 per cent. of the Tract; 14 per cent. of the Sunday-School; 9 per cent. of the Freedmen's Aid; 33 per cent. of the Educational, and 10 per cent. of the Bible collections are standard.

Are our Members Exceptionally Wanting in Liberality to these Benevolences?

These figures certainly have an unfavorable look on their surface; and there is no relief except to such minds as could find it in less favorable appearances under the surface of the figures of other Churches of high respectability.

Some have thought the lesson they teach so humiliating that it is not wise to publish them, lest they depress too much the spirit of the Church, and damage its reputation before the religious public and the world. But is it not better to look the worst faults squarely in the face and study the case till we are fully impressed with the magnitude of the undertaking, and then to gird ourselves to remedy the evils? If the present generation of the ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church are not able or disposed to place themselves in their true position in this matter, then are they unworthy of the generations gone before, whose name and work and honors they have inherited. Is not a deep sense of the need of a reformation one of the most potent causes tending to bring it about?

The figures previously published, on which these are a fair improvement, have been widely commented on, not always in a friendly spirit, and often to make out a case that could not stand in the light of other facts shown in the article from which they were taken.

Religious papers of various denominations, and others claiming to be undenominational, while imperfectly concealing their

affinities, have rung the changes on these figures with an air that implied a consciousness of greatly superior faithfulness among themselves. And yet, in almost every case, if a comparison were made with equivalent conditions, the result would turn in favor of the Church now disparaged. Our superficial investigator, and sometimes supercilious writer, sees the figures, discards concomitant facts, turns to comparative tables such as are found in Dr. Dorchester's book, and furnishes his readers with very erroneous conclusions and misleading comments. In this case the large and liberal givers were eliminated, and also other classes of givers, for the purpose of bringing to the proper attention those who needed instruction and exhortation to attend to a neglected duty.

If we take the Presbyterian Church, certainly a good representative of the Evangelical constellation, we find at first sight that our Church is giving one fourth as much per member as theirs. But if we proceed a little further, and take a score of the largest contributing churches and add them to a score of the largest individual offerings, we shall find the effect on the average is enormous, while the same thing in the Methodist Episcopal Church would affect the general average but little. The Presbyterian Church has thirty charges unequaled by our highest, and has been still more greatly blessed beyond our own with princely givers to these benevolences. The true way to get at the facts is to take all gifts of churches and of individuals, such as have no counterparts with us, add them together, and deduct the amount. Then match the per centage of the different classes of givers of equal ability, or place side by side churches of equal financial strength, then it will be seen that a larger per centage of Methodist than Presbyterian churches are in the lead; and if in the lower three fourths of the membership a comparison could be made, member with member of equal ability, the Methodists would appear in the more favorable light. This is because Methodism has been more dependent on the gifts of the middle and lower classes, and has made more effort, and by the peculiarity of organization has been able to make more successful effort, to obtain contributions from them. The Presbyterian Church has 44 per cent. of blanks in the reports of collections corresponding to these under consideration, against 28 per cent. in ours. Their higher grade churches have fewer

blanks than ours,* so that in the lower nine tenths of the churches twenty per cent. of which are without pastors, their blanks are nearly twice as numerous as ours.

The Reformed, (Dutch,) another highly respectable Church, standing near the Presbyterian in Dr. Dorchester's tables, has been examined, and is found to report nearly three times our per centage of churches giving nothing, though almost the entire Church corresponds to our older northern Conferences, with nothing equivalent to our new work in the South and Far West where the greater per centages of blanks occur. If the contributing churches had been tabulated as ours have been, and equally fair rules of analysis and classification applied, the per centage of non-contributing members would exceed ours. A few of the smaller Methodist bodies exceed us because their methods are better, though in some cases their ability is less, and here and there one of the smaller denominations, better circumstanced than we are, may exceed us; but, taking the evangelical Churches as a whole, and we are considerably above the average of them in what is done by the lower nine tenths of the membership.

The true attitude of most of our critics is not that of complacent censors, but of inquirers, with fallen countenance and bated breath, asking, "What, then, must be the number of our members who are giving nothing toward the world's conversion?"

The true lesson of these figures teaches to ask, How many millions of Church members in good and regular standing in their respective Churches, outside of the Methodist Episcopal Church, are giving nothing? and, What shall each Church do in its own way to rally its entire forces and develop its latent power for this work?

Emphatic as is the language of those disturbing figures, the article from which they are taken shows by facts as emphatic that they are neither the result of inability nor indisposition; they come about by defectiveness of method. Our people have done as well as they have been taught and asked to do when the manner and spirit of the asking is taken into the account.

A striking example of the readiness of our people to respond to a benevolence like these, when presented in a fairly effective way, is found in the case of the success of the Woman's Foreign

* Forty-eight of the 89 churches that each stand highest in their respective Conferences report blanks, the 48 aggregate 107 blanks.

Missionary Society. Their collection is purely voluntary. No pastor takes it up, no member is bound by vow or law to contribute to it. The claim is not more sacred, nor the work more important, than that of those organized by the General Conference. Only about a fifth part of the charges have their work organized, but its method is a good one for the purpose, and so it has outrun every benevolence of the Church in the race for success.

There are reported to the credit of this society 4,158 collections, of which 1,588 are not over $2, and are probably the gift of one or two persons; or they come by the pastor's including this with those among which he divides what he has to fill his blanks, as can be seen by the uniformity of the sums running across the list, leaving 2,570 collections, or 25 per cent. of the whole number of charges. Yet there are found 1,045 collections that are multiples of all the six (Church Extension, Tract, Sunday-School, Freedmen's Aid, Education, and Bible) collections on the same charges added together. And after these come 561 collections of sums nearly as large as the sum of these six added together on the same charges.

Now, if the claim of the collection or the obligation of the giver should be measured by the character and necessities of the work, then the amount raised for these six collections should be to the amount raised for Woman's Foreign Missions as about four to one; just as the amount raised for the parent Missionary Society should be to that for Woman's Foreign Missions as about eight to one, and all the benevolences organized by the General Conference as twelve to one of this.

The 1,045 charges mentioned above gave altogether for Woman's Foreign Missions $67,878 66, and the 561 which each gave nearly as much as to the six combined gave $24,772 57. The 1,606 charges together gave $92,651 23, or 86 per cent. of the total of $107,673.

It is safe to say that our sisters have not overdone their work at many points, and that in these very charges, giving these extra-proportionate amounts, ten have stopped short of what might properly and ought to have been done where one has gone beyond it. It is equally certain that as earnest a presentation of these six benevolences, by a method as well chosen and a purpose as strong and true and ambitious to raise the

needed money, would have resulted in collections for these proportionately as good as the one obtained by our sisters.

The same may be said of the general missionary collection. Then the managers of every one of the General Conference's benevolences would not have to limit, and often cripple by retrenchment, the plans of their agents in the field, cutting down the amounts pleaded for, and finding themselves unable to enter new fields of the most promising character; while seeing their sisters able to make appropriations beyond what is asked for by their agents in the field, and stimulated by the very funds committed and likely to be committed to their hands to seek new fields of useful operations.

The forty Conferences made notable by charges raising more money for Woman's Foreign Missions than for the six General Conference collections combined range as follows:

		In multiples of, or nearly as much as, for six Gen. Conf. collections combined.			In multiples of, or nearly as much as, for six Gen. Conf. collections combined.
1	Ohio	$5,760 25	21	N. W. Indiana	$1,527 09
2	New York	4,989 72	22	Central Ohio	1,508 12
3	New England	4,438 00	23	New Hampshire	1,469 71
4	Michigan	3,923 62	24	Wisconsin	1,412 18
5	Cincinnati	3,732 05	25	Northern New York	1,368 67
6	Iowa	3,724 80	26	Erie	1,225 66
7	Baltimore	3,623 08	27	Vermont	1,221 98
8	East Ohio	3,597 52	28	Pittsburg	1,188 00
9	Detroit	2,941 35	29	New Jersey	1,114 48
10	Rock River	2,870 86	30	Central Pennsylvania	1,105 44
11	New York East	2,375 11	31	S. E. Indiana	1,075 43
12	Central New York	2,064 50	32	Illinois	1,027 27
13	Troy	2,006 93	33	St. Louis	921 79
14	North Ohio	1,969 74	34	Washington	886 46
15	Upper Iowa	1,904 23	35	Wyoming	873 30
16	Des Moines	1,836 95	36	Central Illinois	853 07
17	New England Southern	1,778 00	37	Indiana	834 28
18	Genesee	1,622 00	38	Newark	794 00
19	Minnesota	1,619 09	39	Kansas	727 27
20	North Indiana	1,606 51	40	Philadelphia	714 86

It is possible that a few of these large amounts may be the special contributions of one or more wealthy and benevolent persons, but is not likely that enough such could be named to greatly modify the showing. A large number of the churches above represented have also shown the noblest liberality on many occasions when worthy appeals for large sums have been made to them for various objects.

Who is Responsible?

First, and above any other class, a majority of the presiding elders. Their office holds the key to the situation. They derive their importance chiefly from their being the custodians of general and connectional interests. It is their duty to bring the subject before every Quarterly Conference. They should do this with a knowledge of what has been done, and what ought to be done, and with a purpose and plan to get the charge committed to measures of improvement till the proper support is given to each benevolence. For this they have special facilities through the standing committees on each of them. The perfunctory way in which the disciplinary questions are asked, is utterly worthless in nineteen cases out of twenty. Presiding elders hold Quarterly Conferences in which they see several men who ought each to give more to several of the benevolences than the whole membership are in the habit of giving, and these men are often found on the committees on these benevolences. Here a little well-directed counsel and organization would be very effective, and produce great results. But, so sadly often no other influence comes from the elder than a little more smothering. Pastors are many who will say they have never had a word or an act of encouragement from the elder in this work, while they have had implied and sometimes direct and positive discouragement. What must be the effect of such words as these from an elder among his preachers and people?—"I fear we are overdoing these collections to the injury of other interests nearer home." "We shall have to let you up on the benevolences." "I would not try to increase them." The authors of these words rank among the best in the eldership; they have been popular and have received honors, and are men of many and rare excellences of character; but are they not out of place when appointed to lead the Church to the performance of duty to such vital interests? Still, it must be admitted that they have only spoken what many others have habitually acted.

It is not a little significant that one of the best informed, and at the same time one of the most efficient, elders remarked to the writer, as advocating this cause, "The presiding elders are all against you." This last remark was hyperbolical; a few

of them show favorable enthusiasm, as a few of them are exceedingly efficient in promoting these interests. So much so, that the benevolences could well afford to pay their salaries to keep them perpetually in the same office, and profit by the transaction, as would probably the other interests of the Church in similar degree. But the per centage of such is small, and one of the desiderata in Methodism is a class of presiding elders that will promote the benevolences as they deserve.

This evil has an encouraging feature—it can be easily remedied. Whenever a candidate is proposed for a district, let the Bishop ask in cabinet, What is his record respecting the benevolences? and other things being equal, let the answer determine the appointment; then a remarkable waking up will occur. In addition to this, let the results on each district be carefully tabulated, to bring out the progress or retrogress every year, and, at the end of the second year of inefficiency, return the elder to the pastorate. One such removal would inspire a Conference, and be worth thousands annually for years to the benevolences.

The next class of persons bearing the most responsibility for the poor results is made up of those pastors who uniformly run down the collections on each successive charge. If a graduated tabulation be constructed showing the rank or comparative standing of each charge in the Conference, and if this be repeated for a term of years, placing the number for each year in its proper column opposite the name of the charge, then it will only be necessary to inclose in brackets the years included in each pastoral term to show how many progressing or declining terms there are in the Conference. If the names of the incumbents be written over the pastoral terms, the historical record will be complete, and the credit and responsibility will be established. In most cases a small minority of names will be found connected uniformly with the terms showing advance, while a larger number will be found uniformly with the terms showing declension. Between these extremes may be seen, among the varying terms, which ones have a generally upward and which a generally downward tendency.

The Newark Conference, which is one of the most suitable to be taken for an example, as being about one third of the way from the bottom of the better half of our Northern and older Conferences in respect to the support given to the

benevolences, has been thus tabulated for the last twenty-one years, during which time there were 1,977 pastoral terms, 787 of which show relative advance, and 983 show a decline, or stand too low to show decline, and 19 show a stationary grade. Omitting such as have served only one term, 29 pastors' names are *always* connected with advancing terms; 41 names are *always* connected with declining terms; 78 names are connected with many advances and few declines; and 98 are connected with many declines and few advances. The following is the

HISTORICAL TABULATION OF THE NEWARK CONFERENCE SHOWING THE RANK TAKEN EACH YEAR BY EACH CHARGE IN SUPPORTING THE BENEVOLENCES:

CHARGES.	1882.	1881.	1880.	1879.	1878.	1877.	1876.	1875.	1874.	1873.	1872.	1871.	1870.	1869.	1868.	1867.	1866.	1865.	1864.	1863.	1862.
Westfield	1	2	3	1	3	7	6	4	4	3	2	6	14	11	16	26	33	29	41	52	55
Trinity, Jersey City	2	13	5	5	1	1	1	2	6	10	10	3	3	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2
Saint Paul's, Newark	3	3	4	6	6	8	5	7	10	8	7	7	7	6	3	11	2	4	4	2	0
Hedding, Jersey City	4	5	2	2	5	8	9	10	9	5	12	5	10	8	4	6	4	10	9	8	11
Halsey-street, Newark	5	25	26	24	19	16	23	33	21	23	29	26	29	21	43	27	14	21	21	29	24
Montclair	6	10	20	10	8	11	14	11	17	14	18	10	5	3	38	18	114	112	...	...	...
Calvary, Orange	7	4	10	4	10	6	7	8	11	13	15	19	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
First Church, Orange	8	8	6	3	4	5	4	3	18	9	6	2	6	7	10	13	22	38	63	42	48
Morristown	9	17	15	19	18	14	13	6	5	7	9	8	12	6	15	7	9	8	2	4	3
Saint James, Elizabeth	10	6	8	14	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Plainfield	11	12	12	8	9	13	13	12	22	31	27	105	20	34	61	74	98	104	111	110	110
Central, Newark	12	1	7	9	7	3	3	5	8	4	3	4	4	5	2	4	3	1	7	8	4
Park Church, Elizabeth	13	21	55	56	34	47	210	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
New Prospect	14	62	99	79	71	59	54	46	80	76	95	75	91	57	102	104	73	79	80	59	71
Roseville, Newark	15	14	11	13	13	15	10	15	16	16	26	65	53	117	36	61	48	116	25	23	74
Bernardsville	16	28	1	38	32	98	111	31	28	82	90	99	80	53	47	101	61	52	55	19	4
Market-street, Paterson	17	19	19	21	49	29	35	35	14	12	38	12	53	43	54	41	66	74	89	117	99
Saint Philip's, Paterson	18	206	9	98	95	204	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Summit	19	16	24	31	22	17	24	29	23	15	22	13	40	90	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lafayette, Jersey City	20	7	13	7	13	13	17	20	31	21	14	16	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Englewood	21	9	17	12	9	4	10	6	7	6	17	9	8	8	6	5	7	23	130	...	...
Trinity, Staten Island	22	20	25	50	35	32	53	39	33	25	13	18	18	28	32	29	30	29	24	28	25
Linden Avenue, Jersey City	23	44	37	43	81	50	29	29	26	28	19	20	31	38	52	38	66	109	117	79	22
Livingston	24	24	22	18	36	...	27	40	24	72	57	92	94	127	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Woodbridge	25	35	50	42	56	37	52	53	65	39	33	17	13	12	14	9	5	7	13	5	9
Saint Mark's, Staten Island	26	18	14	15	27	34	20	18	49	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bethel, Staten Island	27	41	71	32	29	44	47	46	43	52	39	31	26	15	11	17	20	18	30	34	43
Hackettstown	28	23	39	20	25	22	29	29	51	66	40	28	24	34	35	31	16	33	47	48	47
Trinity, Newark	29	33	29	45	95	124	59	69	65	60	84	71	114	94	77	46	27	6	7	27	27
West End, Jersey City	30	37	36	90	89	143	129	72	137	117	151	36	101	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kingsley, Staten Island	31	29	21	17	21	24	28	24	30	23	25	25	15	21	19	66	14	11	10	30	48
Arlington	32	40	46	34	51	40	111	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
New Providence	33	51	51	57	151	98	93	59	115	86	100	61	44	51	25	27	24	34	26	21	38
Asbury, Hackensack	34	78	91	106	42	105	153	202	...	1	1	5	11	19	18	...	...	...	...	...	...
First Church, Hackensack	35	52	74	47	51	34	44	63	42	74	34	47	56	36	24	8	21	51	45	83	51
Centenary, Newark	36	31	54	88	95	63	110	135	127	136	115	123	151	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
First Church, Dover	37	11	27	15	15	17	26	37	37	37	47	50	75	102	84	87	76	83	74	80	75
Port Morris	38	22	73	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
South Orange	39	29	64	71	86	135	140	163	195	116	85	47	84	81	98	...	...	130	131	132	125
Free Tabernacle, Hoboken	40	34	16	21	24	24	16	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Centenary, Jersey City	41	15	30	35	20	17	15	17	39	36	74	118	105	132	130	...	...	...	...	...	...
Watsessing	42	39	32	26	73	204	171	169	180	192	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Spring Valley	43	50	63	45	46	57	102	58	65	143	102	86	63	99	50	41	88	48	60	62	35
West Side Avenue, Jersey City	44	30	28	35	49	74	45	24	48	177	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Haverstraw	45	47	48	58	65	42	37	21	26	49	51	39	35	40	44	66	44	59	44	44	46
Bound Brook	46	27	33	25	31	20	25	50	50	82	58	21	38	43	27	32	48	18	15	36	...
Stanhope and Waterloo	47	38	62	63	48	71	50	32	65	57	57	53	52	50	72	43	57	59	33	32	17
Metuchin	48	80	85	163	155	106	122	157	170	143	147	57	164	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
First Church, Hoboken	49	58	65	48	42	40	41	96	93	96	163	177	164	25	23	16	21	22	19	19	15
Asbury and Travisville, S. I.	50	76	89	90	65	59	84	76	63	53	68	118	113	88	64	72	37	50	23	23	55
Chatham	51	79	101	176	162	...	122	202	80	68	95	147	123	65	...	...	118	...	...	...	...
Mendham	52	86	112	117	129	93	68	95	125	165	139	126	103	109	75	68	80	93	66	71	73
Green Village	53	88	60	68	149	71	137	63	47	56	187	64	...	...	...	...	...	82	...	17	29
Andover	54	60	68	126	101	98	82	65	74	96	112	106	136	101	113	77	129	135	...	...	...
Grace, Staten Island	55	43	43	75	36	79	171	16	13	141	19	44	127	140	142	...	...	...	...	...	...
Saint Paul's, Jersey City	56	48	52	63	34	30	32	28	31	33	29	23	11	13	12	21	11	16	11	12	6
Arcola	57	57	56	44	92	55	41	110	12	13	187	177	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Fulton-street, Elizabeth	58	53	41	40	40	31	17	40	43	72	60	40	28	22	18	30	17	37	20	18	33
Palisade, Jersey City	59	32	23	11	23	21	79	53	37	40	36	27	16	19	21	20	35	45	46	66	88
Little Falls	60	122	113	117	67	84	107	115	116	123	119	120	99	92	81	89	98	67	114	126	127
Roselle	61	90	103	186	185	204	210	110	59	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

CHARGES.	1882.	1881.	1880.	1879.	1878.	1877.	1876.	1875.	1874.	1873.	1872.	1871.	1870.	1869.	1868.	1867.	1866.	1865.	1864.	1863.	1862.
Woodrow, Staten Island	62	66	60	53	70	63	79	89	73	61	113	106	91	29	27	53	46	47	38	30	35
Raritan	63	42	40	...	...	...	35	13	20	27	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Newton	64	87	67	55	69	68	48	58	52	51	53	45	41	52	34	28	34	26	34	26	59
Clinton	65	68	57	75	73	84	61	96	127	119	75	35	51	64	73	109	83	63	86	40	31
Crawford	66	167	182	130	73	124	210	56	55	17	35	143	33	19	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nyack	67	45	34	30	26	50	46	43	35	20	17	65	24	32	33	36	66	59	129	90	34
Franklin	68	36	35	29	30	32	32	26	33	37	37	33	35	38	99	60	41	28	6	10	13
Prospect-street, Paterson	69	65	58	93	86	79	125	165	116	47	70	65	73	31	55	25	76	53	69	71	78
Washington	70	46	47	40	45	79	92	105	112	112	92	61	49	72	59	54	50	79	49	40	35
Verona	71	94	82	98	44	43	59	149	195	105	87	80	42	56	46	102	71	131	82	78	104
Denville & Rockaway Valley	72	73	119	109	121	157	129	160	158	165	187	159	104	139	136	...	124	72	118	121	111
New Germantown	73	98	94	141	151	93	98	84	98	180	187	94	82	69	68	70	54	32	67	62	41
Hillsdale and Pearl River	74	56	31	63	126	204	210	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bloomfield	75	77	45	20	16	28	19	22	35	22	21	30	30	37	22	2	56	106	94	111	106
Hibernia and Greenville	76	69	206	176	89	168	129	115	84	114	113	126	120	156	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Quakertown & Mount Salem	77	82	18	146	121	106	88	100	158	175	136	130	137	96	95	122	95	99	97	91	116
Union and Pattenburg	78	54	79	82	108	124	70	135	57	96	125	123	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Asbury and Bethlehem	79	123	84	135	149	106	82	50	102	62	63	93	48	79	64	64	118	121	83	79	77
Union-street, Newark	80	84	78	58	58	50	54	89	82	57	90	41	44	65	29	55	37	43	59	65	64
Madison	81	75	70	63	62	23	54	26	19	18	46	54	62	26	47	75	41	43	49	33	28
Rockaway	82	61	52	51	95	47	79	38	69	47	77	56	68	87	123	43	118	99	107	67	84
Second Church, Dover	83	130	154	146	55	170	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Succasunna	84	59	73	79	126	115	93	62	86	69	104	98	68	82	73	96	88	74	94	83	83
Wortendyke	85	63	...	...	...	204	210	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Belleville	86	89	42	27	101	74	98	78	103	87	43	94	77	50	49	33	24	26	20	22	55
Eighth Avenue, Newark	87	70	118	98	72	91	144	126	87	64	62	46	35	58	36	46	64	41	35	38	18
Simpson, Jersey City	88	64	49	32	51	44	49	44	61	79	63	51	33	48	26	19	15	15	22	59	1
Bayonne	89	112	168	37	58	38	58	31	112	45	60	134	67	137	88	105	84	132	...	134	128
Somerville	90	103	75	63	81	...	150	133	149	100	62	83	32	41	56	48	70	83	61	39	73
Second Church, Rahway	91	74	66	58	56	27	31	46	45	34	16	24	58	60	31	43	8	83	63	104	111
Morning View	92	186	200	200	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Saint Luke's, Newark	93	71	87	90	138	102	84	86	44	41	55	73	49	60	40	39	...	34	60	...	...
De Groot, Newark	94	206	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mount Horeb	95	97	121	114	111	102	107	106	145	127	40	159	143	134	134	82	110	104	98	111	90
Sparta and Ogdensburg	96	81	128	117	12	143	140	63	110	95	86	101	116	120	89	85	107	98	89	120	106
New Dover	97	151	158	165	155	172	129	73	120	146	141	57	27	27	17	37	17	31	14	57	...
Saint Paul's, Staten Island	98	72	61	58	58	46	61	56	40	45	63	61	87	55	56	34	59	57	63	62	41
Grace, Paterson	99	167	161	158	143	129	161	133	137	109	110	109	130	134	128	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bloomingdale	100	107	70	117	115	134	150	105	152	154	149	154	116	122	128	127	135	120	160	117	97
Everettstown and Little York	101	114	103	93	129	136	173	174	195	152	129	131	116	84	50	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mount Hermon	102	83	110	82	89	55	115	78	76	89	77	113	81	68	93	100	126	94	80	102	78
Bonnusville	103	173	206	71	205	204	137	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Belvidere	104	100	107	124	108	115	115	126	88	149	73	72	44	39	53	40	56	64	66	67	97
Alpine	105	99	86	98	135	106	90	117	25	79	79	78	75	69	42	...	...	...	...	...	...
Clinton and Pine Brook	106	93	100	152	143	102	146	142	106	105	121	28	77	84	56	77	94	66	77	76	70
First Church, Phillipsburg	107	92	124	71	115	57	61	60	59	65	107	116	106	63	62	48	66	65	62	76	86
Broadway	108	128	151	158	143	151	70	160	152	132	148	153	127	120	101	75	57	70	69	99	...
Chester	109	93	81	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	164	156	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mechanicsville (Eliz. Dis.)	110	165	206	98	92	66	98	96	144	120	92	88	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rockland Lake	111	49	38	28	17	10	43	15	55	107	68	32	9	4	8	12	9	26	36	36	20
Flemington	112	108	80	68	73	124	68	78	112	114	70	101	84	105	84	119	122	114	104	94	121
Port Oram and Tebo	113	137	116	109	95	86	75	42	75	77	60	80	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
St. John's and Mt. Zion, S. I.	114	117	90	79	81	59	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Peapack	115	93	81	93	80	93	70	126	145	79	88	94	68	54	64	56	41	30	27	15	18
Port Jervis	116	119	136	125	135	143	169	139	110	82	102	103	101	99	92	51	51	79	58	52	51
Wesley Chapel, Phillipsburg	117	91	92	117	143	115	129	113	103	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Springfield	118	145	165	151	176	157	156	163	161	55	48	57	137	130	99	88	27	90	111	111	104
Anderson and Mt. Lebanon	119	124	122	151	169	162	153	148	149	99	115	131	143	156	117	98	124	110	109	105	64
Walnut Grove	120	141	137	171	183	168	140	126	120	82	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Janes Chapel, Jersey City	121	85	98	70	135	115	107	71	84	175	187	159	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Passaic	122	118	109	135	180	204	161	89	15	11	24	21	23	14	5	8	13	9	11	6	10
Tranquility	123	135	150	82	81	74	70	69	71	89	80	88	47	80	120	94	110	106	96	76	61
Cross-street, Paterson	124	102	102	124	176	165	147	157	181	154	95	69	73	103	93	73	96	94	48	44	86
Perth Amboy	125	96	108	75	64	120	67	100	122	121	121	139	109	109	106	109	44	62	67	122	92
White Hall	126	157	145	135	162	129	50	157	175	180	149	159	82	156	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hainesville and Centerville	127	183	187	146	138	143	129	105	93	109	128	120	106	88	84	85	55	49	28	79	69
Bloomsbury and F	128	121	72	93	95	129	164	142	174	160	155	149	147	156	142	117	103	101	116	105	90
Maplewood	129	105	95	82	101	106	129	202	195	165	31	90	120	156	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Clarksville and Junction	130	101	88	117	129	113	122	89	79	77	32	34	43	45	41	24	23	89	74	73	67
Stony Point & Johnsontown	131	126	123	82	126	90	75	78	169	112	121	148	106	109	110	131	...	...	...	...	...
West Milford	132	104	97	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	124	137	80	110	124	124	118
Milford	133	132	93	98	115	115	140	121	93	86	101	83	109	69	142	71	90	101	49	35	40
Summerfield, Staten Island	134	133	105	75	101	74	75	89	76	70	83	65	58	77	64	64	76	41	16	28	61
Mount Hope	135	106	114	98	58	65	98	100	88	92	55	75	88	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Buttzville	136	150	117	125	185	154	178	167	175	173	151	126	125	100	125	125	128	112	109	111	...
Walpack Center	137	180	167	158	169	136	153	110	73	103	161	109	114	113	117	120	104	73	87	46	95
Dunellen	138	140	135	146	138	98	54	105	81	82	4	38	20	42	39	134	...	...	...	...	...
Blairstown	139	188	206	171	172	129	169	172	149	140	107	149	116	124	117	120	107	...	...	...	...
Emory, Jersey City	140	142	147	106	111	120	102	153	177	192	187	87	58	10	30	15	80	101	74	86	...
Monsey and Montvale	141	171	160	114	108	93	119	78	152	168	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Johnsonburg	142	127	206	190	205	...	...	...	...	95	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Waverley, Jersey City	143	67	59	38	40	26	34	34	45	29	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kingwood and Rosemont	144	134	131	151	115	204	86	141	131	110	125	165	137	...	123	116	56	88	124	92	
Readington and Allertown	145	115	155	130	73	143	115	77	141	89	115	116	120	127	104	...	...	...	...	...	...
Vienna and Janes Chapel	146	103	126	151	155	151	147	149	103	136	142	99	91	143	120	117	118	90	43	58	71
High Bridge and Lebanon	147	158	159	158	155	154	156	149	126	127	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Linden	148	206	206	180	172	204	210	202	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sergeantsville	149	111	133	141	111	67	102	126	98	101	67	57	89	117	95	91	93	46	...	...	...
Basking Ridge, etc	150	120	138	53	62	68	75	61	129	73	85	49	66	74	63	98	64	39	31	30	26

CHARGES.	1882.	1881.	1880.	1879.	1878.	1877.	1876.	1875.	1874.	1873.	1872.	1871.	1870.	1869.	1868.	1867.	1866.	1865.	1864.	1863.	1862.
Summerfield and Montana	151	139	130	130	162	143	164	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Flanders and Drakestown	152	138	130	126	101	79	111	84	106	127	110	73	132	132	110	114	90	90	100	67	75
Davis Memorial, Newark	153	116	83	106	129	113	210	...	156	103	104	86	68	47	69	91	24	17	56	10	124
Palisade and Piermont	154	206	206	200	205	136	102	135	122	70	48	164	39	88	106	28	...	13	32	26	23
Millstone	155	136	134	109	14	165	210	202	54	35	136	112	145	45	89	81	62	57	49	50	51
Oxford	156	179	169	163	115	157	164	142	142	180	140	159	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Libertyville and Coleville	157	169	164	163	155	204	210	147	116	183	187	157	164	113	131	131	132	124	...	...	119
Saint John's Miss'n, Newark	158	182	206	180	129	106	128	89	158	187	163	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Newfoundland	159	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	98	178	166	143	111	134	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Communipaw	160	206	206	200	205	...	210	202	195	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	138	...	...	...
Harmony and Stewartsville	161	162	162	186	180	204	164	172	165	146	126	134	137	...	...	96	116	123	119	111	106
West Town and Unionville	162	185	183	180	172	176	175	202	179	130	130	156	145	113	133	...	...	...	...	...	...
Deckertown	163	184	153	141	129	143	119	65	91	86	109	90	64	92	79	68	112	114	89	83	64
Branchville & Frankf't Pl'ns	164	147	149	130	106	79	93	135	98	121	153	126	132	91	122	...	...	...	...	...	...
Thiells and Garnerville	165	119	171	82	111	124	39	130	137	123	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	106	104	98	115
Stillwater and Swartswood	166	175	178	176	155	154	156	174	141	149	121	134	130	137	113	127	122	70	104	94	106
Hilton	167	144	206	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
First Church, Rahway	168	159	148	171	73	87	125	46	90	75	59	13	22	17	20	50	38	45	38	73	60
Parsippany and Whippany	169	206	172	180	162	...	...	...	119	133	...	...	...	...	84	62	85	67	86	70	63
Green's Bridge, Phillipsburg	170	143	152	158	183	38	210	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Boonton	171	174	173	176	205	204	125	146	122	160	92	106	96	77	70	126	47	25	21	48	58
Market-street, Newark	172	190	206	200	205	204	210	202	137	63	187	151	58	73	77	91	60	12	4	13	7
Cokesbury and Califon	173	177	174	171	162	134	90	117	172	163	142	133	89	124	106	102	90	69	86	91	84
Frenchtown	174	152	106	114	89	71	39	123	131	146	115	157	132	129	115	105	126	90	100	79	114
Centerville, (Elizabeth Dist.)	175	187	180	151	169	204	210	202	131	163	28	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rutherford	176	206	206	135	180	204	210	202	92	26	154	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Port Colden	177	156	146	106	115	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Middle Smithfield	178	172	175	180	187	172	180	138	145	185	187	177	152	140	137	133	...	...	...	...	...
Irvington	179	148	125	156	138	143	161	19	37	50	43	66	77	23	13	54	32	21	17	16	12
Riverdale	180	153	206	194	205	204	210	202	170	180	142	177	164	112	131	129	...	...	...	...	...
Hope	181	155	157	186	157	204	93	78	129	126	80	56	45	84	82	77	112	137	121	96	46
Mechanicsville, (J. C. Dist.)	182	135	104	93	67	...	...	...	195	...	161	141	94	96	103	62	86	116	111	117	49
La Fayette	183	131	96	130	75	87	102	142	76	117	104	109	100	76	75	59	75	74	85	56	55
Wesley Chapel and Sufferns	184	129	77	93	67	129	129	135	131	169	132	...	...	...	...	...	...	87	...	117	78
Columbia and Halnesburg	185	160	129	98	86	87	119	105	82	123	136	139	142	123	110	77	130	122	119	99	86
Barryville	186	148	177	170	151	204	147	174	156	141	187	145	127	106	97	82	109	94	127	105	78
Paterson Avenue, Paterson	187	170	170	126	121	136	175	84	131	93	95	113	97	103	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sparrowbush and Mongaup	188	113	166	171	187	204	210	169	106	29	52	115	84	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Otisville	189	178	142	163	115	157	150	165	91	159	139	103	98	106	104	105	55	88	99	99	44
Houston-street, Newark	190	206	206	82	205	204	210	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mount Bethel	191	154	140	126	153	151	180	174	168	154	187	...	164	136	...	112	114	119	108	...	...
Campgaw	192	149	206	135	138	165	164	174	195	168	187	141	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
New City and Centenary	193	157	139	71	205	142	141	...	142	44	80	145	148	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Vernon and Greenville	194	191	132	141	143	91	86	123	131	154	142	134	125	117	109	89	98	116	114	116	99
Centerville, (J. C. Dist.)	195	164	143	117	106	...	...	...	106	142	132	129	...	94	...	109	104	77	78	52	46
Franklin-street, Newark	196	206	206	109	92	74	61	65	59	41	75	43	53	62	50	51	73	77	57	43	39
Forestburg	197	168	176	186	176	174	175	153	161	170	132	151	148	140	134	82	133	125	...	...	...
Union Village ($5)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Scotch Plains	206	55	206	163	205	204	210	202	195	...	187	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Strawbridge, Newark	206	206	144	108	162	204	210	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Orange Mission	206	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mount Zion	206	206	206	190	169	...	...	...	195	133	187	177	164	156	142	115	136	128	89	105	123
Oakland	206	189	141	146	151	204	156	152	69	152	155	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hurdtown and Hopatcong	206	161	206	190	205	204	210	181	172	178	163	165	130	124	82	115	...	...	...	...	...
Pamrapo	206	166	206	...	...	...	210	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
New Vernon	206	206	206	168	143	87	115	73	166	173	142	78	164	156	142	...	...	...	...	...	...
Saint Paul, Belleville	...	...	...	48	46	47	61	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Clinton-street, Newark	...	...	...	51	121	106	111	121	58	19	23	14	17	20	9	14	11	14	18	7	8
Stockholm	...	...	...	142	162	174	178	174	161	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tebo	...	...	...	...	...	...	97	123	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wanaque	...	...	...	...	...	...	210	202	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Clifton	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	66	42	177	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Saint Paul's, Elizabeth	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	7	10	...	...	...	...	...
Pleasant Valley	...	...	...	...	...	36	21	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Notch, Paterson	...	...	...	...	...	53	22	153	168	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Parsippany	...	...	...	...	...	53	61	96	...	...	160	177	141	143	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Danish and Swedish Mission	...	...	...	...	...	62	210	202	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Somerville and Raritan	...	...	...	...	...	68	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Whippany	...	...	...	...	...	162	93	202	...	...	70	94	164	141	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chatham and Livingston	...	...	...	...	...	120	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	54	49	91	24
Elizabeth Ave., Elizabeth	...	...	...	...	...	102	137	84	93	53	45	52	72	67	45	58	53	3	3	3	3
Mariners' Harbor	...	...	...	...	...	204	210	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bergen-street, Newark	...	...	...	...	...	204	210	202	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Caldwells and J.	...	...	...	...	...	204	210	202	195	180	187	177	164	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Middleville	...	...	...	...	...	157	210	202	161	149	187	177	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hamburg and O.	...	...	...	...	120	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Centerville, Staten Island	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	42	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Springfield and New Village	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	93	55	48	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Godwinville	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	145	136	130	69	111	75	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Franklin, (Newton District)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	195	...	187	82	164	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bull's Ferry	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	153	171	155	177	56	156	125	57	19	97	41	59	32
City Mission, Newark	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	195	192	187	177	164	156	91	178	...	...	...	...	...
Ladentown	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	123	130	113	115	112	...	87	...	...	...
Piermont	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	124	131	25	49	62	29
Milford and Little York	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	108	76	55	78	105	99
Marshall Creek	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	129	106	102	130
Mechanics-street, Elizabeth	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	29	86	14
Swartswood	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	120	125	126	94
Delaware	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	136	126	126	121

The Fall Conferences have all been tabulated in like manner for three successive years. In them are 5,608 charges, 825 of which show a regular advance each year, and 1,200 show a regular decline; 792 show variation with upward tendency, and 1,784 show variation with downward tendency, and 1,007 cannot be traced; about 150 of these last are new charges; some of them are differently constituted in different years, but the identity of most of them is concealed by change of name in reports without any thing to show by what name they had been previously known.

The Spring Conferences have been thus tabulated for two successive years.

Let this or a similar tabulation proceed; then, from year to year, a striking history will be unrolled, showing the progress of every charge and of every pastor. It will be self-acting in fixing the responsibility of failure where it belongs, and in showing where remedial influences should be applied.

Objections to Graduated Tabulations.

1. "They do not fairly represent the benevolence of the Church. Some churches are doing nobly for Conference claimants, etc., and receive no credit in these tables."

The reply to this is: They were never intended to show the general liberality of any church, but only to show what was done, and, by inference, what ought to be done, for these collections for aggressive evangelical work. They stand on an entirely different basis from all eleemosynary claims. Those are for the body, and these are for many souls. Those are given at the bidding of human sympathy, these by the love we bear to Christ, and by his great command.

2. "They say nothing about the comparative ability of the churches." And in that they are no more objectionable than any other kind of reports, except that they show more clearly and quickly to the eye what ordinary reports reveal only to the careful examiner.

A church known to be poor and taking a respectable position does itself greater honor often than a rich one standing much higher.

3. "They do injustice to churches having large revivals, and having received large accessions, and so having reduced their

average; also to churches raising large sums for payment of debt, or engaged in church or parsonage building, and also to churches passing through seasons of special adversity."

Let an asterisk be placed with the figures of the first class of these churches, pointing to a foot-note saying, "Large accessions;" a dagger to those of the second, with a foot-note saying, "Large amount raised for payment of debt;" a double dagger to the third saying, "Church building," etc. Those connected with a note telling of "Special adversity" would receive none the less honor or sympathy, or perhaps needed help, by showing a brave struggle, like the Macedonian brethren, to give out of their deep poverty abounding to the riches of their liberality.

Those having large revivals, and those conducting church building and debt-paying enterprises, are apt to be among the most efficient of pastors, and those standing by their churches in times of hardship deserve all honor. None of them should have their merits belittled. And to them all the graduated tables may be made to do more complete justice than any ordinary statistical report.

It must be remembered, however, that a revival greatly stimulates a church, and makes it easier to raise generous sums. The collections should have their full share of the prosperity; and when they receive their full share of attention and effort by a superior man with a superior opportunity, the results are sure to show accordingly. Many pastors also tell with glad surprise that a faithful presentation of the collections, asking the people to do what they could in years of heavy financial burdens at home, have resulted in some of the best returns in the history of the charge. In most cases where the collections have suffered greatly through these local enterprises, it is because they were entirely neglected, and the effort intentionally not made.

If the local burden or distress does not prevent the payment of a considerable part of the pastor's salary, it is in order for him to rise and explain the neglect of the collections. If he can do so, his reputation will be as good as his explanation; if not, it ought to be as bad as his record.

The merit of this system of tabulation is that it singles out the delinquent churches and fixes upon their delinquency their own attention, and that of those who are over them in the Lord.

And as the tabulation is repeated and becomes historic, it presents to the eye of the neglectful pastor the part of his record that specially needs improvement, and it points out to the faithful presiding elder the pastors and churches on his district that most likely need encouragement or stimulation, that these interests suffer not in his hands. It also furnishes in compact form the weightiest facts for his use in Quarterly Conference when he seeks to commit the official members to measures of improvement. And it wakens emulation, which is the noblest of the secondary motives, and an appeal to which is warranted by emphatic Pauline precedent.

WHAT IMPROVEMENT TO OUR METHODS CAN BE SUGGESTED?

Many things about them are excellent, and admired by the foremost men of sister denominations. Our connectional system and superintendency gives us the greatest facility for promoting these as well as other general interests. The episcopal connection with the different boards, bringing the broadest general knowledge to blend with the specific knowledge of the places represented by the members, enables the boards to give the best information to all who will study their reports. The custom of asking a given amount, and of its apportionment to the Conferences and then to the churches, must commend itself as business-like to all who are anxious to see this business well done. The provision for appointing missionary collectors in every charge cannot be too highly valued, and it should be extended to all the benevolences. These things ought to be sufficient. And they are to many, but to the vast majority of our pastors and people they are as if they were not. And why? Not because of conscious unfaithfulness, but rather because so large a part of the human family, high and low, including a majority of our preachers and most of our people, are creatures of habit and imitation more than of reflection and generalization as to their duties and the interests committed to them. So it comes about that most pastors *construe* all that is published or said or asked of them by what they have been accustomed to do or by the habits and customs of their people. Such a clear and strong presentation of these things on their merits, as will not be construed, strikes them as a hyperbole. Then, too, the general habits of surrounding changes form a *vis inertiæ*, hard, indeed,

to be overcome, exerting an influence as constant as the law of gravitation, and giving the greatest advantage to reactionists, and discouragement to the progressive pastor. Yet it takes no more repetitions to establish a good habit than a bad one, and if a habit of reaching every member with an appeal for each benevolence were fixed, with the habit of expecting a proper response, and withal a habit of emulation, such as Paul tried to inculcate among the Greeks, the work could be done easily by all, and would be done constantly by nine tenths of those who now fail. But why have our people not formed better habits? Largely because they have been told what to do, and then have not been called to account for the way of doing their work, or whether it was done at all. Missionary collectors are appointed; nobody asks whether every member has been appealed to, nobody looks after the standard of the contributions, and only a general report of the aggregate is made, which may look well enough to the unthinking.

Each board now acts alone, seeking to make its own impression on the Church. The result is that seven different presentations, each on the theory of its being the one of greatest importance, and made in a way tending to dissipate and confuse the attention, and by mutual neutralization diminish the general impression. They should act as a unit, and so make a cumulative impression. A good way would be for the different secretaries to prepare in concert a circular stating concisely and forcibly the nature and extent of the common obligation, and the vow of each member on joining the Church to contribute thereto according to ability—stating the nature and extent of the work of each, and consequently the extent of the claim—to go with a subscription-card, having a place for each cause, and send this to every charge to be presented to every member of the Church. Then a system of reporting should be devised; this could readily be done by putting it in the order of exercises at the monthly concert for missions. Let the report give the whole number of members, and a fair estimate of the number of friends in the congregation in sympathy with these things. After saying that cards and circulars have been sent to every one, report the number of responses, with the grade of each contribution, classed by amounts: and finally the amount resulting to each benevolence, and how much it

averages per member for the Church. This will bring out speeches from the best friends of the benevolences, and suggest the way for securing responses from others before the next meeting. Each coming report will waken curiosity and interest, and tend to the formation of systematic and generous habits of giving. The number of contributors should be reported to the Annual Conference, classed under different standards. The Newark Conference adopted a system of standards as shown in the following form of the report required:

.....DISTRICT.....CHARGE.

	No. of Contributors.	Amount.
Below Minimum Standard (65 cents).....	....	$.....
Minimum Standard and all others between 65 cents and $1 30.....	....	$.....
Average Standard ($1 30) and all others between $1 30 and $2 60.....	....	$.....
Higher Standard ($2 60).....	....	$.....
Special Contributions (above $2 60).....	....	$.....
Total amount given to the seven collections.....		$.....
Total membership.....		.....

.....*Pastor.*

These reports to the Conferences should be tabulated so as to show the degree of progress toward a proper contribution from every member in every part of the Church, and where efforts at improvement is most needed.

It is surprising what an effect reiterated reports will have on the habits when systematically made and brought home to those concerned.

It is as important to establish a system of minima as to get a contribution from every one. Every pastor who so presents the benevolences as to produce conviction has many a one coming to him and asking, "How much do you think I ought to give to this cause?" The average pastor would reply, "Give all you can," which adds nothing to the inquirer's information, and is interpreted, on the one hand, by a poor laborer to mean five dollars, and on the other, by a man ten times as able, to mean twenty-five cents. If, instead of saying, "Give all you can," the pastor should say, "Take 65 cents for your minimum if you are very poor, $1 30 if you have the ability of a common laborer of ordinary prosperity, $2 60 if you have the ability of the average mechanic, or if you are better off give such sums

as will proportionately correspond to your means, provided you mean to give the lowest admissible sum; but I want my people to give liberally, and not the lowest admissible sum, and if you want to give liberally do not give less than one per cent. of your income." A pastor who will thus instruct his people, and show his sympathy with them and with his subject by adding to their offerings two per cent. of his own income, can soon have them doing full justice to all these benevolences and keep certainly within the bounds of moderation.

The missionary cause, which has about a two thirds interest in the claim of the seven collections combined, would be much the gainer by admitting a report on the other six at every monthly concert, and the meeting itself would be made more interesting and effective. A season of special prayer for God's blessing on the offerings and on the work contributed to, should always constitute a prominent part of the exercises.

Thus a little change in our system, introduced and improved by experience, would not be many years in adding another million to present receipts, and calling out the prayers of the Church for the work with tenfold the present power.

Then could we enter and occupy, more nearly as we should, the mighty and opening West, the needy but rising South, and the whitening harvest of the world.

ART. VIII. — SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Reviews.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN AND ORIENTAL JOURNAL, January, 1883. (Chicago, Ill.) 1. On the Interpretation of the Early Mythologies of Greece and India; by F. G. Fleay, A.M. 2. Indian Migrations, as Evidenced by Language; by Horatio Hale. 3. Native Races of Colombia, S. A.; by E. G. Barney. 4. Ancient Village Architecture in America—Indian and Mound Builders' Villages; by S. D. Peet, editor. 5. Description of an Ancient Aztec Town in New Mexico; by W. H. A. Reed. 6. Specimen of the Chumeto Language; by Albert S. Gatschet. 7. Mound Joliet; by O. H. Marshall.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, January, 1883. (Andover.)—1. Proposed Reconstruction of the Pentateuch; by Rev. Edwin C. Bissell, D.D. 2. The Conception Ἐκκλησια in the New Testament; by Prof. E. Benj. Andrews. 3. Positivism as a Working System; by Rev. F. H. Johnson. 4. The Argument from Christian Experience for the Inspiration of the Bible; by Rev. Frank H. Foster, Ph.D. 5. On some Textual Questions in the Gospel of John; by Henry Hayman, D.D. 6. The School-Life of Walafried Strabo; translated by Prof. J. D. Butler, Ph.D. 7. Some Notes on recent Catacomb Research and its Literature; by Rev. Prof. Scott.

CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1883. (Columbia, Mo.)—1. Worldliness in the Church; by J. T. Toof. 2. The Distinctive Peculiarities of the Disciples; by J. Z. Tyler. 3. The Foreknowledge of God; by John Tomline Walsh. 4. God Every-where; by G. R. Hand. 5. A Duty of Christian Parents; by J. W. Ellis. 6. The Philosophy of Pain—Hell; by Thomas Munnell. 7. Creation and Evolution; by G. T. Carpenter. 8. Will Morality Secure Eternal Life? by George E. Dew. 9. A Kingdom That Cannot be Moved; by H. Christopher.

JOURNAL OF CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY, January, 1883. (New York.)—1. The Arguments for the Being of God; by Prof. George P. Fisher, D.D., LL.D. 2. Christianity and Social Science; by Washington Gladden, D.D. 3. Revelation; by Prof. George T. Ladd, D.D. 4. The Incarnation and Modern Thought; by A. J. F. Behrends, D.D. 5. Mind and Matter, their Immediate Relation; by President John Bascom, D.D., LL.D. 6. The Spiritual Life, a Fact and a Testimony; by Giles H. Mandeville, D.D. 7. Proceedings of the American Institute of Christian Philosophy.

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, January, 1883. (Gettysburg.)—1. The Rise of the Episcopate; a translation from Dr. Heinrich Schmid's "Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte;" by Prof. E. J. Wolf, D.D. 2. The Law of Burial and of Burial Grounds; by Rev. William Hull. 3. How to Develop and Direct the Benevolence of the Church; by Rev. George Scholl, A.M. 4. The Question of Primeval Monotheism; by M. Valentine, D.D. 5. The Length of Our Saviour's Public Ministry According to the Gospel of St. John; by Rev. J. C. Jacoby, A.M. 6. What Are the Qualifications Necessary to Church Membership? by Rev. E. D. Weigle, A.M. 7. Christ and the Conscience; by Prof. W. H. Wynn, Ph.D. 8. The Liturgical Question; by Rev. F. W. Conrad, D.D.

NEW ENGLANDER, March, 1883. (New Haven.)—1. Goethe's Ethical Sayings in Prose; by Prof. R. B. Richardson, Ph.D. 2. Voices from the Spirit-Realm; by Dr. Robert Friese, Leipsic, 1879; translated by Rev. J. B. Chase. 3. The Importance of Experimental Research in Mechanical Science; by Prof. W. P. Trowbridge. 4. The Plan of Paradise Lost; by Prof. John A. Himes. 5. The Human Mind. 6. Recent Infidelity: Its Extent and Remedies; by Rev. D. F. Harris. 7. The Bible as a Book of Education; by Prof. H. M. Goodwin.

PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW. January, 1883. (New York.)—1. The Teaching of Our Lord Regarding the Sabbath, and its Bearing on Christian Work; by Rev. George Patterson, D.D. 2. The Separation of Church and State in Virginia; by Rev. J. Harris Patton, A.M. 3. The Revised Book of Discipline; by Rev. Elijah R. Craven, D.D. 4. A Critical Study of the History of the Higher Criticism, with Special Reference to the Pentateuch; by Prof. Charles A. Briggs, D.D. 5. Darwinism and the Dakota Group; by Rev. William J. Harsha, M.A. 6. John Henry Newman and the Oxford Revival; by Prof. Archibald Alexander, Ph.D.

PRINCETON REVIEW, March, 1883. (New York.)—1. The Utah Problem; by Henry Randall Waite. 2. A New Experiment in Education; by Prof. Felix Adler. 3. St. Paul; by Rev. Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D. 4. The Hidden Heart; by the late Prof. Tayler Lewis, L.H.D. 5. Convict Labor and the Labor Reformers; by Hon. A. S. Meyrick. 6. American Manufactures: by Francis A. Walker, LL.D. 7. The Antagonisms Between Hinduism and Christianity; by Samuel H. Kellogg, D.D.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, January, 1883. (Boston.)—1. Scripture Exposition; by O. D. Miller, D.D. 2. Drifts in Religious Thought; by Rev. H. I. Cushman. 3. The Necessity of a Change in the Language of Our Creed; by Rev. E. C. Sweetser, D.D. 4. The Attractive and Triumphant Cross; by A. J. Patterson, D.D. 5. A New System of Philosophy; by Rev. S. S. Hebberd. 6. The Catacombs of Rome: Their Teachings of Doctrine, Ritual, etc., (Part Third:) by Rev. A. B. Grosh. 7. True and False Ideas of Holiness; by Rev. A. G. Rogers.

English Reviews.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1883. (London.)—1. The Social Science Association. 2. The Relation of Kant to Speculative Philosophy. 3. Charity in the Early Church. 4. William Law. 5. Recent French Historical Literature. 6. Egypt. 7. Evolutionary Ethics. 8. The Doctrine of the Spirit in the Corinthian Epistles.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1883. (New York.)—1. Archbishop Tait and the Primacy. 2. Progress and Poverty. 3. Private Life of Cardinal Mazarin. 4. Pawnbroking. 5. Sir Archibald Alison's Autobiography. 6. Corea. 7. American Novels. 8. Was the Egyptian War Necessary? 9. The True Position of Parties.

INDIAN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, January, 1883. (Calcutta.)—1. The Education of the Aborigines; by Rev. A. Campbell. 2. The Bengali Mussulmans and Christian Effort among them; by Rev. H. Williams, C.M.S. 3. Mussulman-Bengali. 4. The State of Hinduism at the Rise of Buddhism; by the Editor. 5. A Lady's Testimony to the Fiji Mission; by Prof. W. G. Blaikie, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E. 6. The Education of the Aborigines.—II; by Rev. A. Campbell. 7. Muhammad Missari on Suffism, with Introductory Note; by Rev. E. M. Wherry. 8. Missionary Reminiscences of 1882; by the Editor. 9. The Mission Work: Principles and Methods; by Rev. W. W. Howland.

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN, (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1883. Second Number.—*Essays:* 1. PROF. A. DORNER, of Wittenberg, The Nature of Religion. 2. RYSSEL, A Letter of George, Bishop of the Arabians, to the Presbyter, Jesus. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. GRIMM, Luther's Translation of the Old Testament Apocryphas. 2. USTERI. The Original of the Marburg Articles in Fac-simile, rediscovered in the State Archives at Zurich. *Reviews:* 1. LECHLER, *Analecta ad Fratrum Minorum Historiam.* 2. FELICE, Lambert Daneau, His Life, Works, and Unpublished Letters; reviewed by EBRARD. 3. STADE, Journal for Old Testament Science; reviewed by SMEND. *Miscellanea:* 1. Programme for the Society of the Hague for the Defense of the Christian Religion for the year 1882. 2. Programme of the Tyler Theological Society in Harlem for the year 1883.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE. (Journal for Church History.) Edited by THEODORE BRIEGER. Vol. 5. Fourth Number. 1883. Investigations and Essays. 1. HEIDENHEIMER, Correspondence of Sultan Bajazet II. with Pope Alexander VI. 2. BRIEGER, Complement to the History of the Reformation from Italian Archives and Libraries. *Analecta:* 1. LOOFS, The Surname of the Apostle of the Germans, together with a Communication concerning Boniface. 2. *Miscellanea*, by ROHRICHT, KOCH, and KARL MÜLLER.

The first article in the "Theological Essays," by Prof. A. Dorner, of Wittenberg, on the "Nature of Religion," is in two divisions—a critical one, treating of the various views entertained at the present time, and a second one, which presents the leading traits of the "Nature of Religion" as the results

of the critical investigation. The article is very long and exhaustive, extending over sixty pages, and quotes scores of authorities from German Theologians and English Philosophers. It deals chiefly with the philosophical and religious methods of the present time, and reduces these mainly to four, namely, the historical, psychological, speculative-genetic, and the speculative-critical; and claims that, in general, the Nature of Religion is to be found in the sum of the results obtained from a thorough investigation of all these phases.

Professor Grimm, of the Theological Faculty of Jena, and a member of the Commission for the Revision of the Bible of Luther, gives us his views, in the article on "Luther's Translation of the Apocryphas," as to the mode followed by the great German reformer. Grimm maintains that in this work Luther did not consider it wise or necessary to follow the text as closely as in the translation of the canonical books. He therefore, at times, assumed the rôle of the editor, critic, or exegete, because he hoped in this way to make the reading of these books more acceptable to the masses of the people, and also more intelligible. The author declares that Luther, in this view of his work, did not follow the Vulgate in all the books. Indeed, to some of them he distinctly gave the explanation that they were taken from the Greek, but seems in places to have followed the Vulgate as a species of commentary.

Dr. Brieger, of the "Journal for Church History," treats his readers to an interesting article on his zealous efforts to learn all he could concerning the Reformation from Italian archives —certainly a new and valuable source of information. For this purpose he left his post and spent some eight months in finding out all the sources of information that he could command. His main object was to increase the knowledge regarding the epoch of Paul III., by unsealing fountains that had hitherto been inaccessible. In this laudable endeavor he alludes to the friendly reception that he received from the directors of nearly all the libraries that he visited, although many of them could not have had much sympathy with the investigations of a Protestant theologian. Through this courtesy he was enabled to collect and arrange much material into large groups, tending in different directions, which he hopes, later, to examine closely and compare, confident that he will be thus in a

condition to add much valuable and reliable information to the History of the Reformation. He cannot, of course, give all this material in the pages of a journal, although a goodly number of the documents are given in the original Italian. He acknowledges that this article is but a scheme and forerunner to a more extensive treatise that may assume the proportions of a book.

Some of the letters and dispatches that he presents fill up gaps in new material, recently obtained, regarding Contarini, and already given in the columns of the Journal. In 1879, Victor Schultze presented some communications that he had obtained from the archives of Naples, making a fortunate beginning for this work, in which Brieger takes so deep an interest. In 1880, Ludwig Pastor obtained a series of important dispatches of Contarini's from the archives of the Vatican; and Dietrich, in 1881, in his "Labors and Letters of Cardinal Contarini," collected a mass of useful material to this end. This was effected through a systematic examination of the archives and libraries of Venice, Milan, Treviso, Florence, Siena, Rome, and Naples. The great value of this new matter will be the opportunity offered by it to distinguish the Catholic from the Protestant sense of many of the proceedings in regard to Luther. The number of original Latin and Italian documents obtained by Brieger is quite large, and will see the light of day in Germany for the first time, and will, of course, be matters of great interest to that school of German theologians who seem inclined to spend their days in the study of Luther.

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review,) November, 1882.—1. SABATIER, Laical Religion. 2. PUAX, Journey in Scandinavia. 3. E. DE PRESSENSÉ, The Rôle of the Will in Knowledge. 4. ALONE, Bibliographical Bulletin. 5. Literary Notices by MOUCHON. Monthly Review by PRESSENSÉ.

December, 1882.—1. GODET, The Life of Jesus, by Bernhard Weiss. 2. CAUSSE, The Sunday-School. 3. BRIDEL, Philosophical Chronicle. 4. SABATIER, Literary Chronicle. Monthly Review by PRESSENSÉ.

January, 1883.—1. E. DE PRESSENSÉ, A New Appreciation of Vinet. 2. NAVILLE, The Liberty of Religious Associations. 3. LELIÈVRE, The Huguenot Psalter. 4. NIEGARD, English Chronicle. Review of the Month by PRESSENSÉ.

The leading spirit of the *Revue* is decidedly Pressensé, as will be seen from the part which he takes in the above summary.

In the December number he makes a new appeal to his public for support, and, certainly, if a live editor is a desirable possession, he is deserving of a hearty indorsement, morally and pecuniarily. Like every other editor, he promises to do better in the future than in the past, and proposes to devote more time to the defense of his creed and Church, while continuing to follow all movements in religion, literature, and philosophy, both at home and abroad.

The distinguishing characteristic of the *Revue* is to treat of the questions of the hour, and in this sense we refer with pleasure to the article on the Sunday-school, by Causse, in the December number. It seems that the Protestant revival throughout Europe is turning the attention of all of its sincere followers toward the Sunday-school. Christian parents have long felt a want for some more decided religious training than has been hitherto imparted in the secular schools; and now, since in these religious teaching is being so largely dropped, the cry is loudly going forth for some means of reaching the children. In this dilemma, French Christians—Protestant, of course—do not hesitate to name this a national question *par excellence.*

They acknowledge that the future of Protestantism is involved in this great question of the religious training of youth, and declare that the battle of unbelief with faith must be mainly fought out among the children; and the victory will be with those who shall succeed in possessing them. "We must arm ourselves in order to surround, to secure, and protect our children. For us this is a question of faith and of patriotism; our Christian children will make Christian families; our Christian families will make Christian Churches; and this latter, in its turn, will make the Christian country—a great and difficult task, but a beautiful and glorious one."

But the Reformed Church of France finds that it suddenly has a very difficult task on its hands; because it has so long intrusted the religious education of the young to the ordinary secular schools. The teachers in these have, for the most part, been wholly unequal to so great and delicate a task; and the mass of the children of their churches have thus grown up in a deplorable ignorance of their religious faith. And they have little better to expect, for a time, in the Sunday-school; because

of the almost total lack of teachers and appurtenances for this new work. In the few Sunday-schools hitherto established the numbers have been deplorably small, and the children have learned but little of the true spirit of religion. The Bible has been for them still a closed book, and the four or five years of their Sunday-schools have given them but little solid religious instruction.

The author of this article, therefore, demands that they begin the Sunday-school *ab ovo*, with direct reference to all its needs. Firstly, that it must be really a school in spirit as in name; that is, there must be a regular course of Bible study, proceeding with a curriculum that shall culminate in a fair and systematic course of popular Bible knowledge. And in this work the Bible must be the text-book in preference to any other. "It is of the highest importance that our children have the Bible in their hands. They must learn how to use it, to handle it, to understand it." This ignorance is declared to be one great lack of the Protestant population of France; and the Sunday-school will be a blessing if it can fill up the dangerous chasm.

But how supply the great want of teachers? They reply: The weight of this new task must first fall on the pastors, and they will probably need to make an apprenticeship to the work in order to execute it. They have been taught to teach the parents only; they must now direct their efforts toward the new mission to childhood. It will be necessary that the theological schools teach them to teach the little ones in the Sunday-school as they are now taught how to make a sermon. Thus trained, the young pastors must make it their first duty to establish in their churches normal schools for the training of teachers for these Sunday-schools. The French have an apt proverb which says, that a lesson comprehended is a lesson half learned. We submit that they seem to know their wants, and to have a pretty fair appreciation of the way out of their difficulties; which is truly, in our way of expressing it, half the battle. That they will have to encounter many difficulties is very certain; but it is a good sign that, instead of complaining about the situation, they are calling on all their forces to marshal hopefully in battle against the evil that confronts them.

Naville's article, in the January number, on the "Liberty of

Religious Associations," is an extremely timely essay to the Protestant world of France, which has found no little trouble, at times, to secure the right of assembling for religious objects and organization, or the liberty to join such bodies. Even the pastor of the American Chapel in Paris, under the present *régime*, has been annoyed and interfered with in an endeavor to have his people assemble at his house, for a conference of prayer or song. Had he invited them to a noisy dancing-party no objections would have been urged. The claim of the Reformers, as they are called in France, therefore, for interior liberty, or the autonomy of their societies, and especially for the right to determine the conditions on which persons may enter or leave their associations, is based on the clearest principles of religious freedom. A church should certainly possess the right of admission or exclusion of its participants or members, else it is at the mercy of incongruous elements that might force themselves into it, and finally take possession of the organization. It should have also the right of fixing the rule of its teaching and its discipline.

Naville would draw a clear distinction between the churches that are under the rule of the Concordat, and therefore of the State also in the religious systems, and the churches that are simply instituted by the State, and subsidized by it. A so-called "Concordate church" is a society that has entered into a convention or treaty with the State. On the one hand, certain edifices are granted to the religious community, and salaries are paid from the State budget to its ministers or priests; for which reason the Church consents that its functionaries may be indorsed by the government, and that its public acts may be under a certain control. But the Protestant Church of France has no such convention with the State, and, therefore, would resent State interference with its interior organization and usages. The negation of this right of these Churches has of late years been shown with a certain degree of publicity and austerity that has caused considerable commotion. The Synod of the Reformed Churches, held in 1872 and 1873, imposed certain conditions for entrance and continuance within their lines. But, after lengthy conferences with the State officials, these acts of the Synod were annulled by a decree of the Council of State. This Council declares that no change

can take place in the discipline of the Reformed Churches without the authorization of the government. At a later period a circular of the Minister of Public Worship affirmed that the very principle on which the Reformed Church is based subjects it to fluctuations of doctrine. Therefore, it is the political authority which shall at its will declare what are the doctrinal bases of these Churches. But if a society cannot determine its own conditions for membership, it is very evident that its liberty, and perhaps its very existence, are gone. If every citizen has a right to become a member of these Churches by the expression of his will or interest, without any condition of adhesion to its doctrine, the Church itself might as well close its doors. Against this great injustice the author of this article is waging a bold fight, and he illustrates and strengthens his position by various examples from the Protestant Churches of Switzerland and other nations. We need scarcely add that the orthodox Reformers are heartily with him; while the liberals and free-thinkers within the Church would like to stay there, and get and retain possession, by virtue of this decision of the State Council, which is certainly most absurd and unjust.

"The Huguenot Psalter" is an article of great interest, and full of instruction regarding the famous old hymns sung by the persecuted amid their oppression. Apart from the Bible, no work among them has had a more glorious history. Its words and very melodies have grown out of their sufferings and hopes and faith; and one can scarcely believe that the French tongue could lend itself to accents so pathetic and devout. The complete Psalter first appeared in the year 1562; and Catharine de Medici, in the hope of conciliating the Huguenot party, permitted it to be printed in no less than eleven editions in France, of which seven appeared in Paris. In the course of four years no less than sixty-two editions appeared in French in various countries; and it is now known that it has been translated into twenty-two foreign languages. With such popularity it soon became a dangerous weapon in the mouths of the Reformers, and was as good a battle-cry as they could utter. Even Henry IV., when he renounced Protestantism, entertained a wholesome fear of the effect of its hymns. He had permitted his sister, Catharine of Navarre, to hold

Reformed worship in his palace of the Louvre, on condition that they would abstain from singing. One day his sister was delayed in a conference with the king, when the company began to sing to drown the tediousness of delay. The king, hearing a noise, asked the cause of it; and on being informed, he abruptly said to his sister: "*Mon Dieu*, go quickly and tell them to stop singing!"

Under the *régime* of the Edict of Nantes, the Protestants of Paris were accustomed to assemble at Charenton for worship. Every Sunday the road to this place was crowded with men, women, and children, in vehicles and on foot, going to church, and singing their hymns on the way. This so annoyed the authorities that they forbade the singing of hymns in public places; and in proportion as the famous Revocation approached, this raid on the Huguenot hymns increased. In 1663 a pastor of Nimes was banished for having published a treatise on the singing of the Psalms; while the printer was also punished for two years, and the book itself was condemned to be burned. And thus the persecution of the Psalter went on, until at last it was almost at the risk of life that spiritual hymns could be sung. This very repression made the Psalter still more dear; and the comfort that it has afforded to thousands, amid persecution and adversity, has given it a rank right beside the Bible. This article will be widely read by the descendants of the Huguenots.

ART. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE JEWS IN FRANCE.

FRENCH publicists have been pretty severe on the Germans for their treatment of the Jews in later years; and they and the Spaniards were quite generous in their offers toward the Russian Jews who recently left their homes in such large numbers, and came mainly to this country in preference to Palestine, France, or Spain. The Germans naturally reply that these critics would be more consistent if they practically knew more about the matter. Two centuries ago the Jews were driven out of Spain under circumstances of great cruelty, and a few months ago the first Jewish marriage took place in Spain for all this long period. And

the French themselves have scarcely any Jews within their boundaries; certainly for some pretty good reason.

While in Germany there are about 600,000, making one to every seventy-five inhabitants, there are in France only 65,000, or one to every 508 souls. The Hebrew population in France is found scarcely anywhere else than in a few of the large cities. Paris alone counts 35,000; more than in all the provinces together. Jewish synagogues are found only in Paris, Bordeaux, Lyons, Marseilles, Besançon, Bayonne, and a few other cities. In many commercial centers, counting from 30,000 to 50,000, there will be found but a few isolated Jewish families. In four of the departments there is not a single Israelite; while in some twenty there are not more than a few hundred. But a very small portion settled in France before the nineteenth century. All the others came since 1830 from Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Russia, and Turkey. Some came with millions, as the Rothschilds, Goldschmidts, Erlangers, and Oppenheims, and these have all increased their millions in France. Outside of these extremely rich Jews the greater number of the Parisian Jews are poor, and find it a struggle to secure a decent livelihood. The Frenchman is a good business man, and quite expert in making a sale on fair business principles; there is here, therefore, no room for dickering or bargaining; and for any deceptive transactions, especially in money matters, he is not much inclined. To the poorer class of Jews there is, therefore, nothing left ordinarily but the trade in ribbons, thread, and other small variety wares. Even the trade in old clothes, which elsewhere is exclusively in the hands of the Jews, is in Paris mostly monopolized by emigrant Frenchmen from the Province of Auvergne. There are a goodly number of Jews in the law, and in the civil and military service. There are Jewish prefects, cabinet ministers occasionally, quite a number of Jewish generals, and a large number of deputies to the Chambers. In industrial life the Jews have by no means the position which they hold in Germany. Their influence is all-controlling only at the Exchange; some of the largest banking and stock-dealing establishments and most of the railroad corporations have none. Consequently, they are not such a thorn in the side of the Frenchman as they seem to be in that of the German.

LIBRARY OF THE ITALIAN REFORMATION.

We notice with pleasure that the Italians themselves have begun a work that has been successfully pursued for some time in France and Spain; namely, a new publication of all the evangelical writings from the period of the Reformation. It is to be hoped that this admirable enterprise will receive an active support that will end in its consummation. In the year 1531 there issued from a cloister on the banks of Lago Maggiore, from the pen of a Carmelite monk, a circular to the entire Christian Church of Germany, in which we find the words: "Think, dear brethren in the faith, of the humble Canaanitish woman who begged for the crumbs that fell from the table of the Lord. Thus I, while thirsting,

take refuge in the Source of living waters; surrounded by darkness, sighing in tears, I beseech you, who know the secrets of God, send us the writings of your chosen teachers. Deliver a Lombardian city from the Babylonian captivity. There are three of us here; but who knows whether God will not from a small spark cause a great burning?"

This pious monk could scarcely imagine that from his own country there would spring forth an echo of his words. And yet the movement of the Reformation, even in Italy, in twenty years from that time, had become so strong, spreading even to the spiritually elevated classes, that an entire literature of testimonies of evangelical faith and life had risen into prominence. But the Inquisition had with only too great effect nipped the buds of the movement in the beginning, and thus destroyed the fruit. Whole editions of devotional books were destroyed by its order, and in Rome piles of such books were burned. But by the providence of God many single copies were rescued from the general destruction, and they are discovered anew hidden in archives and libraries. These are not to disappear entirely, and it is the duty of evangelical Christianity to rescue them. From these the new Protestant communities of the Italy of to-day may draw native material for study and devotional instruction and encouragement. This important enterprise is to be under the direction of Professor Comba, of Florence, aided by colleagues in Venice, Padua, and Rome, and some even from France and Germany. They are to be printed in Florence, and sold at a very low price so as to put them within reach of all. About eight or nine works are now already announced, of which the first is "A Simple Declaration of the Twelve Articles of Christian Faith." An appeal is being made to the Protestants of Europe to help this worthy enterprise by a generous purchase of these issues.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES OF FRANCE.

The French Reformed Church, as well as the French Lutheran, is now suffering under the pressure of contemporary events. They both have to bear the burden of the exclusion of religious teaching from the schools, and are obliged to provide for it themselves or do without it. There are those among them who accept willingly this new school law, but their labors in the Church are negative rather than positive. The extreme liberalism, which has such a foothold legally within the bosom of the Churches, is causing them much anxiety. In the Theological Faculty of Paris there are some faithful and immovable teachers of the Word, but even there we see an effort on the part of some to produce discord by unsound teaching. Maurice Vernes, of this body, who lately delivered an address, at the opening of the annual studies, contradicting the commonly received ideas of the soul and immortality, was obliged to withdraw as a teacher; but his influence is left behind him. There is doubtless existing in the Reformed Church of France a noble inheritance and a solid power of active faith, as is proved by their eager work in

evangelization of the masses; but they are doomed to encounter discouraging obstacles. The record of the year last past amply attests this.

In the Lutheran Church the injuries caused by the war of 1870 are not yet overcome; pastors were driven away from their flocks; congregations were scattered; and church property and soil virtually destroyed. These Lutherans, in various unions and conferences, have appealed to their brothers in Germany for help. The two Provincial Synods, recently held in Paris and Mompelgard, were mainly occupied with the troublesome school question, bemoaning the fact that the name of God is excluded from the schools with no power on their part to repair the wound. They now find hope in the fact that there has lately been a revulsion of feeling among notable Republicans regarding the religious question, and that an evident disposition is growing to treat it with more tenderness and consideration. The President and some prefects and ministers of state are counseling less severe measures, and the last budget for Public Worship was sustained by some of those who had hitherto opposed it. The death of the great dictator in this matter may cause a change of policy, and the fierce struggles of the political factions induce the opponents of religion to cease their efforts to strike all religious organizations. The Lutherans seem to be even more helpless than the Reformed Church without aid from the State.

THE LATEST FROM PALESTINE.

The "Journal of the German Palestine Association," under the effective control of Dr. Guthes, is doing fine work in the matter of revelations of very general interest. The fourth volume has recently appeared, and from it we gather some curious information. For a series of years there have been found in the vicinity of Jerusalem small sarcophagi of limestone, whose significance has been a mystery. They are about thirty inches in length and fourteen in breadth. To what purpose have these small coffins been appropriated? They can scarcely have been cinerary receptacles; for neither the Jews nor the Christians practiced cremation. The opinion has been broached that they contain the remains of the martyrs; for they are far too small for an ordinary unmutilated corpse. A high authority is of the opinion that these miniature coffins are for the reception of the remnants of bodies taken up from graves and transported to other places, because in these cases corpses were sometimes transported from abroad. This is made probable from the fact that in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem they are most numerous, and some of them contain Greek inscriptions. A burial in Jerusalem was the most ardent desire of the Jews living in other countries; and in the Middle Ages there were very many of such transports to the Holy Land. Old Jews would go there simply to die. These little sarcophagi, therefore, probably contained the bones of those who could not go in the body, as the Chinese send home the bones of their dead to lie in their natal soil.

A professional architect in the interest of this Association, living permanently in Jerusalem, gives some curious details as to the number of inhabitants of ancient Jerusalem. In his study of the outlines of the city, the mode of building, and the size of the houses, and also the historical traditions, he concludes that ancient Jerusalem, at the time of Titus, had a circumference of thirty-three stadia, and not less than 250,000 inhabitants.

ART. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE "Roman Catholic Directory" for England and Scotland, for 1883, issued under the control of Cardinal Manning, and therefore reliable, gives us some very startling figures. In England and Wales there are seventeen Romish bishops and 2,112 priests, who labor in 1,888 churches, chapels, and mission-stations. Scotland has six bishops and 306 priests, who have charge of 295 chapels. The English bishops are divided into one archbishop, six suffragan bishops, and two assistant bishops. Scotland has two archbishops and four suffragans, and either no congregations or very unimportant ones. A comparison with this directory and that of 1850 shows that the statistics are nearly doubled in the present one. In the House of Lords there are now twenty-nine Roman Catholic peers with seats and votes, and the privy-council of the Queen contains four Roman Catholic members; while in the nobility of the land there are forty-seven baronets who are Catholics. There are no statistics given of the growth of Roman Catholicism in the middle classes; it seems to be only among the higher ranks that High-Churchism and Catholicism have become fashionable.

The "German Review" gives quite an interesting account of the status of the German universities at the close of the year 1882. The attendance is increasing quite out of proportion to the increase of the population. The number of students in the summer semester of 1872 was 15,113; but in 1882 it was 23,834—in ten years an increase of 57 per cent. This the Germans regard as alarming, because there is no such increased need of trained men, and the supply will therefore be much greater than the demand. An official warning has gone forth in the German Empire against the over-production of lawyers. But the greatest increase is in the philosophical faculty, including all branches not absorbed by the theological, judicial, and medical studies; and the increase is found mainly in the ten Prussian universities. The ratio of increase has been about even in the medical and theological faculties. For a series of years there was a decrease here, but for the last five years there has been quite an increase. In the entire decade the theologians have made an increase of 89 per cent. in the Protestant faculties. In the faculties of Catholic theology there has been a constant decrease in the last

decade; in the seven German universities that have Catholic faculties this has reached about 20 per cent.

The seventh issue of the "Encyclopedia of Christian Antiquities," by Kraus, which is just out, contains several articles of interest on Christian Archæology, though they are evidently tinged with the Catholic views of the author. A very valuable new work in the same line from a Protestant source is "The Catacombs, their History and their Monuments," by the well-known Dr. Victor Schultze, which has just appeared in Leipsic. From the circumstance that Catholic theologians, mainly, such as Kraus and De Rossi, have had the matter of the catacombs mostly in their hands, it has become a sort of tradition to construe what they find with a Romish tendency. This has in some measure been counteracted by Schultze's work, entitled "Archæological Studies concerning Ancient Christian Monuments," published some two years ago. But Schultze has spent several years in Italy, engaged in diligent work in the Sicilian catacombs, which has enabled him in many instances to give an entirely free and independent judgment. This author has taken very special pains to examine the significance of these relics in their social, political, intellectual, and ethical bearing.

Professor Victor Schultze writes in the highest terms of the Archæological collection of the University of Leipsic, especially with a view to the study of Christian history. Many of the objects are in copies, for the purpose of academic illustration in teaching. This idea was first broached by Dr. Piper, in Berlin, and then extended to Leipsic. The example has lately been followed by Professor Kraus of Strasburg. This famous Leipsic collection was begun by Professor Brockhaus, in accordance with a resolution of the Ministry of Worship, in 1876, and had made fair progress before his death in 1877. The earlier collections were mainly of objects illustrating the Middle Ages, and the collection was to be not so much a museum as an archæologic apparatus for the illustration of study. Its present condition makes quite an additional attraction for theological students at that vigorous and active university.

Ancient Hebrew poetry has been subjected to a close scrutiny as regards its artistic form, by Professor Bickell, a very learned author in all that relates to Syriac and Hebrew literature. He is a wanderer from his mother Church over into the Roman Catholic fold, and now laboring in that stronghold of the Church, the quaint old town of Innspruck in the Tyrol. He has just published a Latin work, entitled "*Carmina veteris Testamenti metrice*," in which the Psalter, the Song of Solomon, the Lamentations, Proverbs, and the Book of Job receive particular attention as to their metrical disposition. This work, and his recent "Poetry of the Hebrews," will attract the attention of biblical scholars.

The famous Catholic Lexicon of Wetzer and Welte, that a few years ago made such a stir in the Ultramontane world, has now appeared in a new and much enlarged edition. It of course keeps up its ultra-Romish

character, and makes some queer work of the *Old Catholics*, the "Antichrist," and the "Reformers," and it is worthy of the attention of Protestant scholars, in order to let them see how the *Mother Church* regards some of their heroes and tenets. In the article on the "Augsburg Confession," it is extremely mild and peaceful, and condescends to say: That the few deviations from the old doctrines are so vague and general that a mutual understanding ought not to be difficult. But the author wanders a good deal when he speaks of the reticence of Melanchthon in regard to the Confession of Faith; and he is quite out of the way in the affirmation that only the orthodox and the old Lutherans still cling to the Augsburg Confession, or simply maintain it officially while going over to the common faith of the Protestant people. It is natural to expect that a Catholic lexicon should place all the errors of the Catholic Church in the best light; but we suggest whether it is not going too far, as in the article on "The Apostolate and Episcopate," to affirm in the Apostolate, in order to justify it in the Episcopate, such attributes as the following: Universality, unlimited power, infallibility, and the primacy of Peter as a lasting office.

A deputy in the Prussian Diet lately complained, in a pamphlet entitled "*Canossa*," of the use, in many of the seminaries for the training of priests, of the text-book of the French Jesuit, Gury, justifying the crimes of perjury, robbery, adultery, and the falsification of documents, and demanded that it should be expelled from these schools. A Catholic journal demanded in a formal manner that the deputy should give the passages alluded to, with page and paragraph. This the deputy does, with a literal translation from the work in question, together with the original Latin. He adds all sorts of polemical spice to the detailed quotations, and every impartial reader cannot fail to see that he maintains his points. The title of his little book is as follows: "Where in the Manual of Moral Theology, by the Jesuit, Gury, are robbery, falsification of documents, adultery, and perjury declared to be allowable?" The book is for sale for a shilling, so as to meet the popular demand, and is likely to make a *furore* in the fatherland.

"Walcker's Manual of National Economy" appears in stately style, in Leipsic, in the first volume of five hundred pages, and promises three more volumes to be finished in 1888. It undertakes to treat the Christian idea as well as the politico-economical, and does this with far more vigor than good sense. The author seems to dislike orthodox Protestantism quite as badly as genuine Ultramontanism, and suggests that a commission be formed of theologians, teachers of ecclesiastical jurisprudence, historians, and national economists, in order to place all the arguments of both sides in a convenient form. He also gives a very thorough presentation of the Jewish question, in which he declares the emancipation of the Jews to be complete in Germany, and thinks it now time to secure the emancipation of the Christians. But in this he follows the footsteps of the learned Mommsen, who would effect this

emancipation in the way of mixed marriages between Jews and Christians. It is, of course, simply ridiculous to suppose that any such measure could be made popular and acceptable, and it certainly could not be forced on any community, simply if for no other reason than that people generally like to make such bargains themselves, and could not be induced to do so by any fantastical politico-economists.

The fourth centennial of Luther's birth, which occurs this year, is occupying the minds of German scholars and historians; and besides many other good and proper things, arrangements are being made for a complete edition of Luther's works as a national monument, for this would be quite as much so as the Cathedral of Cologne. This work is to be done by a commission sustained by the generous hand of the German emperor, and supported by the Ministry of Public Worship. To this commission belong three members of the Academy, the Germanist Müllenhof, the historian Waitz, and the theologian Weiss as representative of the ministry. The work will be published in Weimar, under ministerial sanction. Three volumes will be published yearly, of about four hundred pages, and the price will be made as moderate as possible, to make a large circulation easy. It will take from ten to twelve years to finish the work, and already an appeal for subscriptions in advance is being made to patriots, scholars, and Christian theologians. It will be considered a matter of honor for all public libraries to patronize the work, and a duty and a pleasure to have it in the libraries of churches and schools.

ART. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Dorner on the Future State. Being a translation of the Section of his System of Christian Doctrine comprising the Doctrine of the Last Things. With an Introduction and Notes by NEWMAN SMYTH, Author of "Orthodox Theology of To-day," etc. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883. 16mo, pp. 155.

The purpose of the present volume seems to be to bring the high authority of Dorner before us to justify the speculation of a *post-mortem* probation. In noticing, in a former Quarterly, Dorner's third volume, we called attention to this peculiarity of his Eschatology, specifying at the same time that he relieved the notion from its worst aspect by applying it only, or mainly, to those beyond the reach of the Gospel message. So held, not as a dogma to be imposed on the Church, but as a hypothesis relieving to the mind of the individual, the notion need create no great commotion. Similarly, the personal suggestion of Rev. Joseph Cook, that there may be cases of eminently conscientious men

whose souls are quickened into a living faith at the moment of transition from time to eternity, may be a conception that one might adopt as a relieving hope. There are eminently conscience-governed men outside the Church whose rectitude of life often shames the members of the Church, skeptics, it may be, yet comparatively ruled by right, upon whom it seems difficult to pronounce the doom of eternal misery. What shall we say to or of such men? The great Doctor of the Roman Church, Thomas Aquinas, would say: Heaven is the vision of God to which the pure in heart through Christ are alone admitted; while outside the divine vision are varied regions of happiness, which is not *blessedness*, where the virtuous not holy abide. And all outside the visional heaven is hell. The holy live in the eternal golden sunshine of glory; the virtuous in the silver moonshine of intellectual enjoyment. Personally we would not peremptorily condemn Mr. Cook's hypothesis as a mental relief to those who need it. We cannot, however, elevate the conception to a dogma, nor write it an article in a structural theology. Whichever way private speculation may verge, we should say to the virtuous not holy man, Your position is, nevertheless, precarious and dangerous; "give heed to make your calling and election *sure*." Leave not the eternal blessedness to a contingency.

We cannot fully admire the finesses of Mr. Smyth in the present and past volumes. His curvelinear periods about the "New England theology," as if New England had but one theology, and as if a narrow local name for a theology were a recommendation instead of a disparagement, we do not intensely admire. And to cover over his emergence from the past Calvinism of New England under such terms as "the New Orthodoxy," "the New Calvinism," "the New Theology," seems to us a very superficial showiness. He seems like a fresh spring butterfly who imagines that such an epoch as *his* emergence into existence is to make all things "new." It took long centuries and eons for creation to arrive at his advent. Now we say that truth is *old*. As Dr. Nevins once said, "*Old* Calvinism is none the worse for being *old*." If oldness were Calvinism's only unfortunate point, that point it shares with geometry and with God. The new geometric truth, discovered not invented, never invalidates the old. We are, and are proud to be, traditionalist. Next to the Bible and conscience we believe in the Church. We study the dogmas of the thinkers of past centuries, and especially the nearest to Christ. With Wesley we love to recur to the "Scriptures and the primitive Church."

But Mr. Smyth now brings out the giant Dorner upon us to crush opposition like an avalanche. Awful! But we intimated in a late Quarterly that we are to be numbered among the admirers, but not the worshipers or followers, of Dorner. In his "History of Protestant Theology," for instance, Dorner gives a definition of Arminianism which, Arminian through our life long as we had supposed ourselves to be, defined an Arminianism we never heard of, and never dreamed, and do not understand. We do suppose the gross caricature had a purpose. And Dorner is often muddy. We cannot, indeed, quite characterize him as Robert Hall did the great Calvinistic Doctor, John Owen: "A continent of mud, sir; a continent of mud!" At any rate we should make reserve that the muddy continent has many a placer of golden ore; and the mud may be quite worth exploring for the sake of the golden finds. But as *authority* Dorner decides nothing for us.

But while we do not admire the finesses of Mr. Smyth, we do confess a reverence for the high-souled frankness of Professor Park, in boldly attributing to Wesleyan-Arminianism a central prominence at the present hour in the maintenance of Protestant orthodoxy. It is a high compliment from a high authority. Methodists entertain thereat no puerile feeling of triumph, but do cherish a veneration for the magnanimity that makes such a statement. It portends no ecclesiastical unions of organizations; but it heralds a harmony of inward feelings among the organizations. For fifty years past it has appeared to us that our Methodism stood very much in the way of the New England reformers from Calvinism. We had preoccupied the ground of a liberal evangelical theology; and their problem, a very difficult one, and also a very unnecessary one, was how to liberalize without coinciding with us. Moses Stuart, in a bold, true, historic spirit, revealed to astonished Calvinistic New England that Arminianism, true Arminianism, the Arminianism of Arminius himself, was not the ragged effigy which their pulpits had been bethumping for a century or two, but was evangelical and marked with the characteristics of truth. In the same style Professor Park has made a still further frank advance. But in the general, the impolicy of the late Dr. Fitch, of New Haven, and of Newman Smyth, has been followed; namely, to smuggle themselves into Arminianism, and call it "a different statement of the same doctrine," "a statement of Calvinism which is so made that Arminians are obliged to accept it;" or a "New Orthodoxy," "a New

Calvinism," and finally, in Mr. Smyth's present *brochure*, "a New Theology." In all these flexible metamorphoses one curiosity is the absurd tenacity with which they stick to the term "Calvinism." If they are unhappily born heirs to a theology which the nineteenth century of Christendom will not stand, no man in history is more flagrantly responsible for this, their fate, than John Calvin. Nevertheless, they writhe to get out of his fetters and yet to retain his label. Great were the powers and energies of John Calvin; great his services to the Protestant Reformation; yet his great and ghastly failure was as a constructive theologian; and yet, curiously enough, it is in just this sphere that they struggle to retain his name!

As to the heathen problem, to solve which the theory of *post-mortem* probation is suggested, it has been fully considered and fairly solved in the Arminian theology. Curcellæus in his able treatise, *De necessitate cognitionis Christi ad salutem*, unfolded the true view, followed, or at least coincided with, by Wesley in his commentary, and Fletcher of Madeley in his polemic tractates. Of that solution we have given a tolerably full statement in our chapter on the Equation of Probational Advantages, pp. 343–360 of our volume on The Will. So satisfactory to our Methodism herself from the beginning has been that solution, that we have had no temptation to the *post-mortem* theory in the past, and none but a very few eccentric and local thinkers in the present have tended toward that notion—thinkers, especially about Boston, who have apparently absorbed it into their organisms from the surrounding Congregational atmosphere.

We are told that this is a revised translation of Dorner; and we are moved to inquire why did not this revision transform Dorner's uncouth Teutonic into pure and lucid English. As if they admired the very unshapeliness of their idol, the translators take good care that it should re-appear in the English wording. Take, as a fair specimen of the whole, the very first sentence that salutes the puzzled attention of the English reader in this purified version: "There is to be a consummation of individuals, [what is "a consummation of individuals"?] and of the whole, ["whole" what?] particularly of the Church, which, however, shall not be realized ["shall" here used illegitimately for the simple future *will;* whereas "shall" would properly express Dorner's purpose and determination that the thing *shall* be] through a purely immanent continuous process, but only through crises, and through the second coming of Christ." And so on through

pages of lumbering clumsiness, requiring us to re-read the absurd misconstructions to elicit a meaning; a fault which is Dorner's nature, but the translator's folly.

Sermons and Speeches. By ATTICUS G. HAYGOOD, D.D., President of Emory College, Oxford, Ga. 12mo, pp. 428. Southern Methodist Publishing House, Nashville, Tenn. 1883.

We are duly instructed, in printed note, by Dr. M'Ferrin, to call attention to the handsome execution of this Nashville volume, and to its low price of one dollar and twenty-five cents. We cheerfully obey instructions. And we add the wish that a million copies may be sold, and that, by publishing works of such excellence, the Southern Methodist Publishing House may grow rich and powerful for good. Times are beautifully changed. We seem to remember the time when our good Dr. M'Ferrin considered the slightest unfavorable allusion to slavery, in any book, "a fly in the ointment," from whose pestilential odor the said House must be quarantined; and probably Wesley's works were the only anti-slavery volumes tolerated about House. And this book, published in 1852, would have consigned the author to degradation and banishment, with Professor Hedrick, from slave land. Dr. Haygood, however, has a ready retort. He can point to the pro-slavery fanaticism that, at the same time, disgraced the North. So that our rejoicing is properly over the advance made by both South and North in the direction of righteousness and freedom.

Dr. Haygood is a mentor for "the times." He does not preach extensively against the wickedness of the scribes and Pharisees of the olden time; but he aims his sharp-shootings against the short-comings and misdoings of the Southerners before him. He does this so skillfully and pointedly that a Southerner might say: "That's personal; it means me." The response of the preacher might be: "Precisely so, thou art the man." In his sermon on "The New South" he reads to his audience a catalogue of "unpleasant things," "weaker points," and "lacks" of his dear South. First is "our intense provincialism," isolation from the world, and consequent inordinate self-appreciation; and here he utters the memorable sentence: "Had we been less provincial, less shut in by and with our own ideas; had we known the world better, we would have known ourselves better, and *there would have been no war in* 1861." That is, the war was the result of Southern ignorance and narrowness. What a eulogy on the leaders of that great assault on our national Union!

The second lack is "illiteracy." The third, "our want of literature;" and this is to us a most unaccountable fact. There is plenty of ability in our South. In oratory and in politics the talent of Southern men seems to have vindicated, and alas! exhausted itself. But where are the contributions to poetry, to history, to science, to biblical literature, to periodical essay, in our South? We have seen defenses of slavery based on its furnishing the means of literary leisure, and so of a higher civilization; but how much soever the leisure, the literature, or the civilization, has failed to appear. The miserable, Yankee, wooden-nutmeg State of Connecticut alone, the object of supreme Southern contempt, has had at one period, within our own memory, more superior poets, contemporaneously, than the entire broad-spread South through her whole history. The fourth point is the want of educational facilities, colleges, and universities. The fifth is "manufacturing interests." And the orator finally concludes with this home truth: "Our provincialism, our want of literature, our lack of educational facilities and of manufactures, like our lack of population, are all explained by one fact and one word—slavery. But for slavery Georgia would be as densely peopled as Rhode Island. Wherefore, among many other reasons, I say again, I thank God that it is no more among us!"

Skillfully, if not quite ingenuously, Dr Haygood prefaces these frank reproofs with an undiscriminating taunt against "our Northern censors." He hints no thought that these "censors" ever spoke, like himself, in honesty or sincerity, with desire to remove rather than produce reproach; or that they were the true destroyers of "slavery," and so the best friends of the South. Garrison, Greeley, and, we may add, our own humble Quarterly, spoke no words of hate of the South when they censured the wrong-doings in the South. Their censures enabled him to utter his. Had they never spoken, his lips would have been forever sealed; or, if opened with such speech, lynch-law would have sentenced him to banishment. When these "Northern-censors" were asked, Why oppose slavery here where no slavery is? they replied, Because no one there will speak. Dead silence reigned under the sway of the slave-power. It was the "Northern censors" who emancipated both the slave and Dr. Haygood. And he does, in fact, but implicitly repeat their censures; their censures for the same faults, and which they attributed to the same cause. And until this day it is the "Northern censors" that compel Southern sentiment to onward progress. Such "censors" say,

with Jesus, Why do ye not of your own selves judge that which is right? And when Southern men, and the Southern religious press, and Southern churches, come to utter these truths in their full power, the "Northern censors" will rejoice to find their occupation gone. The vote of the last Southern General Conference, making Dr. Haywood Bishop-elect, announces, with cheering authority, that the bold speaker could no longer be ostracised, and the issue of this book from the Southern House declares that truth about slavery is in order with Southern Methodism. The logic of events, the logic of thought, and the logic of conscience will yet compel the utterance of still bolder conclusions in still firmer style.

Many of the discourses of this volume are pastoral sermons, treating not of the public status, but of the inner truths of the Gospel. And these are quite equal in ability and quality to the best in the series. The same insight into realities, the same independence in rebuke, and the same sharp analysis of popular fallacies, are displayed in the specially religious sphere. One of the best of the series was preached at Oxford "during the great revival." There may be more "eloquent" men; but we suspect that the South has no abler preacher and no truer statesman than the author of this volume.

Lectures and Addresses by Rev. Thomas Guard, D.D. With a Memorial Sermon by Rev. T. DeWitt Talmage, D.D. Compiled by Will J. Guard. 12mo, pp. 370. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1883. $1 50.

Dr. Thomas Guard was, like Summerfield and Maffit, a gift from Ireland to American Methodism. Of the peculiar style of eloquence of which they were eminent specimens Ireland is said to be the home; though it may be said to be Celtic, for France abounds with much the same style; and more broadly still it abundantly appears among the more fervid sons of our own South. "It comes not by much study," says Goethe; it is a gift, or a result of a combination of qualities done up in the nature of the man. Good imitations of it may be wrought up by elaborate efforts, but seldom so completely as to pass for truly natural. When combined with powerful logic, or based on a solid substrate of good sense, it becomes true, legitimate, and powerful oratory.

Mr. Guard was born in Galway, Ireland, in 1831, and died in Baltimore, 1882. A marked episode in his life was his mission in South Africa, the interest of which brought him on a visit to America. Here it became clear that the missionary field was not his true mission. As great and greater men are needed in that

field; but Mr. Guard's peculiar gifts marked him out for a metropolitan preacher. His career was brilliant and ever broadening, but, alas! too brief. He ascended to the empyrean before the meridian of his fame was reached.

There are in the volume fifteen public addresses, of somewhat varied excellence, but every one the product of an oratorical genius. They are preceded by a Memorial Sermon by Dr. Talmage, a man of kindred genius and greatness of soul. Perhaps the best of Guard's performances is that on the Sovereignty of Man, delivered in San Francisco at the opening of the Mechanics' Institute Fair, in 1879. We give one strain from this address on man's appropriation of nature's forces to his use:

"From the marching season and the timely rains; from the hidden wealth of mountains and from the wealth more real of the generous soil; from the products of the forest and of the flock, of the field and of the far-resounding sea, man draws revenues and service. Lightning is his courier, and sunlight his artist. Trade-winds waft his white-winged argosies, and snows gather on Sierra crests to swell the floods wherewith his ample acres shall be irrigated. Flowers, by their weird alchemy, transmute dew and gases into aromatic odors for his delight; and change sunbeams and dull clays into hues emerald, purple, and roseate, wherewith to greet his kindling glance, as he moves out to gaze upon an inheritance, over which 'far as the breeze can bear the billow's foam' it one day shall be true, man's nod is empire, and his footfall law. Silkworms spin for him; oysters secrete pearls for him; for him lime becomes marble, and carbon, diamonds; rocks are turned into silver, and plants become coal. Rivers leap to light from lofty fountains in the hearts of hoary hills that, utilizing the law of gravitation, man may make them turn his ponderous wheels and whirl his myriad spindles. The wild fowl 'nurses' the plume that shall wave upon his victor helmet; and the cotton and the flax plant offer the fibers of which to fashion the banners beneath whose folds he shall move forth to conquest, or repose unharmed amid the fruits of his free and honest industry. Force guards him—sows, reaps, threshes, and grinds for him, as in ages past it toiled in fashioning his dwelling-place. Art breathes inspiration. Music reveals her mystic laws to his modulating genius. The block becomes a thing of beauty. The canvas glows with the tints and flush of life. Arch and pillar, capital and dome, spring from earth and soar to heaven, obedient to his all but necromantic touch."—Pp. 296–297.

Bibliotheca Theologica. A Select and Classified Bibliography of Theology and General Religious Literature. By JOHN F. HURST, LL.D. 8vo, pp. xvi and 417. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1883.

Our indefatigable Bishop Hurst has found time, amid the pressure of other cares, to prepare and publish, under the above title, a most convenient and valuable theological index, adapted especially to meet the practical wants of the great body of English theological students and readers. Some professional scholars may wish that he had carried out the plan, which he indicates in his preface as the original scheme, formed years ago in Germany, of a more elaborate and comprehensive work covering the theological literature of other languages as well as the English. Such a work, however, would have required many volumes, have been necessarily costly and beyond the reach and needs of multitudes who read English only, and who desire just such a select and classified bibliography of theological and general religious literature to guide them in their reading and studies.

There is no end of making books, for each generation demands fresh treatment of all great and interesting subjects. Modern scholarship aims to appropriate the best literary productions of the past, and to go beyond them. Bibliography, therefore, is likely to become a recognized science. He who saves the time of a student, and enables him to expedite his researches, is a real benefactor. Allibone's "Dictionary of Authors" and Darling's "Cyclopædia Bibliographica" have been an invaluable aid to thousands, and other similar works of less magnitude have proven equally useful in their way. But every work of this kind needs revision and supplementing as the years come and go.

The plan of the present work is at once simple and comprehensive. It is not designed to be a complete or exhaustive catalogue of English theological literature, but to furnish the titles of a select number of standard works in the several departments. The table of contents (pp. 9–16) gives us, first, in brief outline, the topics and arrangement of the whole book. Part I (pp. 1–34) is entitled *Introduction*, and contains a list of general works on the study of theology, bibliography, lexicography, cartography, and large collections like the Edinburgh Ante-Nicene Christian Library, the Biblical Cabinet, the Bampton Lectures, etc., with the authors and titles of each separate treatise. Part II (pp. 35–113) is devoted to *Exegetical Theology*, embracing grammatical and philological helps to the study of the biblical languages, and an ample list of the best commentaries. This part also

comprises under distinct heads all such subjects as biblical antiquities, chronology, geography, inspiration, and prophecy. Part III (pp. 114–240) presents a list of the great works on *Historical Theology*, embracing not only the great writers on general Church history, but also those on special periods, sects, and denominations, missionary and other benevolent societies, histories of doctrines and of ethnic religions. Part IV (pp. 241–303) is equally full and comprehensive on the subject of *Systematic Theology*, and Part V (pp. 304–358) on *Practical Theology*. Fifteen pages of *Addenda* (pp. 361–375) furnish a further list of the most recent literature in the four leading departments previously treated. The whole is provided with full indexes of authors and of subjects. It is printed in large, handsome type, and will be welcomed by English and American students.

Sermons on The Higher Life. By Rev. LEWIS R. DUNN, D.D., Author of "The Mission of the Spirit," "Holiness to the Lord," "The Angels of God," "Garden of Spices," etc. With an Introduction by BISHOP SIMPSON. 12mo, pp. 385. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

Mr. Dunn remarks that "there is no volume of sermons specifically upon 'The Higher Life' in our literature, either in England or America;" and the present publication is made to fill the blank. He furnishes twenty sermons, preached at divers times and places in the course of his ministry; yet connected in the order of thought, and furnishing a certain symmetry and completeness of view. Though meeting objections by the wayside, and solving occasional difficulties, the whole series is rather constructive than controversial. The spirit is free, fresh, and animated; the style pure, perspicuous, and flowing; and the preacher ranges through the regions of modern literature and thought for living illustrations. The reader will find this one of the best exhibitions of this most vital subject in the range of our literature.

The Marriage in Cana of Galilee. By HUGH MACMILLAN, D.D., author of "Bible Teachings in Nature," etc. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882. 12mo, pp. 262.

This is a gem of singular beauty. Its treatment of miracle reminds us of Trench, yet displaying, with an equal erudition, a richer power of analogy, a finer imagination, and a more poetic grace of diction. The work of the publishers is apparently a task of love, for they have made the book "a gem in a rich setting." The transparent fluidity of style is rendered all the more

conspicuous from the delicate paper, the perfect type, and the liberal spacing. It is a fine book for a bridal memorial.

"There is no such thing, therefore, as unfermented wine."—P. 163. Then a good many folks are in a bad box. The Methodist Episcopal General Conference has decreed, "Let none but the pure unfermented juice of the grape be used in administering the Lord's Supper;" it has, therefore, excluded wine from the communion. The Church of Abyssinia, founded, perhaps, by the premier of Queen Candace, most tenacious of ancient usages among all the Churches, has ever prohibited the fermented article. Dr. Kerr, of London, exhibits to his audiences a whole catalogue of the unfermented article. Mr. Speer, of New Jersey, advertises far and wide an unfermented grape juice for sacramental and medicinal purposes, for the genuineness of which he challenges the severest scrutiny of science. Are not our alcoholic-wine brethren just a little fanatical?

The Celestial Symbol Interpreted; or, The Natural Wonders and Spiritual Teachings of the Sun, as Revealed by the Triumphs of Modern Science. By HERBERT W. MORRIS, D.D., Formerly Professor of Mathematics in Newington Collegiate Institute, London; Author of "Science and The Bible," "Present Conflict of Science with the Christian Religion," and "Testimony of the Ages to the Truth of Scripture." Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 704. Philadelphia: J. C. M'Curdy & Co. 1883.

The central thought of this elaborate and unique volume is the resemblance between Christ and the sun. It is, therefore, a book by eminence of Analogies. Of these Analogies the main solar bases are Six; namely, The Sun as Primary Globe—as Source of Light—as Fountain of Heat—as Source of Actinism—as Magnetic Center—as Center of Gravitation. These six generic bases of Analogy are founded, as copiously shown, in the truths of Science, which are adduced with much fullness and interest. The specific analogies under these six heads are traced with much ingenuity, there being under the third head no less than eighteen analogies fully unfolded. The engraved illustrations are so many that the book can be properly called a Pictorial. It is written in a full and forcible style, and furnishes both a good body of science and of excellent Theology.

The Revival and after the Revival. By J. H. VINCENT. Square 18mo, pp. 74. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Price, 40 cents.

This daintily gotten up little monograph from Dr. Vincent's busy and graceful pen is replete with timely hints and valuable suggestions on revival methods and on the treatment of con-

verts saved during revival services. Dr. Vincent is thoroughly Methodistic in his sympathy with revivals, whether viewed as "times of refreshing" to the Church, or as seasons of extraordinary quickening among the unregenerate by the Holy Ghost; but he would have our pastors prevent, as much as possible, the admixture of wild-fire with the pure flame kindled by the "power from on high." His thoughts on the training of converts after the revival are eminently judicious. His style is clean cut, terse, vigorous, and suited to his topic. The book is well calculated to strengthen the faith of the Church in those spiritual revivals which are God's answers to the rationalistic spirit of the times.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

The African in the United States. By Professor E. W. Gilliam. Popular Science Monthly for February, 1883. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

If arithmetic, as handled by Professor Gilliam, is to be trusted, the Southern States of our Union are destined to become, within a century, the *Negro Belt* of the American continent. They are literally to become an Africa in America. The certainty of this dark streak of destiny arises from the superior prolificacy of the Negro race. Before the war our Southern brethren maintained, against the abolitionists, that the Negroes, if emancipated, "could not take care of themselves." They would go to the wall, or rather to the ditch, and utterly perish. And after the war the extinction of the race was predicted. Dr. Keener, (now Bishop,) as editor of the New Orleans "Advocate," said, with brilliant antithesis, "For others the alternative is 'liberty or death,' for the Negro it is *slavery or death.*" His only chance for his life was to come under the control of an overseer. But events have gradually shown that the Negro is a persistent entity, and none denies that he is a permanent and effective factor. And now Professor Gilliam, himself a Southerner, we believe, comes forth, census in hand, and shows us that the natural and permanent increase of the Negro is five per cent. greater than that of the Caucasian; that this superiority is based in physiological causes, and must result at no distant period in an immense majority, within that section, of the colored race, with all the consequences of political supremacy which such a majority involves. His chronological horoscope is as follows:

"Now mark the following: The white population, increasing at the rate of twenty per cent. in ten years, or two per cent. per annum, doubles itself every thirty-five years. The black, increasing at the rate of thirty-five per cent. in ten years, or three and a half per cent. per annum, doubles itself in twenty years. Hence we find:

Whites in United States in			1880	(in round numbers)	.....	42,000,000
"	"		1915	"	"	84,000,000
"	"		1950	"	"	168,000,000
"	"		1985	"	"	336,000,000
Northern whites in			1880		.....	30,000,000
"	"		1915		.....	60,000,000
"	"		1950		.....	120,000,000
"	"		1985		.....	240,000,000
Southern whites in			1880		.....	12,000,000
"	"		1915		.....	24,000,000
"	"		1950		.....	48,000,000
"	"		1985		.....	96,000,000
Blacks in Southern States in				1880	.....	6,000,000
"	"	"		1900	.....	12,000,000
"	"	"		1920	.....	24,000,000
"	"	"		1940	.....	48,000,000
"	"	"		1960	.....	96,000,000
"	"	"		1980	.....	192,000,000

"Our interest is in the progress of population in the Southern States, where the blacks almost altogether now are, and where they will continue to be massed more and more; and above stand the significant figures. These will be modified more or less by disturbing causes, the most prominent being immigration. But even should immigration ever take a pronounced Southern direction, yet immigration must slacken, and before many years practically cease, while the black growth must be perpetually augmenting, perpetually advancing its volume; and, every allowance being made, it is morally certain that in seventy or eighty years (as things now go) the blacks in every Southern State will overwhelmingly preponderate.—P. 437.

He next demonstrates, as he assumes, that the Negroes are "an alien race" incapable of commixture with the native Caucasian; though it seems that the Southern Caucasian finds it necessary to prohibit intermarriage between the two races, and appeal to the Supreme Court of the Union to ratify his enactments. And thence it follows that there must be a struggle between two hostile races. "The advancement of the blacks becomes a menace to the whites. No two free races, remaining distinctly apart, can advance side by side without a struggle for supremacy. The thing is impossible. The world has never witnessed it, and *a priori* grounds are all against it."—P. 440.

If all this be true, the result is only a question of time. A probable war of races, a sure victory for the Negro, and an inevitable occupancy of the ground by the victor race. The Negro will draw the color line, and the white stratum will underlie it. Such is the stupendous menace arising from the introduction of the African slave into our system. Such the terrible retribution upon the maintainers of Southern slavery. Be it here remembered that South Carolina and Georgia refused to enter the American Union unless the slave trade should be continued until 1808. What an elephant did they take in hand!

What remedy does the professor propose? "Colonization"! Draw off the surplus increase by a system of deportation. It does not occur to him to ask the Negro's consent. As the Negro was shipped hither without asking his leave, so ship him back again by the decisive arm. But as the Negro is an American citizen, it is not clear how he can be legally banished while guiltless of crime. Nor is it clear that the Negro will voluntarily sail off to Africa to prevent his own coming ascendency in America. Professor Blyden, of Liberia, lately asked for only five hundred thousand American Negroes to build up his African republic, and the Negro editors of this country promptly told him they could not be spared, they were needed to fight the battle of Negro equality here. How much more will they be immovable after the professor has shown them that they may aim, not at equality merely, but ascendency.

We do suppose, however, that with the Negro, as with other races, elevation means diminished prolificacy. This seems a general law both with different races of animals and different grades of men. (On this subject see our Quarterly for January, 1880, pp. 161–166.) The lowest races propagate by myriads, the higher by litters, and then by units. Æsop's prolific rabbit taunted the lioness because she produced but one at a time. Her majesty replied, "One, but *a lion!*" Educate the Negro, and transfer his virility from his procreative to his intellective faculties. Round out his brain, and not only may his virility be less productive, but he may even grow wiser than Professor Gilliam now is, so that he may feel that a difference of facial complexion is no more a ground of hostility and war than a difference in the color of eyes. And, finally, the ultimate result might be that the Caucasian would gradually retreat northward, where climatic obstructions stand in the Negro's way, and leave a belt of nearly pure Afric-Americans.

Geometry and Faith. A Supplement to the Ninth Bridgewater Treatise. By THOMAS HILL. Third Edition, greatly enlarged. 12mo, pp. 109. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Charles T. Dillingham. 1882.

Contributions to the theistic argument, of a most elevated and conclusive character, come upon us unexpectedly from the advances of scientific thought. A Harvard professor not long since furnished, under title of *The Religion of Chemistry*, a volume, lately noticed by us, in this department of thought, of eminent value. An ex-president of Harvard, in the present book, makes geometry tributary to faith in the divine existence. Arithmetic and the higher *mathesis* have heretofore been generally supposed to have no relation to theology. But Dr. Hill's volume, ranging through the higher walks of thought, discloses applications in nature of mathematical doctrine, which truly demonstrate the maxim of Plato, that "God geometrizes." The omnipotent Creator was an omniscient mathematician. The author has, in a book all too brief, furnished us a guide in reading these divine but occult truths in things all around us: a book quite worth, not only the perusal, but the study of our reflective thinkers.

So far as the logical sequences of mathematics are intrinsically necessary, they afford no theistic arguments; but it is in bringing things under the control of mathematical law that will and design reveal themselves. Dr. Hill shows how wonderfully this imposition of mathematical laws rules over the system of creation, and obliges us to recognize its obedience to the control of thought. Among the varied exhibitions of this designed subjection of nature to mathematical law (we have space for but one) are the phenomena of *Phyllotaxis*, or the position of leaves on a tree. The problem being, so to expose the leaves as to secure the best growth, science has found that they are ranged in a mathematical order which secures the result; the principle of which was not discovered by mortals until A. D. 1845. Now, three things are here to be noted: first, that a result was evidently aimed at, showing *design;* second, deep mathematical principles were used, showing the profound *intelligence* from which the design issued; third, the arbitrarily selecting and imposing upon the system of leaves this mathematical *plan*, evincing intelligent *will*. The exhibition of these three things through all nature evinces the unity of the designing Mind. But here comes a catch. The obedience of the phyllotaxis is not always exact. The law is often transgressed. Does not this refute the theistic argument? Quite the reverse. The *mathesis* is so uniform as to demonstrate that it

was fully understood, yet so dispensed with as to show that it could have been rejected, and so was voluntarily adopted. And here opens a grand solution of the inexactnesses, the loosenesses, the evils in the world, all which, unquestionably, for some reason exist, but do not disprove that it is a Mind-governed world.

History, Biography, and Topography.

The Beginnings of History according to the Bible and the Traditions of Oriental Peoples. From the Creation of Man to the Deluge. By FRANÇOIS LENORMANT, Professor of Archæology at the National Library of France, etc., etc. Translated from the Second French Edition. With an Introduction by FRANCIS BROWN, Associate Professor in Biblical Philology, Union Theological Seminary. 12mo, pp. 558. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882. Price, $2 50.

By natural genius, and indeed by paternal inheritance, Lenormant is a great archæologist. From his almost boyhood he has been nearly a prodigy in this sphere of research, and when the new Assyriology opened upon the world he gave himself to its studies with fervid enthusiasm and abundant results. This enthusiasm was intensified by the relations of Assyriology to Sacred Writ. For Lenormant is a devout Christian. Both in his "Manual of the Ancient History of the East" and in the present volume he professes his faith with a firm frankness which might well be emulated by Protestant scientists. He hesitates not to declare his earnest orthodox Christianity, but even his reverent obedience to the "center of unity," the Holy See. Throughout his volume he not only maintains the consistency of his explications with the most central Christian doctrine, but proposes his theory as a reconciliation and harmony of religion and archæological science. His solution is to us new, and we believe original. How far satisfactory is another question.

Our standard theologians, according to the light and knowledge they had, have heretofore proposed a very satisfactory solution of the relations between the biblical cosmogony and primeval history and the ethnic. So clear, consistent with nature and religion, was the biblical narrative, and even in its supernaturalisms so natural, that, in comparison with the ethnic, it looked like veritable though miraculous history by the side of a perverted and caricaturing travesty, which by its resemblances confirmed the biblical truth, and by its variations exposed its own inauthenticity. This theory, we repeat was satisfactory in view of the

then existing archæology. But the question now comes up, How far is this view tenable in the light of the new revelations gradually breaking upon us from the Orient? And how far specially does Lenormant's view solve the problem?

The Assyrian and biblical narratives of the primeval ages are, according to Lenormant, alike legendary, spontaneous fictions, often springing up in the popular mind. And the great difference between the two is that in the latter a divine inspiration has re-shaped the legend, breathed into it a divine monotheism, made it the vehicle of religious truth and, ultimately, of a holy theology and an infallible Christianity. The mass of legends in the hands of the inspired Hebrew becomes a sacred *parable;* it is not, at least necessarily, historic truth; but it is the costume in which spiritual truth enrobes itself. Thus, he tells us:

> That which we read in the first chapters of *Genesis* is not an account dictated by God himself, the possession of which was the exclusive privilege of the chosen people. It is a tradition whose origin is lost in the night of the remotest ages, and which all the great nations of western Asia possessed in common, with some variations. The very form given it in the Bible is so closely related to that which has been lately discovered in Babylonia and Chaldea, it follows so exactly the same course, that it is quite impossible for me to doubt any longer that it has the same origin. *The family of Abraham carried this tradition with it* in the migration which brought it from Ur of the Chaldees into Palestine; and even then it was doubtless already fixed, either in a written or an oral form; for beneath the expressions of the Hebrew text, in more than one place, there appear certain things which can be explained only as expressions peculiar to the Assyrian language, as, for instance, the play of words in Gen. xi, 4, which clearly has its source in the analogy of the words *zikru*, "remembrance, name," and *zikurat*, "tower, pyramid with stories," in the last-named idiom. The biblical writers, in recording this tradition in the beginning of their books, created a genuine archæology in the sense attached to the word by the Greeks.—P. 15.

His theory of inspiration is thus stated:

> But, if this is so, I shall perhaps be asked, Where then do you find the divine inspiration of the writers who made this *archæology*—that supernatural help by which, as a Christian, you must believe them to have been guided? Where? In the absolutely new spirit which animates their narration, even though the form of it may have remained in almost every respect the same as among the neighboring nations. It is the same narrative, and in it the same episodes succeed one another in like manner; and yet one would be blind not to perceive that the signification has become altogether different. The exuberant polytheism which encumbers these stories among the Chaldeans has been carefully eliminated, to give place to the severest monotheism. What formerly expressed naturalistic conceptions of a singular grossness here becomes the garb of moral truths of the most exalted and most purely spiritual order. The essential features of the form of the tradition have been preserved; and yet, between the Bible and the sacred books of Chaldea there is all the distance of one of the most tremendous revolutions which have ever been effected in human beliefs. Herein consists the miracle, and it is none the less amazing for being transposed. Others may seek to explain this by the simple natural progress of the conscience of humanity; for myself, I do not hesitate to find in it the effect of a supernatural intervention of Divine Providence, and I bow before the God who inspired the Law and the Prophets.—P. 16.

The following passage, however, seems to admit a historic starting-point of the so-called legends, (attesting also the orthodoxy of the author,) and suggests the non-necessity of denying a factual origin and a genuine truth in any of the biblical narrations derived through Abraham from the primeval account, and compiled by Moses.

> The first chapters of Genesis are nothing more than a collection of the ancient Hebrew traditions of the beginnings of things; traditions which they held in common with the nations by whom they were surrounded, and in a very special way with the Chaldeo-Babylonians. This compilation was made by inspired writers, who found means, while collating the old narratives, to make them the figurative garb of eternal truths, such as the creation of the world by a personal God; the descent of mankind from a single pair; their fall in consequence of the guilt of the first parents, which put them under the dominion of sin; the free-will character of the first sin, and of those which followed in its train.—P. 337.

But his most distinct acknowledgment of historical fact is made in regard to the deluge, as follows:

> The account of the deluge is an universal tradition in all branches of the human family, with the sole exception of the black race. And a tradition every-where so exact and so concordant cannot possibly be referred to an imaginary myth. No religious or cosmogonic myth possesses this character of universality. It must necessarily be the reminiscence of an actual and terrible event, which made so powerful an impression upon the imagination of the first parents of our species that their descendants could never forget it. This cataclysm took place near the primitive cradle of mankind, and previous to the separation of the families from whom the principal races were to descend.—P. 487.

And again:

> Henceforth, however, we need not hesitate to state that the biblical deluge, far from being a myth, was an actual and historic fact, which overwhelmed, at the very least, the ancestors of the races of Aryans, or Indo-Europeans; Semites, or Syro-Arabians; and Elamites, or Kushites; in other words, the three great civilized races of the ancient world, who constitute the really superior type of mankind, before the ancestors of these three races were as yet separated, and which occurred in that Asiatic country which they inhabited conjointly.—P. 488.

The test, then, of original historicity is *the universality of the tradition.* Of these traditions Lenormant examines several in successive chapters; as, the Creation of Man, the First Sin, the Genealogies of the Patriarchs, etc. To our own view he has not satisfactorily refuted the old view of Faber in his "Horæ Mosaicæ," and others; namely, that the Bible presents the historic fact of which the ethnics give only semi-fabulous variations. And this seems specially true of the great facts with which the New Testament is concerned. We note a specimen or two.

Most important in this relation is the chapter on *The First Sin.* And this chapter opens with the acknowledgment: "The idea of the Edenic happiness of the first human beings constitutes one of the universal traditions." The primeval super-

natural instauration of the human race, then, is a literal reality. Evolutionism when it denies this is contradicted by the historic fact. There was a first man, and Lenormant says his original name was Adiuru, of which Adam may seem to be a modification, so constructed as to make it a genuine and significant Hebrew word. And archæology plentifully presents before us the Edenic circumstantials: the garden, the sacred tree, the serpent, and the loss of all. We have, then, historically true, fringed or not with symbol, an Adam, an Eden with its tree, its serpent, and its catastrophe. All this exists in history, geography, and genealogy; and we submit that it amply sustains Paul's parallelisms between the equally real first and second Adam. Rom. v, and elsewhere. We hold that Faber is here fully sustained by the expatiations of Lenormant.

A chapter on the Kerubim and revolving sword of Gen. iii, 24, covers the subject with rich erudition. He seems to identify the Kerubim materialistically with the winged bulls of Babylon. Why not suppose they were the angelic forces of which the winged bulls were the Babylonic symbol—*bull*, as emblem of power; *winged*, as emblem of divine swiftness. On the Patriarchal Genealogies Lenormant gives strong reason, as intimated in our last Quarterly, for believing that they are abridgments, artificially adjusted to the number ten as those in Matthew are to the number fourteen. Nay, it seems undeniable that the detailed numbers, fixing the age of each patriarch at the birth of his son, is an artificial addition by some pre-Mosaic translator of the ante-Hebraic documents. Moses gave the genealogies as he found them; just as Wesley says that Luke did. This does not invalidate the historicity of the pedigree itself, as indicating the Adamic-Messianic line. But further, Lenormant shows plausibly some remarkable correspondences between the Cainite and Sethite pedigrees of Genesis. As the Sethite pedigree gives ten names before the flood, branching into three sons after the flood, (Shem, Ham, and Japhet,) so the Cainite pedigree gives us seven names branching into three sons, equaling ten, all before the flood. Names in the two lines curiously correspond. Several couples are nearly the same name, varied so as to give a bad meaning to the Cainite name, and a good meaning to its Sethite correlative. By these facts Lenormant is convinced that the historicity of at least the Cainite line is invalidated. But why so? The original names, especially of the Cainite line, were not Hebrew, and the fact that the Hebrew copy of the pedigree

somewhat manipulates the forms of the names does not invalidate the reality of the persons. The name of Babylon, *Bab-il, Gate of God*, was Hebraically manipulated into *Babel, confusion;* and *Adiuru*, according to Lenormant, was manipulated into *Adam, red earth;* as later *Shechem* became *Sychar* (John iv, 5;) but these modifications affected not the reality of the objects named. The stupendous length of antediluvian life, as given by the ethnic writers, is shown by him very conclusively to have an astronomical significance; but he fails in trying the same exploit with the biblical chronologies. His strenuous attempt to make a solar myth of Enoch is dismal. We venture, therefore, still to think, that though greatly modified, the earliest human pedigrees are really presented to us in Genesis and Luke.

The Mendelssohn Family, (1729-1847.) From Letters and Journals. By SEBASTIAN HENSEL. With eight portraits from drawings by William Hensel. Second revised edition. Translated by KARL KLINGEMANN and an American collaborator, with a notice by GEORGE GROVE, Esq., D.C.L. In two volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The finest example of epistolary biography in existence is undoubtedly this of the Mendelssohns, by Sebastian Hensel, a member of that celebrated family. The work before us is translated from the second German edition by Karl Klingemann, in conjunction with an American collaborator. A translation of the first German edition was made by Lady Wallace, and published in England, in 1862. The second edition is extensively revised by the author, and brought down till after the death of Felix, the most distinguished member of this remarkable family. By the epistolary plan of biography the reader receives an original impression of the qualities of the characters delineated. Letters intended for the eyes of only the members of the family are laid before the reader in all their freshness and unrestrained simplicity of style. We thus see the persons themselves, not the portraiture of them as conceived and presented by a biographer. Indeed, the reader becomes the biographer. Naturally many matters of a purely personal or family nature are omitted, as being inappropriate for the public eye.

The Mendelssohn family is one of the most remarkable in Germany. Its importance reaches back, however, only four generations; its influential progenitor being Moses Mendelssohn, who was born in 1729. He was a poor Jewish lad in Dessau. At the age of fourteen he entered Berlin by the Rosenthal gate, the only

one through which at that time foreign Jews were permitted to pass that great capital. Young Mendelssohn was seized with an intense desire for knowledge. His poverty was not so great an obstacle as the intense hatred then existing between Christians and Jews. The intolerance of the Jewish elders and rabbis was as intense as the opposition of the Christians. He was compelled to keep his studies secret to avoid being expelled from Berlin by his own brethren. Long afterward, when he was at the height of his glory, they anathematized him. Now the Jews of Germany look back with the highest respect to his work of emancipating his people from the oppressions of the Christians and the equally great oppression of their own rabbis, and call him their "second Moses." The first great stride which Moses Mendelssohn made was to learn the German language, then a perilous undertaking for a Jew. Without following the details of the life and work of this founder of the great Mendelssohn family, suffice it to say that he rose to the very highest rank as a writer upon history, literature, and philosophy. He came into the most intimate personal relations with all leading writers of Germany of his age; such as Nicolai, Herder, Kant, Jacobi, Campe, Michaelis, Lavater, and especially with Lessing. Lessing's famous drama, "Nathan the Wise," owes its origin to Lavater's attempt to convert Moses Mendelssohn from Judaism to Christianity. Most of the characters were taken from Mendelssohn's household. The noble, judicious, mild, and tranquil "Nathan" is none other than Moses Mendelssohn. Many of the philosophical ideas made famous in their development by Lessing were first expressed by Mendelssohn. In 1763 Mendelssohn carried off the academical prize with his "Essay on Evidence," for which the great Kant also competed. Subsequently Kant passed him a long way in his "Criticism of Pure Reason." The two men continued in lasting friendly intercourse, and Kant was a thorough admirer of the delicacy of perception, fine style, and fearless zeal for religious freedom, of his former rival. Mendelssohn was short, and badly deformed; he had a hump upon his back, and he stammered; but his clever, intellectual head, of which Lavater has given so lively a description, made up for all, as is often the case with deformed persons. Mendelssohn's house was frequented by nearly all distinguished strangers who visited Berlin in four consecutive generations, beginning with its founder.

Moses Mendelssohn left three sons, Joseph, Abraham, and

Nathan, and three daughters. The most distinguished of the daughters, Dorothea, married a banker named Veit. One of their sons was the celebrated painter, Philipp Veit. Dorothea was, later, separated from her husband, and married the philosopher, Frederick Schlegel. She soon turned Christian, in name and in religious profession, thus beginning the series of conversions (or transferences) from Judaism to Protestant or Catholic Christianity which later became so frequent in the descendants of the Mendelssohn family. Madame de Staël, Constant, Varnhagen, Spontini, Humboldt, and other persons distinguished in art, science, and letters, frequented the Schlegel household in Paris.

Abraham Mendelssohn, the second son of Moses, was eminent in his way, but eclipsed by his son, Felix. He himself expresses this by the modest humorous words: "Formerly I was the son of my father; now I am the father of my son." Abraham was nevertheless a very marked character. He occupied a middle ground between the firm adherence to Judaism of Moses and the sincere Christian faith of Felix and his accomplished sister, Fanny: between the philosophic type of his father and the esthetic culture of his children. He was an accomplished art critic, and of broad and many-sided culture. He became a prosperous banker at Hamburg, and by his large fortune was able to gratify his refined taste and educate his children in accordance with his views. He had his children brought up in the Christian faith, secretly at first, so as not to offend their grandmother. One day, when Fanny had played exquisitely before her grandmother, the good lady asked her what present she wished as a reward. The girl fell at her feet, and with tears begged her to forgive her brother, Felix, for having become a Christian. Thus a lasting reconciliation was effected. Abraham called the famous musician, Zeller, to his house as tutor to Felix and Fanny. He also called Heyse, the distinguished philologist, to be their tutor in language. Abraham added the name of his wife's family, Bartholdy, to his own, and thus originated the double name of Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, by which the son Felix is known to the world.

One sister, Fanny, married William Hensel, an artist of much merit, the founder of the Prussian Academy of Archæology in Rome, and the father of the author of this epistolary biography of the Mendelssohn family. Her musical ability was remarkable, both in execution and in composition. She composed a wedding-march for the organ, which was played at her marriage. Her

husband, William Hensel, made portraits of a vast number of distinguished people who visited the Mendelssohn home. Among these we find the musicians, Carl von Weber, Paganini, Gounod, Liszt, Schumann; among painters, Cornelius, Ingres, Vernet, Magnus, Kaulbach; among men of letters, Körner, Brentano, Goethe, Heyne, Tieck, Hegel, Bunsen, Lepsius, Grimm, Ranke, Boeckh; the sculptors, Thorwaldsen, Rauch, Kiss; and the architect, Schinkel. Probably no other private house contains an equal collection of portraits of so distinguished people made within its own walls. Hensel got a deep inspiration from the frescoes by Veit, Schadow, and Cornelius, which were the first monuments of the reviving art of this century, painted by the commission of Abraham Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, in the Bartholdy palace at Rome while he was Prussian consul-general at Rome. The second daughter of Abraham, Rebecca, married the famous mathematician, Dirichlet.

But it is to Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, the eldest son of Abraham, that this family is indebted for the chief portion of its world-wide fame, and these volumes of epistolary biography for their greatest interest. In the many letters of this great musician which abound in these two volumes, we get a clear insight into the life and character of this man of whom his family and Germany are so justly proud. He is the crowning glory of the Mendelssohns. It is doubtful if any of the descendants will eclipse the brilliancy of his genius. It is more doubtful still if any of them will surpass the genial nature, the brilliant wit, the loving affection, for which Felix was so distinguished, and which shine so transparently through his letters. Felix was an accomplished draughtsman, and often yearned to devote his life to painting. But music gained a mastery over his spirit, and to this noble art he devoted the labor of his life with such consummate skill, zeal, love, and success. Though more than half of these two volumes is devoted to the letters of Felix and of his sister, Fanny, we will not here trace the career of Mendelssohn in its unbroken line of honorable and honored successes. In the ninth year of his age he appeared with distinction in a public concert in Berlin; in the following year in a similar concert in Paris. From this period he commenced his long series of compositions of every kind; some of them of a very elaborate and difficult character, and all of them classic in the highest degree. His letters admit us to an insight into his mode of composition. He caught the spirit of nature, whether it be a simple flower or

the Isles of Fingal, and thus found themes for many of his most beautiful pieces. At times he draws upon the margin of the music the flower or the scene which is the theme of the work.

But after perusing these volumes the reader lays them down with an even greater admiration for Felix as a man than as a musician. As a book of travels they are full of fine descriptions, pleasant incidents, and of portrayal of contemporary history. With kindly family feeling, genial wit, and sparkling vivacity the letters abound on every page.

A History of Latin Literature, from Ennius to Boethius. By GEORGE AUGUSTUS SIMCOX, M.A., Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. 2 vols., 12mo., pp. 468, 487. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

In his preface Mr. Simcox very forcibly presents the difficulties of his subject, arising from the paucity of the remains of Latin literature and the great gaps between the different portions of these remains. Almost all the work of the great law writers, for instance, of the second and third centuries of Rome, is lost; the laws of the republic have perished from the twelve tables downward. One cannot write the history of Roman schools and schoolmasters from the Decemvirs downward to Cassiodorus; but perhaps this is not to be regretted. For this part of the history we are largely dependent upon curt notes on the grammarians made by lazy copyists. What was before Ennius? Did Horace plagiarize Laberius? What was Augustan oratory like? Can we do justice to Cicero or Cæsar while we are so dependent upon their own works for political knowledge? How can we measure the unconscious hypocrisy of Livy while we can only guess at what he does not choose to tell us? One ideal of the history of a literature is a history of the people among whom it is produced; but it is doubtful, we suggest, whether literature ever attains to that representative character. It is necessarily more or less removed from the life of a people as soon as it attains self-consciousness, and vernacular literatures are both rare and fragmentary. The literary man of any age is apt to climb to the roof of his world to look off upon distant worlds; if he surveys his own world it is from some small orifice in the roof, and not through sympathetic relations with his age and its people. Even the ballads are apt to be songs taught to a people rather than the offspring of their life. That the people like them is an indication of the people's character; but Macaulay's "Lays of Rome" may give us that amount of knowledge, though

they may represent no creative popular feeling either in London or Rome. If a cobbler living in the last forty years B. C. had written a diary of his life, conversations, and thoughts—going fully into the details of all, and using his vernacular Roman tongue—it would be worth more than all our classic Latin as a mirror of his times. A hundred pages of the common Roman speech might tell us where the Italian language came from. When, in Apuleius, we find *de* used almost in its French sense, and *ille* doing the work of an article in Quintilian, we remember that Cicero had to get rid of a habit of dropping the final *s* of some words, and we study the fragments of Florus and other writers who made excursions into grammar with a hope of learning the sources of Italian speech; but this hope is never rewarded. Roman literature never had a proper vernacular character. It began under a Greek inspiration, and was always drawing from Greek fountains; the rare exceptions to the rule do not give us a popular, but a class, literature. Father Ennius was not even a Latin, but Oscan and Greek. The Latin tragedy was at first little more than a translation of Greek; Plautus was an Umbrian, a sort of Irishman in London, who came to Rome to work for hire in a mill; but even he only worked over the "New Comedy" of Athens into such shapes as might please the Roman populace.

Much more might be said of the non-representative character of the Latin literature which Mr. Simcox reviews through the eight centuries of its history. His work reminds us that our college study gives us a very imperfect view of this long and mighty stream.

We are apt to forget the large spaces between different groups of Latin writers. This is partly because the best known classical writers belong to two periods, the one immediately successive to the other. But when we take up Plautus and Terence we cannot afford to forget that the first died B. C. 184, and the second B. C. 159, and represented the best days of the republic. From the death of Terence to the composition of the earliest oration of Cicero which has come down to us nearly a century elapsed, and during that century the republic reached the height of its power, and matured the harvests of moral and political disorder which were soon to ruin it. That entire century produced no great literary fame, unless Lucretius is counted worthy of such honor. Taking up the eight writers usually read in colleges—Cicero, Cæsar, Sallust, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Livy, and Tacitus—we see that seven of them represent collectively but little more than a half

century. From Cæsar's violent end to the death of Livy there are only sixty-two years, and this short space may be considered about as long as the literary activity (of all these classical authors) which is represented in their extant works. In Tacitus we dip into literature a century nearer to us than that of Livy, and here the student usually ends the Latin course of study.

Mr. Simcox, following the usage which makes a literary epoch-mark of the death of Julius Cæsar, treats Cicero, Cæsar, and Sallust as literary men of the last age of the republic, and assigns Horace, Virgil, Ovid, and Livy to the Augustan Age. But it may be doubted whether this division has much literary value. At all events, there seems to be a serious defect in a system of Latin study which confines the student chiefly to sixty years of the eight centuries through which the literature of the Romans runs. When Plautus is read we get as close to the beginning as is desirable; but the five centuries which followed the death of Livy ought not to be represented by Tacitus alone. Dipping into Juvenal, Martial, and Quintilian adds something to our knowledge of the contemporaries of Tacitus. But the study which stops here leaves us midway in the course of the stream which rolls on four centuries after the death of Juvenal.

Those who make use of Latin for historical, theological, and linguistic studies have to forage on the wider field. Lucan, Seneca, Suetonius, Apuleius, Ammianus, Ausonius, Claudian, and a host of inferior writers, have to be studied as well as the Christian Fathers. Our colleges which are specializing in other fields would do well to consider the propriety of equipping a few students each year for the literary careers opened by a wide acquaintance with the literature of Rome.

Mr. Simcox aims to popularize his subject, to enable the "cultivated laity" to get an intelligible and interesting view of Latin literature. He does not require that his reader should be able to read Latin, but he has failed to relieve that reader from the task of consulting other books. The chronological table is a good one, but it would be a great convenience if the birth and death of each writer (so far as known) were given at the beginning of the separate account of each author, and additions to the biography and bibliography would have improved the work. There are other blemishes, such as placing the death of Livy in 18 A. D. in the chronology, and in 16 in the text. But the work is one which our readers will find as interesting as its theme is inviting. Mr. Simcox writes clearly, with no attempt at fine writing, and

his critical suggestions and hints are the more valuable for their unpretentiousness. He is often very happy in descriptions; as when he writes of Cicero's "versatile sensibility," says that Horace knew he "was born with a weak will as he was born with weak eyes," makes the best of the Æneid in the phrases, "Its sustained sweetness and dignity," "its manliness and sonorous roughness," "its simplicity and directness," and characterizes Lucan's work by the words "ferocious ingenuity." D. H. W.

On the Desert: With a brief Review of Recent Events in Egypt. By HENRY M. FIELD, D.D., Author of "From the Lakes of Killarney to the Golden Horn," and "From Egypt to Japan." Large 12mo, pp. 330. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883. Price, $2.

In this volume Dr. Field does not present himself to the reading public as a scientific explorer or a curious archæologist, but only as an intelligent traveler familiar with the literature of the Sinaitic Desert, seeking to transfer to the minds of others the impressions made upon him by the scenes he visited and the characters he met. His aim, he tells us in his modest preface, was not to add to the lore of scholars, but to present a "portfolio of sketches" to general readers containing a few "pictures of the desert." His fluent pen has assuredly accomplished this purpose, and that, too, in a most charming manner. His pictures of desert and mountain scenery, of tent and camp life, and of the Arab denizens of the Sinaitic peninsula are graphically and vividly drawn. He moves along the route of the ancient Israelites, from Suez to Jebel Mousa, and thence across the "Desert of the Wandering" into Palestine, with respectful and intelligent deference to the scriptural record of that marvelous historical movement. Evidently he enjoyed his journeyings, being always animated by their grand associations; and by his lively, even playful, style, he enables his unweary readers to share his enjoyment without the inconveniences and discomforts inseparable from such a trip. Perhaps the most valuable chapters of his book are the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth, in which he discusses, with marked ability and without tediousness, the religious, political, and legal principles embodied in the ancient Hebrew commonwealth. His view of England in Egypt will be accepted or rejected, according to the stand-point of his readers. Those who look at recent events in that degraded land simply in the light of an ideal political morality, will not accept his opinions; others who, without wholly disregarding

such ideals, see in the late Egyptian war a conflict between a lower and a higher civilization, will agree with him in the belief that the subordination of the crescent of Islam in Egypt to the lion of England is a triumph for modern civilization, an augury of hope that in the near future the foot of the Turk will find no resting-place, either in Europe or in Asia Minor. But whatever may be the reader's theories, he will find it both a pleasant and profitable employment to read Dr. Field's interesting book.

Recollections of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, late Dean of Westminster. Three Lectures delivered in Edinburgh, in November, 1882. By GEORGE GRANVILLE BRADLEY, D.D., Dean of Westminster, Honorary Fellow of University College, Oxford. 12mo, pp. 142. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, $1.

This, though not pretending to be a full and complete biography of a man whom multitudes, both in Europe and America, delighted to honor, is, as far as it goes, a very satisfactory volume. It is a tribute of friendship to the memory of one endeared to the author because of his largeness both of heart and brain, of his purity of character, his fidelity in friendship, his broad philanthropy, his liberality and charity toward all who, though differing in theological opinion, were nevertheless followers of the Lord Jesus Christ. Long years of intimate friendship with the departed Dean gave Dr. Bradley the best possible opportunities to study his peculiarities and to estimate his worth. Using a free pencil, and looking at his subject through the eye of admiring friendship, he has sketched him in outline, as the frail and delicate child in his father's rectory at Alderly, as the Rugby school-boy, the Oxford student, the college tutor, the Canon of Canterbury Cathedral, the Professor of History, and the Dean of Westminster. In all these positions we see him highly esteemed and deeply loved by many. In some of them he provokes the severe criticism of conservative minds because of his outspoken and daring liberalism. Dr. Bradley also portrays his success in authorship, the personal qualities by which he won the ardent attachment of those to whom he ministered, and the broad, not to say latitudinarian, Christian charity by which, though a stanch Churchman, believing in the union of Church and State, he gave good men of all sects the warm hand of cordial fellowship. He shows him to be a man who in his sympathies "rose above the limits that divide denominations into the higher region of a common Christianity." Though he is silent respecting the concessions he sometimes made to the

rationalistic spirit of his times, yet so well has Dr. Bradley done his work in this delightful volume, that although Stanley's future biographer will doubtless give the world more of the incidents of his useful life, and enough of his correspondence to enable one to form an independent judgment of his character, yet it may be questioned whether he will give the world any nearer or clearer insight into his mind and heart than we have in these lectures.

The Religions of the Ancient World. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., Camden Professor of Ancient History, Oxford; Author of "The Origin of Nations," "The Five Great Monarchies," etc. 16mo, pp. 249. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

This is a popular manual of the eight great religions of the world, written for a religious periodical, and serving to give a distinct and compendious survey. It is, of course, given from the hand of a master, in an interesting manner. From the whole the author deduces the conclusion that a science of historic religion cannot be framed without the accumulation of a larger number of materials. This is an indubitable truth, and it convicts Lenormant's *Beginning of History* of being premature in its over-confident conclusions. Yet Rawlinson deduces certain important negative conclusions. He denies the derivation of the Hebrew religion from any ethnic source; and maintains that between the Pentateuch and the Babylonian myths the difference is so great "that neither can be regarded as the original of the other." The history also refutes the theory of Comte, of three stages of theistic opinion, or any other development of theism from fetichism. Best sustained by facts is the theory of an original monotheism and a general degeneration. His last sentence is: "The only theory which accounts for all the facts—for the unity as well as the diversity of ancient religions, is that of a primeval revelation, variously corrupted through the manifold and multiform deterioration of human nature in different races and places."

The Life of Gilbert Haven, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By GEORGE PRENTICE, D.D., Professor in Wesleyan University. Large 12mo, pp. 526. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1883. $2.

We have barely space to announce this work fresh from our press. The readers of our Quarterly who have read the productions of Professor Prentice in its pages will anticipate—and will

not be disappointed—that the work will be well worthy the subject. We have found it a biography of absorbing interest. We expect to have furnished, in due time, a full review article.

Educational.

A Greek-English Lexicon. Compiled by HENRY GEORGE LIDDELL, D.D., Dean of Christ's Church, Oxford, and ROBERT SCOTT, D.D., Dean of Rochester, Late Master of Balliol College, Oxford. Seventh Edition. Revised and Augmented throughout with the Co-operation of Professor Drisler, of Columbia College, New York. 4to, pp. 1776. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1883.

The Greek-English Dictionary has grown to nearly the magnitude of the old-time folios in a period of no great length. Our own first knowledge of this classic language we wrung through the Greek-Latin Lexicon of Schrevelius, and we never saw a Greek-English one until our junior year in college. Then there came from Boston the apparition of Pickering's, which was very kind to undergraduates, as it provided special adaptations to the college course, including our Græca Majora and Homer, and also to the Greek Testament. About the same time came from beyond sea Grove's Lexicon, which was not quite so flexible to our needs. Then, in increased rise and some improvements, came Donnegan's, needing, however, to be brought to that completeness of method now current in standard dictionaries. That completeness was well approximated by Liddell and Scott's, on the basis of Passow's. This present edition has received so many additions and modifications, and from such various sources, as to have outgrown its relations to Passow, whose name is, therefore, rightly omitted from the title-page though his services are acknowledged in the Preface. Though struggling to avoid increased size the demands of the latest research have compelled a magnificent magnitude in this volume. Invaluable to mature scholars, we imagine that a smaller manual for the academic pupil will be in demand. American scholarship has been called in to aid the work, and special acknowledgments for important contributions are made to Professors Driscoll, of New York; Goodwin, of Cambridge; and Gildersleeve, of Baltimore.

Literature and Fiction.

English Literature in the Eighteenth Century. By THOMAS SERGEANT PERRY. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

Mr. Perry's volume is another contribution to the large number of books issued within the past few years upon the history of England during the last century. This interest in the eighteenth century is significant. We are passing through a phase in the development of thought very similar in many respects, and especially in all literary matters, to that prominent in England somewhat over a hundred years ago. "Thought," says Mr. Leslie Stephen, somewhere, "advances not in a right line, but in a series of spiral curves;" our arc just now is nearly parallel to that of the second quarter of the last century. Our interest in that period, then, may well be due to our sympathy with it. In literature, especially, one observes nowadays that predominance of the critical rather than of the creative temper, that admiration for mastery of literary form, for neatness and finesse, which were characteristic of the age of Pope and Gray. No one now would speak of the literature of the Queen Anne time as De Quincey and Wordsworth habitually spoke of it. De Quincey and Wordsworth themselves are hardly read as much as they were fifteen years ago; Pope and Addison are read more. In poetry, the creative impulse that began with Cowper and Burns, and was stimulated into renewed activity by the political and theological movements in the thirties, seems now finally dying out with Tennyson and Browning. The feeble school of mediæval imitators, of which Swinburne, Morris, and Rossetti are the best representatives, is already passing out of vogue. The youngest, and just at present the most genuine, school of English verse writers have mostly formed their style on eighteenth century models. Mr. Locker, Mr. Dobson, and Mr. Gosse equal Pope in "correctness," and outdo Prior in ease.

Mr. Perry does not aim to write the history of eighteenth century literature; but to exhibit its main characteristics, and its connection with the great currents of European thought. He omits biographical details, and passes over whatever in literature is due exclusively to the peculiar individuality of the writers, as his object is rather to show how the collective thought of the century finds expression in letters. His discussion is, moreover, limited to the three principal forms of polite literature or *belles-lettres* proper

—poetry, the drama, and the essay. These he traces in some detail throughout the century, shows the causes which produced them, the laws which decided their character, and the history of corresponding forms on the continent. Mr. Perry's reading in modern European literature is wide, and his book is replete with valuable facts. Indeed, the abundance of his illustrative matter seems now and then to have been too much for him; he has sometimes failed to arrange it well, and to make clear the inferences he would have us draw from it. It is to this cause that we ascribe an occasional lack of method that may perplex the reader.

But in his main object Mr. Perry has succeeded admirably. He has shown very clearly what our great-grandfathers of the last century wanted in a book, and why they wanted it. "Books," says Emerson, "are for nothing but to inspire." It is so that the value of a book is conceived in an age of creation and of impulse. Men ask only that it suggest some new thought, stir some passion, strengthen some resolve—be in some wise helpful. But it was not thus that a book was judged by the men of Pope's time. To them a poem or an essay was simply a finished work of art. It was proof of skill, of refinement and lettered culture. Man, said they, is not a hero and an adventurer: he belongs in drawing-rooms. It is a well-bred literature that he ought to like. Unregulated impulse and lawless emotion are forbidden in conversation; certainly men ought to show their good breeding as much in their writing as in their talking. Thus viewed, literature becomes really a part of manners; a social accomplishment to be appreciated by all, though beyond the reach of most. A kind of perfected conversation, with the wit and innuendo and sparkle of the best talkers pruned of all irrelevant matter, and confined in regular verse,—that is Pope's poetry. Now we do not know where the growth of this temper and the causes of it are explained in more clear and interesting fashion than in Mr. Perry's book.

The limitations which Mr. Perry has imposed upon his discussion exclude altogether some of those men who were most truly representative of their age, and have left the deepest impress upon its intellectual history. Philosophy and politics engrossed the attention of some of the ablest men of the last century; but of philosophy and politics Mr. Perry has nothing to say. We get no mention of Burke or of Hume, and only the briefest incidental reference to Berkeley and to Swift. It is perhaps from this limitation of his theme that Mr. Perry seems to have given too little importance to political and social conditions in his

statement of the causes to which the distinctive temper and form of last century literature are to be ascribed. The rise of the periodical essay, and of the novel in particular, seems to us to be due almost entirely to such causes. They owed next to nothing to foreign influences or examples; but were a genuine English product, the result of new conditions in English society and politics.

The book is disfigured by numerous errors of the press.

C. T. W.

Miscellaneous.

The Gospel by Mark. According to the Authorized Version, in Phonetic Spelling. By C. W. K. For a First Reading Book. Square 16mo, pp. 118. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. 1882.

This little pamphlet aims to furnish a specimen of phonetic spelling for public adoption. It is not unpleasing to the eye, and can be easily understood at sight by any master of our current orthography. How far it excels the methods proposed by others, we are not sufficiently versed in details to express an opinion. We are prepared, like good Catholics, to accept the decisions of the best "center of unity" that can be established.

Sunday Laws. By Hon. E. L. FANCHER, LL.D. 16mo, pp. 14. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1883.

The views of an able jurist, showing and maintaining the wisdom of the Sabbath institution, and its basis in the genius of our government.

The Church Lyceum, Its Organization and Management. By Rev. T. B. NEELY, A.M., Author of "Young Workers in the Church; or, The Training and Organization of Young People for Christian Activity," and President of the Representative Lyceum of Philadelphia. With an Introduction by Bishop HENRY W. WARREN, D.D. 12mo, pp. 216. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1882.

We expect to furnish a full Review Article of this book by an amply competent hand.

Energy. Efficient and Final Cause. By JAMES M'COSH, D.D., LL.D., D.L., Author of "The Laws of Discursive Thought," "Emotion," etc; President of Princeton College. 8vo, pp. 55. Paper. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

THE TOBACCO QUESTION. Three Essays. *The Evils of the Use of Tobacco by Christians.* By Rev. I. L. KEPHART. A.M. *The Tobacco Habit—Its Nature and Guilt.* By Rev. M. R. DRURY, A.M. *If Rum, then Tobacco.* By Rev. M. H. AMBROSE. A.M. With an Introduction by Prof. LANDIS, D.D. 12mo, pp. 175. Dayton, O.: United Brethren Publishing House. 1882.

Shakespeare's History of Pericles, Prince of Tyre. Edited, with Notes, by WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M., Formerly Head-Master of the High School, Cambridge, Mass. With Engravings. Square 8vo, pp. 161. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

The Two Noble Kinsmen. Written by the Memorable Worthies of Their Time, Mr. JOHN FLETCHER and Mr. WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. Edited, with Notes, by WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M., Formerly Head-Master of the High School, Cambridge, Mass. With Engravings. Square 8vo, pp. 200. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

The Christmas Tree. A Story of German Domestic Life. By HENRIETTA SKELTON. 16mo, pp. 279. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1883.

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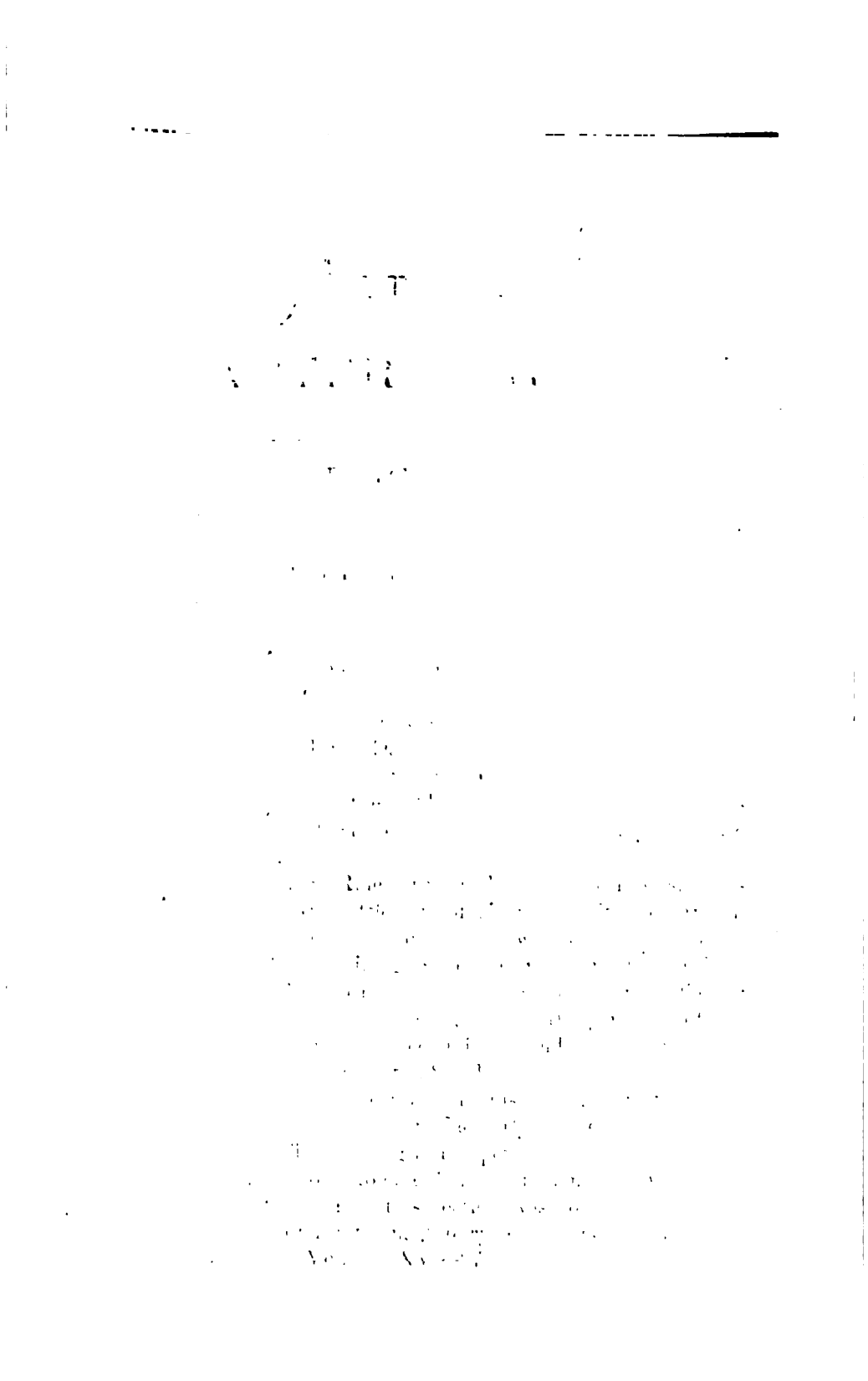
R. S. Dushiell



Methodist Quarterly Review.

JULY, 1883.

Art. I.—ROBERT LAURENSON DASHIELL, D.D.

Robert L. Dashiell, son of Robert and Mary R. Dashiell, was born at Salisbury, Maryland, June 25, 1825. His ancestry on his father's side were of French Huguenot extraction, and, settling in Somerset County in 1665, have always been prominent citizens. In 1691, when the Church of England was established by law in Maryland, the Dashiell family became Episcopalians, and Green Hill Church, Stepney Parish, built in 1733, now moldering in ruin on the bank of the Wicomico, shows on its records that two thirds of the wardens and vestrymen were named Dashiell.

His mother, Mary Rider, was of that class of English colonists dominant in the settlement of Maryland, with, perhaps, an infusion of the strong Puritan element which was driven from Virginia into the adjoining State, and which made Maryland somewhat like New England in blood, ideas, and religion; although the economic conditions, such as the parceling of the land in vast plantations, tobacco-raising, and slave labor, gave the State a resemblance to the South.

Nowhere had Methodism a more auspicious beginning than in Delaware and Maryland. Particularly on the Eastern Shore it found a clear field among a fine population, chiefly English and Scotch, free from Roman Catholic influence. In ministry and laity, Methodism in this section was fortunate. Strawbridge, Freeborn Garrettson, Asbury, Coke, and a grand host

who came after, laid foundations upon which rose a Church built of the best elements of an excellent population, including many influential families like the Goughs, Bassetts, Whites, and Barretts, whose opulence and social position "gave material strength to the Church, while their exemplary devotion helped to maintain its purity and power." The stateliest homes, like Perry Hall, which Coke calls "the most elegant house in the State," and the spacious and splendid Bassett mansion at Bohemia Manor, were homes, refuges, and preaching-places for the early ministers: and from the time of Governor Bassett, of Delaware, down to the days when Governor Hollyday Hicks held Maryland to the Union, in 1861, many governors, senators, judges, and prominent citizens of both States have been ardent Methodists. Quite equal to the high social rank of Methodism here was its spirituality and fruitfulness, in which quantity kept pace with quality. On the Peninsula it has been exceedingly productive from 1772, when Robert Williams founded the first society on the Eastern Shore, until now, when Methodism is estimated to have one third of the population, all other Churches together not having equal strength. A great array of ministers of strong character and talents this soil has produced. The first Society, formed by Strawbridge, of twelve or fifteen persons at Sam's Creek, early furnished five preachers. A single church in a small village has been known to send nine of its boys almost simultaneously into the itinerancy. The region which has reared such men as Bishop Emory, Lawrence M'Combs, Robert Seney—father of George I. Seney, Esq.—George Pickering, Ezekiel Cooper, Solomon Sharp, James Nichols, William Phoebus, Bishop Scott, B. H. Nadal, the two Dashiells, J. A. Roche, H. B. Ridgaway, Bishop Hurst, R. H. Pattison—father of Gov. Pattison, of Pennsylvania—and many others eminent in usefulness, may be justly proud of its sons.

When Freeborn Garrettson was preaching in a wood at Broad Creek, Sussex County, an aged couple, named Ryder, heard him, and invited him to their house at Quantico. He went, and, with this couple for a nucleus, formed the first Methodist Society in Somerset County, in 1778; since which, Lednum says, "there have been many valuable Methodists of the Ryder family about Quantico and Salisbury." These "dear old people," as Garrettson called them, living on a large

plantation on the Mantico, in a home of abundance, thrift, and religion, were the maternal great-grandparents of Robert L. Dashiell. Their house was a home and a church for Asbury and other early preachers, and Jesse Lee there baptized Dashiell's mother, whose life-long fidelity to early vows entitled her children to Hooker's benediction, "Blessed forever be that mother's child whose faith hath made him the child of God." Although Mary Rider married an Episcopalian, she maintained her devotion to her Church, so that her children were born into positively Methodist atmosphere.

In the spring of 1826, Rev. Lawrence Laurenson, then Presiding Elder of the lower district, old Philadelphia Conference, so captivated Robert Dashiell, as well as his wife, that their babe, about one year old, being named Robert for his father, was named Laurenson for the minister who baptized him, and who was one of the most eloquent and attractive of the preachers on the Peninsula. Around the early life of the boy thus baptized, the power of such men as Levi Scott, T. J. Thompson, Henry White, George G. Cookman, and Matthew Sorin shed its illumination.

"Larry," as he was called, had a genuine, full-blooded, frolicsome boyhood. He was amiable, handsome, jubilant, playful, irrepressible, but not addicted to vices of any kind; so full of pranks, that almost every mischievous thing was laid to his charge. Strong health, active mind, and exuberant spirits made him a leader among his comrades. He early showed a passion for public speaking, for which he found exciting occasions in political campaigns, notably that of 1840, when he figured as champion Whig stump-speaker among the boys of his village, pitted against a Democratic boy, named Collins. These two rallied the juvenile partisans of Salisbury, and hot debates sometimes passed from words to fisticuffs. This merry boyhood went on until he was fifteen, when all at once life exploded its great realities about him, and he stood startled, flushed, thinking fast, and feeling intensely, as one who hears suddenly close at hand the opening thunders of a battle. His father's failure in business, his own conversion, the return from college of his elder brother, John Huston, embodying to the eye and imagination of the boy the results and value of a collegiate education—these events ended boyhood for him, and brought

in the period when youth begins to reach for its resources and stretch consciously toward manhood and an earnest future.

His father, a man of integrity, had been prosperously engaged for years in mercantile business in Salisbury. John H. Dashiell, on graduating from Dickinson College, was elected Principal of the academy at Salisbury, and also taught a Sabbath-school class, of which his brother, Robert, was a member. The entire class was soon converted under the pastorate of Rev. James Hargis. Dashiell ever cherished the memory of his spiritual father, and in manhood told how Hargis patted him on the back as he wept at the altar, saying, "Pray on, Larry," until the work of renewal was done. Many years after, Dashiell, when college president, found opportunity to pay this debt by bringing to God James Hargis' son, then a student at Dickinson, now Rev. J. H. Hargis, of the Newark Conference.

Soon after his conversion "Larry" felt ambitious, in view of his father's situation, to be independent, and secured a position as teacher in a primary school. Six months' teaching resulted in one hundred and twenty dollars, and a desire for a college education. With his brother's assistance he was prepared for college by September, 1843. He desired to enter Sophomore, but being found rusty on some studies was taken on trial for three months. If in that time he could overtake the Sophomores, well; if not, he must fall back with the Freshmen. When Dr. Durbin read off the standing after the Christmas examination, Dashiell's name was highest among the Sophomores, and when, a few moments after, he met the president on the campus and asked if he might be admitted to the Sophomore class, Dr. Durbin, smiling, said, "I think we'll risk it." That first toilsome year in college he always looked back upon as the most important of his life in the formation of character. He records that his entrance at Dickinson marked the beginning of a completer religious life, and says: "From the commencement of college life I made punctuality in all religious and college duties the supreme rule. I was never absent from church, prayers, or recitation, unless sick or out of town."

He was popular with the faculty, and also with the students, among whom he went by the name of "*Dash.*" He was so poor that sometimes he fled out of one door as his

washer-woman came in the other, because he had no money to pay her. At close of sophomore year, funds being entirely exhausted, he obtained leave of absence, and became assistant to his brother, then principal of Light-street Institute, Baltimore; in addition to which he taught a night-school. In April, 1845, he returned to Carlisle, and in July passed up as a senior.

In his last year Dashiell had no competitor but Daniel Devinney, and a close strife divided honors equally. Devinney, five years older than Dashiell, mature, extraordinary in brilliancy and strength, intensely ambitious and studious, splendid, sensitive, and sad, ran a bright but brief career, which ended painfully. With this intense student Dashiell held an even position. In the society hall and on the chapel platform he was accorded the palm without dispute. He was the champion orator of the Union Philosophical Society, and always drew a crowded audience. His best friend in college was Dr. Emory, who impressed him more profoundly than any one else, and for whom his admiration knew no bounds. His room-mate, now Judge Robinson, of the Court of Appeals at Annapolis, after thirty-six years has not lost a similar enthusiasm, for he writes: "Durbin, though not strictly speaking a scholarly man, was a great reader, and had a wonderful fund of information at command; but Emory was in every sense a much stronger man, with talents of the highest order, and but for his early death would have been one of the most distinguished men of the age."

Emory, bidding Dashiell farewell after graduation, said, "Robert, I am not a judge of duty for others, but my impression is that God has work for you in his Church. If you hear a voice calling you to preach, beware of disobeying it." In order to cancel his educational debt, the young graduate returned to his brother's Institute to teach, intending to go afterward into law and politics: but the parting words of Emory abode with him, and were re-enforced by Rev. L. F. Morgan and Rev. James Allen, until one morning he came down early into the library and said to his brother, who had insisted on his studying law: "I have spent a sleepless night in prayer, and my conviction is that it is my duty to preach the Gospel. Woe is me if I preach not." This conviction he followed without delay. From Baltimore, about this time, three notable young men set out upon itinerant life: Otis H.

Tiffany, being a year in advance of the other two, and Alfred Cookman joining the Philadelphia, in the spring of 1848, when Robert L. Dashiell entered the Baltimore, Conference.

One sunny April morning young Dashiell mounted his pony, "Harry Clay," and rode from home to his first appointment, West River Circuit. When but a week an itinerant he writes in his journal, "One prayer I shall put up daily—Lord, make me a good pastor rather than a brilliant preacher;" yet he seems to relish preaching, for before he has been a month on the circuit he records that, one morning at "Friendship" Church, he preached an hour and a quarter. In 1850 he was sent to Loudoun Circuit, one of the most wealthy and cultured of rural sections, and, down to its desolation by the war, the story of his eloquence and unequaled popularity could be heard anywhere on the circuit. In 1852 he was appointed to Union Chapel, in the city of Washington, where large audiences and a considerable revival marked his pastorate. The charge prospered abundantly. In 1854 he went to Wesley Chapel, Washington, as assistant to Rev. James H. Brown, devoting himself mainly to a new enterprise on Capitol Hill, which dedicated its edifice, "Waugh Chapel," before the close of his term. While in Washington, he met, received into the Church, and married Miss Mary J. Hanly, who now survives him, with three daughters and a son. The reports of his Washington pastorates are enthusiastic. In 1856 he was sent to Baltimore as one of four ministers on the "City Station," comprising four churches, Light St., Eutaw St., Wesley and Spring Garden chapels. The four men rotated among the four churches. Divided labors and responsibilities did not work well. The personal magnetism of one man could not obtain much hold on thirteen hundred members operated upon continually by three others. The next two years Dashiell was at Charles St., following B. F. Brooke and a great revival. Finding prosperity in full tide, he increased it, and the church became the strongest in Baltimore.

In the summer of 1857, a boyhood friend, now Judge Irving, of the Maryland Court of Appeals, then residing in Cincinnati, happening to be in Baltimore over Sunday, went in the morning to hear Dashiell preach. He found the house crowded, with aisles full of benches and chairs. Notwithstanding his old friend was in a remote part of the house, the preacher

spied him, and as he closed his sermon, called on Irving to pray, saying, as the congregation was kneeling, "God converted us at the same time and has kept us faithful, you practicing your profession in a distant city and me preaching his everlasting Gospel." This introduction, added to the unexpected call to pray, came near proving too much for the astonished lawyer. After twelve years in the Baltimore Conference, during which he attained first rank as pastor and preacher, he was transferred in 1860 to the Newark Conference, to occupy the pulpit of Central Church, Newark, one of the most cathedral-like buildings in Methodism, and which is still unsurpassed in the pure Gothic stateliness of its interior. Both church and pastor were in the glow and vigor of young life. A pastorate highly successful in all respects resulted. Then followed two good years at Trinity Church, Jersey City, during which he was instrumental in founding the Children's Home for the Education of Indigent Children in that city.

In 1864 he returned to Newark as pastor of St. Paul's Church. The industries of the city were paralyzed by the war. The church had small congregations, was in debt twenty-one thousand dollars, and sorely depressed. He addressed himself at once to the debt, and in seven months the whole amount was raised. In the winter about one hundred were added to the church, many of whom are now its most active members. His three years at St. Paul's opened a new era for the church, and two pastorates in Newark gave him an honored name and wide influence among its citizens. In 1867 he became pastor at Orange, N. J. The degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred on him simultaneously by Rutgers College and Wesleyan University. On Sept. 8, 1868, he was chosen President of Dickinson College, to fill the vacancy made by the death of Dr. H. M. Johnson.

The situation of Dickinson at this time was critical, and required a president of peculiar qualities. He must give promise of being able to regain for the institution its lost constituency. His history and affiliations must be such as to propitiate both Northern and Southern sentiment. These necessities asked for a man from the border who might be in himself a bond of union. Dashiell, whose life had been divided between Maryland and New Jersey, and whose influence was thus outlying in both directions, suited Dickinson's need. The presidency

must have a man of wide access to the general public and to men of influence and wealth. Such considerations of policy largely determined the selection and outlined the work of the new man. Dr. Dashiell went to Carlisle in the prime of his manhood, with a successful record and a wide acquaintanceship, to undertake a difficult task. The affairs of the college were at a low ebb. It had suffered immensely from the war. In *ante-bellum* days the pro-slavery element among trustees and students had alienated Northern sympathy; the war cut off all patronage from the South; and the college, unsupported by either, was in imminent peril of sinking forever. The speech of welcome made to him in behalf of trustees and faculty said, "Your old mother, Dickinson, for some years has been struggling along with palsied limbs in poverty and neglect. One who came before you to steady her tottering steps sank under the burden and we buried him. Put your strong arm around her and hold her up."

To this not over-cheerful address the new President responded in happiest vein. His first words were to the "young gentlemen," whom he told with winning lightsomeness and felicitous witchery of expression how, when aroused that morning by the familiar tones of the old college bell, he had seemed to awake to one of his own student days, and was on the point of calling his chum, when he remembered that student-life was twenty-two years gone, and far different days had come. Then, turning to his associates of the faculty, he spoke reverently and touchingly of Emory, and invoked that the mantle of that illustrious model might fall on him. A member of the faculty writes, "With a heart full of kindly instincts, at once dignified and affable, quick and skilled in knowledge of human nature, intelligent and prompt as an officer in the dispatch of his proper business, he brought high qualities to his office."

Bending his energies promptly to the scanty and urgent situation, he did much to rehabilitate the fortunes of his *alma mater*. With fine executive abilities he gave faithful attention to details. He raised funds for extensive repairs and improvements to college buildings. From Saturday to Monday he was usually away, spending Sundays in Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Pittsburg, and elsewhere, preaching and seeking to gain friends, funds, and students for the institution.

The rest of the week he devoted closely to the internal work of the college. The number of students gradually increased, and in his last year more entered than in any year of his or the previous presidency. He made every effort to stimulate interest in college life. The citizens were invited to weekly open-air concerts on the campus during the appropriate season. The custom of planting class-trees for the beautifying of the grounds was revived. Half-holiday excursions to the springs, caves, and spurs of the Blue Ridge mountains were encouraged. He organized the poorer students into a club, the table of which he kept largely supplied by mysterious arrivals of provisions from Philadelphia and Baltimore, reducing board to a mere trifle. Sick students, rich and poor, were fed from the president's own table. He strove to keep alive among the students a high sentiment of manhood, and to work that sentiment upon the side of college regulations. In this he so far succeeded that it was considered "a shame to lie to Dr. Larry."

Instead of putting college societies under ban, he became their patron and made them arms of power to his administration, holding each fraternity responsible for the honor of its members, and calling the attention of the best men in each to the misdoings of any, that it might protect itself from the disgrace of having its members disciplined. He acted the part of a pastor to the students, visiting, conversing, and sympathizing with them. In his inaugural address he told them that while he came as a college officer, he came as a personal friend to every one, and thenceforth every student knew that if he needed a friend he would find one in the president.

Dashiell inclined more to kindness than to discipline. He has been known to conceal a young man's misdeeds from the faculty, laboring secretly meanwhile to win the misdoer to amendment; saying to himself, "I am going to save that boy, law or no law." When the martinets of the faculty remonstrated against some stretch of kindness which they thought relaxed unwisely the discipline of the college, he would say, "Well, the pastor got the better of the president." Yet his government did not expose itself to contempt. College rebellions ended in the triumph of authority. The Sophomore and Freshman classes combined against a member of the faculty, and were suspended. On Saturday morning the president, after his

chapel prayer, began his remarks with the quotation, "Of law there can no less be acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of God, and her voice the harmony of the world." Then followed a clear statement of the difficulty and of the faculty's action. The two classes were given until Monday morning to surrender or go home, and were bidden to retire with the sententious remark, "Young gentlemen, empty benches can be refilled, but life is too short for the recovery of lost dignity." The next morning Dr. Dashiell preached an Easter sermon in Emory Chapel, and not one of the college rebels was missing from the service, under which few were unmoved. The rebellion vanished between Saturday and Monday.

The genial president was not averse to the students' favorite maxim, *Dulce est desipere in loco*, and on occasion joined in college mirth. At one time there was irregularity in the ringing of the college bell, and Dr. Dashiell remarked to one of the Seniors that the old colored janitor evidently needed a new watch. Upon this hint a watch was provided by the Seniors, and the president's permission secured for a public presentation after elocutionary exercises in the hall. The "Major," as he was called, from having been a servant, in the Southern army, to General Joseph E. Johnston, was meanwhile privately drilled in a speech, but without being informed of the nature of the occasion. At the close of the elocutionary hour the faculty dropped in, the Major was summoned, and, having been solemnly arraigned by a chosen Senior for failing to observe schedule time, was presented with a watch warranted to regulate his bell-ringing. Thereupon Dr. Dashiell, supposing the ceremonies ended, was about to bow the sable recipient out, when the Major broke forth in a vociferous speech to the professors: "Learned literatuses, de perihelion am in de ascendin' node, and wen you see de great Jubiter comin' ober de mountin ridge, riding on a jack wid ears on him like a terbacer plant, den you may say, Sic semper tyraliter. Literatuses vale, iterim vale! Io triomphe!" In the laughter which followed this deliverance nobody joined more heartily than the president.

Dashiell's intercourse with the Board of Trustees was manly and frank, and his reports and recommendations clear-sighted and business-like. Teaching was not his delight, and probably there was not an hour of his presidency when he would not

rather preach a sermon than hear a recitation. But if not an eminently learned and accurate scholar, he had resources more needful to the post he was called to fill. Upon this point one of his students quotes words which are accredited to Lord Ashburton: "As in choosing the builder of my house I do not select the man who has the most materials in his yard, but by reference to his skill, ingenuity, and taste; so also, in testing an orator or teacher, I satisfy myself that they fulfill the comparatively easy condition of possessing sufficient materials of knowledge with which to work, and then I look to those high and noble qualities which are the characteristics of their peculiar calling. There were hundreds in Athens who knew more than Demosthenes, many at Rome who knew more than Cicero; yet there was but one Demosthenes and one Cicero."

Notwithstanding the new president's determined assault all along the line of obstacles and embarrassments, difficulties apparently insuperable remained in the way of success. It was necessary to attract attention and attendance upon Dickinson, to restore alienated sympathies, and to bridge chasms of indifference which threatened to isolate the college and leave it to its fate. But there was great difficulty in drawing students. Carlisle was off main lines of travel, up a valley road, remote from cities and centers. This was an obstacle, also, to bringing visitors, at Commencement or any other time, to see the college and its needs. The institution was poor, the faculty inharmonious.*

Against the adverse situation Dashiell labored earnestly for two years, and then became convinced that success, if possible at all, could only come by long, disheartening toil. He felt that life was too short for him to wait a dozen weary years for a slow and dubious result. In the latter part of his presidency his desires went out longingly for some more congenial and satisfactory work. Although this was his conclusion, it is the opinion of qualified judges that he might have won full

* It is pleasant to remark that this is no longer so, and that Dickinson College comes to its centennial with favorably altered prospects, a harmonious administration, and an awakening interest in the college among friends of education; while the completion of the Shenandoah Valley Railroad, connecting with the Cumberland Valley Road at Hagerstown, makes it the uniting link between the system of roads west and south of the Susquehanna, and the eastern and northern system which centers at Harrisburg; Carlisle being thus put on a trunk line and made accessible from all the territory on which Dickinson may properly hope to draw.

success. A trustee says, "Notwithstanding his chief gifts were for the pulpit and platform, he would have made a first-class success as president if he had consecrated his life to it." A member of his faculty writes: "Could he have changed some of his aims, put on more of the scholastic habit, and devoted himself solely to building up the college, he would have done a splendid work for education, for the Church, and for fame." It had been hoped that he might make the restoration of Dickinson his life-work. In Methodist history such hopes, often cherished, have been seldom realized. He followed the course which has been the rule in our educational institutions, and which is fostered by the customary action of our Church. He held the presidency of Dickinson less than four years, and, resigning early in 1872, was made Presiding Elder of Jersey City District.

The General Conference of 1872 was remarkable for two things: the first participation of lay delegates, and the number of men elected to offices new to them. Eight new bishops, three new missionary secretaries, two new book agents, and several new editors were chosen. Robert L. Dashiell, John M. Reed, and Thomas M. Eddy were elected Corresponding Secretaries of the Missionary Society. This office suited Dr. Dashiell's tastes and gifts, and fitted his previous training as capital fits column, although all its duties were not equally congenial to him. His qualities were at their best in its public work. He did the office-work faithfully, but it was sometimes irksome. He would let it accumulate, and then fly at it and clear it off with marvelous rapidity. He was too mettlesome to be a natural plodder. His associate, Dr. Reid, says: "He had almost irresistible power to enlist others in a cause, and could command the time, influence, and means of men as very few can." He managed with admirable tact the interests intrusted to him, had large influence in all missionary councils, and knew how to state a case so as to win the utmost in its behalf. An accomplished pleader, he brought to the office a wide reputation for money-raising ability. Shrewd business men admired his consummate skill, amounting to genius, in such matters. He gave especial attention to legacies. Going from the office-desk to the Conferences, he was a glowing messenger, thrilling the Church with latest news of toil,

trial, and triumph in missionary fields, and interceding mightily for heathendom. The Conferences of the land hold vivid recollections of his magnetic and magnificent appeals. Judge Fancher says: "His efficiency in the secretaryship was unsurpassed. Largely through his device and foresight such measures were adopted that all our missions were active, bold advances were made, and the missionary achievements under his supervision mark an era in the progress of Christianity." In 1878 he made, with Bishop Merrill, a tour of examination among our missions in Mexico. If this summary account seems a meager treatment of the best eight years of his life, it is from no dearth of facts in that laborious and fruitful period; but because an attempt to collect details would be like taking a census of the Church.

After this review of the history and work of his life, some presentation of personal characteristics may properly follow.

Dr. Dashiell was eminently formed and furnished for the pulpit and platform. Six feet high, erect and symmetrical, with blue eyes, straight brown hair, ruddy complexion, and frank, earnest face; with a handsome, impressive, winning presence, the impersonation of ease and manly grace; with a deep, rich, singularly pervasive voice, quivering in tender pathos or swelling in indignant outburst or passionate appeal, he charmed audiences, and held them with a magnetic spell. Often the copious tide of his incandescent eloquence flowed like a stream of oil on fire. He read an audience instinctively, and made the impassive responsive. He took liberties with customary proprieties, even before cultivated congregations, in a way that would have imperiled the influence of almost any other man. His blithe wit played with assemblies "as a fresh wind provokes the sea to laughter," yet left his dignity secure upon their respect, "as well placed as a castle set upon a mountain." In the midst of the play he turned on them suddenly an overwhelming tide of pathos and solemn power, and when he "preached the joys of heaven and pains of hell" he "bore his great commission in his look." It has been said of Dr. Pusey's sermons, "They are the voice of one crying in the cloister." Few sermons had less of the cloister than Dashiell's. The cloisters he paced were the homes where men dwell, and the places where they toil and strive, the highways of busy life.

His preaching cried up and down the noisy and beaten shore of man's work and woe and sin. Along that thronged surf-shaken beach, alive with commerce, strewn with wrecks, where ventures are putting forth and cargoes coming in, his voice sounded, and he kept watch like a life-patrol.

The Scotch preacher, Dr. James Hamilton, digested the results of his manifold reading into a set of volumes, entitled "Bibline; or, Book-Essence," much of which he used as sermon material, greatly to the weariness of the plainer part of his congregation. In Dashiell's sermons there was little "Bibline," much *Vitaline*, rather, if one may coin the correspondent word. Dr. Erastus Wentworth once criticised a sermon as spoiled by "too much Minerva." Even when Dashiell was college president there was no Minerva in his preaching.

> "His luxury supreme
> And his chief glory were the Gospel theme:
> There he was copious as old Greece or Rome;
> His happy eloquence seemed there at home."

Whipple, contrasting Webster and Choate, calls the former an "out-of-doors man," and the latter an "indoors man." One did his thinking largely in the open air, the other in his library. Webster was at home with "the plain, good sense of average mankind," and spoke with every-day ease; Choate fed his fires in secret and burst forth in a blaze of eloquence which had been wrought up intensely in solitude. In the sense of this comparison, Dashiell was an "out-of-doors man." To a parishioner who once queried when he prepared his sermons, he answered, "I get up sermons on the street." In his preaching there was no violence or strain, yet no lack of force. He told a young minister, who seemed to lack fire, that he needed a diet of blood and gunpowder. He was proverbially the friend of young men, having a winsome talent for enlisting them. In every pastorate he delivered frequent sermons especially to them, by which many were turned to righteousness. "Is the young man, Absalom, safe?" was one of his favorite texts. Young men whom he had befriended, rescued, and inspired, sat broken-hearted by his bedside in his last illness, holding his wasted hands and kissing them reverently with tears.

A loyal son of the Church, to which he devoted his all, he championed ardently the doctrines and usages of Methodism.

He preferred, "Come, ye sinners, poor and needy," to what he called the "ungodly music" which would take possession of some of our sanctuaries. His work was done so easily that he seemed to have power in reserve, and made the impression that he was banking on large resources and nowise pressed by the occasion. Having great facility of thought and expression he largely relied on this power, which was at once his advantage and his danger. The consciousness of these rare gifts did not stimulate to hard study, but led him to leave to the moment what men less facile, and less sure of themselves, must have put careful preparation upon. Although his mind was active and fertile, he put little on paper. Writing was seldom absolutely necessary to him, because he could carry what he needed in his mind; and finding the drudgery of the pen irksome he wrote only when it was necessary.

Stirring activity suited him. The throne of his power was set in public; his rule was that of presence; his scepter, personal touch. By face-to-face word he won, and conquered by direct contact. There was that in him which was hard to resist. Able to do with men what few would dare, and fewer successfully attempt, he could ride in upon them with a dash in such courteous manner that there was no rudeness; before they had time to lift drawbridge or let portcullis fall he was prancing in the castle's court without asking leave, at ease in his saddle, at home with his surroundings, and gracious. If he saw fit to come ashore no reserve could keep him off, even when suspicion stationed its sentinels and hostility mounted its guns. He knew how to run the blockade, elude the guards, and land his troops with stores and ammunition to occupy the town. A genial spirit, with courtly suavity of manner, made him agreeable. Keen penetration gave him the art of quick inference and thorough tact. He knew like a skilled anatomist where the heart was located, could touch it at will, and tell as by a stethoscopic sense how it was beating. The ideal and active well blended, an ardent poetic temperament, and practical executive sense, with experience of affairs, made him an adroit manager and an inspiring leader. He saw the bright side of things, kindled others with his courageous faith, shed a glow about him which melted indifference, inspired timidity with confidence, and disarmed opposition. With a masculine con-

tempt for shams and nonsense, hating cant and hypocrisy, he neither hid what he was, nor pretended to be what he was not. Heart, home, sorrows, ambitions, and all his affairs were open. Concealment was unnatural to him; indeed, he erred in the opposite extreme. In his private business affairs he was unsuccessful, easily beguiled, and by believing every body suffered loss.

He was warm-blooded, humane, lavish in his friendships, magnanimous to rivals, and forgiving to enemies, saying often, "Life is too short to carry bitterness in our hearts. Keep the wheat, and let the chaff go; cherish the good, and forget the evil." Strength, time, and substance were poured out for his brethren as if there were no limit to his resources. There was no stint in his willingness to help every body, and little caution in his promising. The impulse of ready consent, meeting every appeal for aid, did not stop to calculate coolly the limits of possibility; and thus, through over-generosity, undertaking more than circumstances finally permitted, he sometimes failed to make all connections. A distinguished judge writes: "He had more warm friends than any man I ever knew, and was as true as steel, never failing to do his utmost for a friend when opportunity offered." When, on his sick-bed, the account of Chancellor Runyon's re-appointment and confirmation was read to him, he joyously cried "Halleluiah."

He found ready access to men of the world, and turned many of them to Christ. The matters which he touched influentially are known to be various. Without turning aside to politics, he wielded, silently, considerable political control through personal influence with those who ruled civil affairs. Men in power consulted his sagacious judgment, and some owed official position to his influence. A secular paper, politically opposed to him, said: "Dr. Dashiell was not a person of ordinary mold; he did not walk after a set fashion or talk by line and plummet. He would have made his mark in any station of life; and where he did make it, it is indelible. He was a perfect example of restless, impulsive American energy; of that tireless power which transforms wildernesses, builds cities, and keeps the human heart on fire. He was more than a preacher, every-where sought for and admired; he had more statesman-like qualities than nine-tenths of the men who make statesmanship a profession. He took a living interest in all that

belonged to his country, its material, political, and moral progress. A thorough, comprehensive, large-souled, educated, common-sense man of the times was Dr. Dashiell."

In October, 1861, Gilbert Haven left his army chaplaincy and took charge of Clinton-street Church, Newark. Soon after, in a letter to a friend, he wrote: "A fine Gothic church is close beside mine, with a popular preacher who draws on this greatly. I shall be thankful if I keep my folks at home."

This popular preacher was Dashiell, who hospitably took the wifeless, homeless Haven to his heart and home, a weekly guest at his table. The inflexible abolitionist and the Maryland democrat, disputing and fraternizing with belligerent good-will, were ever after close friends, the heat and blows of debate only welding intimacy. Ardent and genial, as much alike in nature as different in opinions, they disagreed sharply without animosity. Familiar as boys, Dashiell would take him by the arm and say, "Come, old Gilt-edge, you must go home with me." The Yankee chaplain at Dashiell's table had to contend also with his Southern hostess, with whom he would insist on discussing such matters as John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry. Twenty years after, on the day of Haven's funeral, Dashiell, on his bed of suffering, said: "Haven and my wife used to quarrel dreadfully, and they quarreled until they became warm friends." The last vote of this out-spoken democrat was straight Republican. The democracy of Newark had bought the German vote by pledging itself for an open Sunday of saloons and carousing. As he went to the polls his democratic friends held out their party ballot. He said, "No, I thank you! You have sold me out, but you cannot deliver me."

Dr. Dashiell was a right royal lover of his wife and children. Home was the dear center of the world. To it his thoughts turned, of it he always talked, no matter how far away duty led him. The story of his family life, most cheery, considerate, unselfish, and affectionate, is not for these pages. One of the inmates of his home was "Mammy," his negro nurse, who, as she was proud of saying, "taught him to walk." In his infancy Hetty had been hired of her mistress by his mother. Long after, when he was in the ministry, he paid, at her entreaty and with the sanction of Bishop Ames, five hundred dollars to save her from being sold away. From

that time she lived in his family and bore herself as if she owned it. Toward her he showed gentle consideration, never going away without calling "Good-bye, Hetty," and waiting to shake hands. Her boast to his children was, "Your father never give me a unrespectful word in his life." In dealing with this crotchety character much patience and tact were required. When the children gave her offense she would loftily repel all overtures until her idolized "Friend" came in to restore peace. Haven once, in his Episcopal days, in taking leave of the family, extended his hand first to old Mammy, who drew back with great dignity and said, in a tone of reproof, "Mrs. Dashiell first, Bishop." Dashiell's laugh at the repulsed dignitary rang through the house. Hetty was heart-broken over the sufferings which ended her friend's life, and would not witness his dying. As soon as he was gone she came into the room, extended her hands above his body, and said, with a choking voice, "Farewell, Doctor! You've been a good friend to me. I'll meet you before the throne." Being told of a sermon in which the minister had said, "God never calls one of his children from earth unless he has work for him elsewhere," she broke out, indignantly, "Humph! If dat's de way, Miss Mary, I don't think much of it. If de Doctor, after all de runnin' and wearin' out his poor body he done here, aint got no rest now, I don't think much of it." She had her own notion of what use "de Lord" might properly make of "de Doctor;" it was her opinion that he would be "de strong-lunged angel to stand wid one foot on de land and de other on de sea to blow de trumpet." She survived him less than a year. Her name is cut upon his monument. Her body lies at his feet on the bank of the Passaic.

Dr. Dashiell's last public utterance in the East was in Newark at the funeral of his friend, Cornelius Walsh. That night, pale and worn with two weeks of illness, he started for the Northwest. His route was almost the same as the last trip of his colleague, Dr. Eddy. In fourteen days he traveled three thousand miles, delivered fourteen sermons and addresses, and was shaken up in a railroad collision. His last sermon was at Lincoln, Nebraska. He reached home sick, October 9, and went through his duties with the General Missionary Committee, in its annual meeting, with pallid, pain-stricken face and

tremulous hands, yet alert and vigilant as ever. He was seen at the front of action until the ambulance carried him off the field. Near the close of that annual meeting some statement sprung him, and he flashed into a burning, brilliant speech of ten minutes, the last blaze of dying fires in a man who had no chance for life. The meeting over, he, as well as Bishop Haven—two brave, brotherly men—went home to die of rankling disease. The week after the adjournment of the committee, Dashiell went on Monday to the Presbyterian Hospital for a surgical examination. It was made in the afternoon, revealed intestinal cancer, and indicated that disease had gone too far for removal by an operation; but, in the absence of Dr. Van Buren, it was necessary to remain till next day for his opinion. The night of suspense was horrible. With doom half-pronounced he must wait till the morrow for sentence to be made decisive and complete. Left to themselves in strange and ghastly surroundings, that hospital, as night settled down, was to him and his wife a very Golgotha. About eight in the evening the door opened, and, to their grateful surprise, there stood Bishop Haven, his broad form filling the door-way as he tossed in his friendly greeting, "Well, old fellow, they have you where they want to get me," meaning in the surgeons' hands. "I had an hour before leaving for Boston and wanted to spend it with you." When his time had elapsed, Haven said "Good-bye," and was apparently going, when suddenly he dropped on his knees and prayed for ten minutes, pouring out his soul for his friend. Dashiell was greatly affected. The bright Bishop hastened away, in pain and weakness, to lay himself on his own death-bed and find the gates of heaven two months before his friend. The only reading Dashiell did during his illness was George Lansing Taylor's elegy on Haven. "The warrior is at rest. I wonder how long I must wait," said the slowly dying Missionary Secretary when he learned that his heroic brother had gone before him. Very soon the comrades greeted beyond the battle-fields, hanging their dinted shields upon the temple walls where the holy light of victory falls for evermore.

Dr. Dashiell astonished his friends by his fortitude in suffering. He endured the trying operation of colotomy, which, however, availed little. When he laid himself on the table, the surgeon said, as he administered the anæsthetic, "Now,

Doctor, you must lose sight of us for a little while." "I know it," he replied, "but my heavenly Father will not for a moment lose sight of me."

Although arrested suddenly in the fullness of power, usefulness, and hope, he felt no shock of alarm or dismay, but accepted with resignation the will of God. Yet he relinquished only with obstinate reluctance the hope that he might recover sufficiently to do a little more work. He said, "If I might get up from this sick-bed, I could preach better than I ever did. I may never again go down the long furrow with the reapers, but I would like to throw in my sickle with the gleaners." His sheaves were all in. Nothing remained for him on earth but suffering, mitigated by the ministry of loving hands, the practical sympathy of a cordon of friends doing all in their power to relieve him from earthly anxieties, and the great grace of God. Tormented with pain, he spoke of the Divine goodness with grateful tears, and rebuked every murmur uttered in his presence. Often when distress was severest he quoted,

> "Courage, my soul, thy bitter cross,
> In every trial here,
> Shall bear thee to thy heaven above,
> But shall not enter there."

His first words almost every morning during his illness were, "Bless the Lord, O my soul!" Looking toward eternity, he said, "The hill-tops beyond are gilded with glory. The shadows are all here." He hated death with the strong instinct of a vital man, but loved the Lord of life. The Church watched his dying for four weary months, and when, in his fifty-fifth year, in the dusk of evening on the 8th of March, 1880, quietly as a tired child falls asleep, he crossed the shaded frontier into the better life, Methodism from ocean to ocean, and from the St. Lawrence to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, was smitten with a sense of loss. At his funeral, held in St. Paul's Church, Newark, in a driving snow-storm, and attended by a great multitude, addresses were delivered by Bishop Simpson and Secretary Reid, the sole survivor in the missionary office. Of him Dr. Reid has said: "All parts of his nature conspired to make him a brilliant character. The ends of the earth weep for him, for the monuments of his toil are in all lands."

ART. II.—REMARKABLE PROBLEMS OF OUR POPULATION.

Bulletin de la Société de Géographie. Paris. 1881, 1882.

THE subject we are about to discuss touches our national egotism; and have we not, long ago, had enough of that? Unquestionably the proverbial boastfulness of Americans has had some considerable justification; they had great "fathers," and have been accustomed to see natural grandeurs all around them—great lakes and rivers; great mountains, rich in mines; and great prairies, cornfields for the bread of the world. The great destiny of the country became a sort of intuition in their national consciousness. They are not, also, to be contemned, if not admired, for the pluckiness of their self-assertion at a time when Europe treated them only with supercilious sarcasm, and her Trollopes, Fidlers, and Dickenses caricatured them before the Old World. All this, however, has now changed; Europe is now dependent largely on their bread and cheese, their beef and pork; their inventions and manufactures are seen by the American traveler in the shops of all her great cities; he travels her lakes and rivers in the steam-boat, finds the telephone in her principal towns, and telegraph-wires along her highways, and hears the murmur of the "sewing-machine" through the cottage windows of the obscure villages of the Hartz and Alps. American men of science are now recognized as authorities by the best scientific authorities of Europe. The works of American poets and novelists are welcomed by her best families; and American historians are standards on the shelves of her libraries; some of them—like Irving, Ticknor, Prescott, and Motley—are esteemed as her best authorities on questions of her own history. If Europe still holds Canada and Australia somewhat aloof, as secondary or provincial sections of the civilized world, she no longer thus disparages the United States. She now admits us as equals to the full comity of her greatest states. She has gone further, and has begun to treat us with rather flattering complacency. We may, then, well enough abate our old boastfulness, and trust our reputation to her good sense. But on a subject like that we are about to present it is impossible to write without

apparent egotism. Fortunately for us, however, we are to be backed by European authority, and are to reproduce chiefly European opinions. After this apologetic introduction (which we acknowledge to be somewhat equivocal) we crave permission to go through our discussion without wasting our limited space—entirely too brief for the subject—in modest qualifications.

The "Bulletin" of the Geographical Society of Paris has lately given some interesting papers on the population of the United States, from the pen of M. L. Simonin, who is, apparently, a French *savant* sojourning among us, and who has made the statistics of our last census a special study. M. Simonin commends strongly the work of our "Bureau of Statistics" at Washington, approving particularly the long time (so impatiently resented by ourselves) which it spends in elaborating its important problems—problems the most surprising, as he thinks, and the most suggestive of economic and social lessons, ever presented in the official documents of nations. Our last census he pronounces "the most remarkable in its geographical, economic, and moral phenomena that has ever been made." His discussions of its principal results have excited much curiosity and no little wonder among French statisticians; and some quite novel questions and problems have been addressed to him, in reply, by his *confrères* of the Paris *Sociétié de Geographie.* It seems that Europe is beginning to perceive that the New World is about to exercise a really revolutionary influence on the commercial, political, and social destinies of the Old, if not, indeed, of the entire world.

The facts which indicate this coming revolution are incontestable, but, at first view, they seem incredible to European thinkers. They are marvels in the social evolution of our times, and French thinkers, especially, are indisposed to accredit marvels. M. Simonin, however, confronts them with the indisputable numerical proofs; they speak for themselves, and admit, as he thinks, of no evasion.

Some of his deductions may well startle Americans themselves, sanguine and boastful though we usually be. We propose to review a few of them, including some which his formula implies, but which he has not discussed.

Among the most remarkable considerations which his papers suggest are the "Center of Population," the rate of its move-

ment westward, the time of the completion of this movement, the amount of our population at that period, and its comparative strength considered in respect to the population of Europe and to that of the whole earth.

The elements of such calculations must, of course, be various and difficult; there is much room for conjecture, and no little temptation to it, but there is a better than Dædalian escape from the Cretan labyrinth of the facts concerned; the clew through them is mathematical, and M. Simonin holds, with a steady hand, to that clew. For example, the ratio of the growth of our population has been so regular as almost to confirm Mr. Buckle's theory that even statistics are subject to exact law. We have been able to predict, with no little confidence, the aggregate result of the census of each decade for nearly a hundred years, for nearly the whole of our national history, notwithstanding all the contingencies which affect that result—political changes, wars with England, with Mexico, with ourselves; commercial revulsions, or "crises," nearly every fifteen or twenty years; variations in immigration, itself so affected by European political, military, and commercial contingencies. Nearly half a century ago Professor Tucker, of Harvard University, published calculations by which he estimated, in round numbers, our population for each decade down to the present time; his estimates for even the latest periods were singularly correct; he gave, for 1870, thirty-eight millions; it was thirty-eight and a half, notwithstanding the Mexican and Civil wars, the unexpected movements of European emigration, and, especially, the discovery of gold in California, which so much confounded those movements. For 1880 he gave fifty millions—the aggregate at which we usually state the last census. All his errors were short of the actual amounts officially reported; his formula was so correct that apparent errors in one decade were compensated in another, as the "perturbations" of the planets compensate one another and maintain the mathematical harmony of astronomical law.

We are all familiar with the phrase "Center of Population," but have a vague idea of its significance. M. Simonin admires the formula by which our statisticians have used the "*Grandes Statistiques*" of the Republic, during ninety years, for the ascertainment of this "great movement" of our population,

and the solution of the remarkable problems which it involves. He says:

> They suppose that the land of the United States is reduced to a plane surface, and that it has no weight, but that the men who are borne along on this surface have weight. They calculate the mean weight of these men at 70 kilogrammes. Now at New York, for example, there are to-day, in round numbers, say one million of inhabitants; it has thus a weight of 70 millions of kilogrammes. Philadelphia has, say 800,000 inhabitants, and therefore 56 millions of kilogrammes, and so on. Now all who have calculated centers of gravity in mechanics, all who have studied elementary statics, know perfectly that, with the definition here given, it is very easy to calculate what is called the center of gravity of population, or more simply the center of population, or more simply the center of population, at any given time. As the population began in the East, and was first dispersed along the Atlantic coast, it is evident that its center of gravity must be nearer the Atlantic than the Pacific; for where the inhabitants are fewest the arm of the lever must obviously be longest, and thus we arrive at the determination of a mathematical point which bears all the country in equilibrium, as on a pivot. It is this point that we name the center of population.

He traces it through ninety years. In 1790 it was 23 miles east of Baltimore; that is to say, on the Atlantic coast. In 1800 it was 18 miles west of Baltimore; it had advanced no less than 41 miles in a decade. In 1810 it was 40 miles north-west of Washington; it was still in Maryland, but on its frontier. In 1820 it was 16 miles to the north of Woodstock, and left Maryland for Virginia. In 1830 it was 19 miles south-west of Moorfield, in western Virginia; in 1840 it was still in Virginia, 16 miles south of Clarksburg; in 1850 it was 23 miles south-east of Rochersburg. It then left Virginia and entered Ohio; in 1860 it was 20 miles south of Chillicothe; in 1870 it was 48 miles north-east of Cincinnati, and at last we find it, in 1880, about 8 miles south-west of Cincinnati, still in Ohio, but near Kentucky, which it will enter by the next census. M. Simonin gives a map showing this line—the line of the march of civilization, in the wilderness of the New World, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. With very little deviation it keeps along the thirty-ninth parallel; it goes straight westward; the phrase, "'Westward the star of empire takes its way,' is not merely poetic," he remarks, "it is mathematical."

M. Simonin calculates, from these data, that the average advance westward of the center of population has been, since 1790, 50 miles per decade, or 5 miles a year. This is wonderful enough for the statistician, and still more suggestive to the philosopher and the poet, but there is another fact which M. Simonin does not mention, and which shows more impressively this "grand movement" of humanity in the New World. We must bear in mind that his calculations thus far refer only to the center, not to the vanguard and flanks of the movement. When Sir C. Lyell was traveling in this country, exploring its geology, more than forty years ago, he was surprised at the rapid outspread of the people as quite phenomenal in the history of the world. "In fifty years," he wrote, "the State of Ohio alone had about equaled in population all the population of European blood in all the vast regions conquered by Cortes and Pizarro, to say nothing of her superiority in wealth and civilization." But he witnessed a similar phenomenon every-where that he went; and, alluding to another distinguished foreigner who had passed over the country some years before his own visit, he says, "De Tocqueville calculated that along the border of the United States, from Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico, extending a distance of 1,200 miles, as the bird flies, the whites advance every year at a mean rate of 17 miles, and he truly observes that there is a grandeur and solemnity in this gradual and continuous march of the European race toward the Rocky Mountains. He compares it to "a deluge of men rising unabatedly and daily driven onward by the hand of God." This was indeed a "grand march" of humanity, armed with the ax and the spade, advancing to the trumpet of destiny, felling the forests, planting the prairies, scaling the mountains, building school-houses, churches, and halls of justice, railroads, and canals—bearing with it the institutions and energies of Christian civilization and the completest liberties of man. But a phenomenon was to appear which these travelers could not have anticipated; they saw the center of population moving 50 miles a decade, the vanguard and flanks 17 miles a year: but events—especially the discovery of gold on the Pacific coast—were soon to interrupt the comparative regularity of the march, and vanguard and flanks, disregarding ordinary restrictions and centers of gravity, were

to break up, charging like cavalry on all prominent points, for the immediate subjugation of the great field, and pausing only before the waves of the Pacific.

But let us return to M. Simonin's figures. Having ascertained the rate of the movement of the center of population, he insists that his further calculations can be relied on, that the proofs are mathematical. The growth of nearly every great human interest in the United States, where political freedom allows the free action of natural causes, is normal and susceptible of exact statement. Accordingly, he proceeds to show how normal has been the progress of population for the successive decades of ninety years, and deduces therefrom the ratio of increase as the means of the solution of some still more striking problems respecting the future.

Making abundant allowance for contingencies, for variations in immigration, for losses by war, as in our civil struggle, he arrives at the conclusion as logically reliable that the population doubles in periods of from twenty-five to twenty-eight years. Twenty-five years have been usually assumed to be the necessary period. M. Simonin makes his calculations, therefore, on very safe grounds; and, taking what he calls the "magnificent labors of the Bureau of Statistics" as his data, he proceeds to determine a curious problem, namely, When shall the center of population complete its movement and "all the surface of the immense country be filled with inhabitants?" This we call a "curious problem;" to most of us Americans it is simply such, but to a European *savant* it is a profoundly interesting scientific *datum*. M. Simonin speaks of it as a "*grande année economique*" in the history of the world, and says that in "amusing" himself with his calculation of it, he "was startled at the fewness of the centuries necessary for the great consummation, and the formidable millions of men which will then throng the United States."

Reaffirming that the ratios of growth can be relied on, that "they have never failed one minute," he determines the period for what he calls the "complete population of the country" to be about three hundred years — at most three hundred and twenty—a period which, to us fast Americans, seems indefinitely distant, but which appears to a European as quite at hand. M. Simonin becomes emphatic on the subject. "Yes,

Messieurs," he exclaims to his French *confrères*, "hardly three hundred and twenty years are necessary for this result; only about that term separates us from the accession of Henry IV.! What, then, are three hundred years? We traverse this period through the lives of a few of our forefathers. In this period the United States will have completed their grand march westward, and, in the same time, will have filled with population all the prairies, all the West, all the coast of the Pacific."

Having determined, as he believes, this problem, M. Simonin faces another, namely, What will be the population of the Republic at this great consummation? The result is startling to him, and, indeed, must seem incredible to most of us; but before we approach it a hardly less striking, yet more credible, one presents itself; one which must affect profoundly the future of both the Old World and the New, and which we may properly enough here interpolate, though it requires us to deviate somewhat from M. Simonin's formula: When will the population of the Republic equal the present aggregate population of Europe?

The actual ratio of our increase will validly apply for at least one age of human life to come; M. Simonin thinks it will "for one or two ages;" immigration and the general prosperity of the country will, we can hardly doubt, go on at the present rate during the life-time of our youngest children; it is not improbable that they will go on, for that time, with increasing ratios. We have now a territory about equal to that of Europe. The Hon. Schuyler Colfax, when Speaker of the House of Representatives, citing official records at Washington, claimed for us some thousands of square miles more than the territory of Europe; but, be the difference more or less, it can hardly affect the present question. If we take, not M. Simonin's shortest term for the doubling of the population, which is the usually admitted term of twenty-five years, nor his longest term of twenty-eight years, but the intermediate term of twenty-seven years, our population will equal the actual population of all Europe in about seventy years. According to the Tables of Mortality there are some thousands of children now in their cradles at our firesides who will see that time.

The fact of such a result is, in itself, startling; the fact of its *proximity* renders it doubly startling. It will be, as it

were, to-morrow in the history of nations; and its inevitable consequences cannot fail to suggest grave anticipations to the statesmen and thinkers of both hemispheres.

What, it has been asked, would be the national consciousness of any one European people who should have a similar prospect? What of the Germans, for example, if they could calculate, with equal confidence, that within seventy years their flag will wave from the North Cape to Malta, from Lisbon to Moscow, over a population homogeneous in all vital respects —in their social institutions, their politics, their economic interests, and, mostly, in their blood—all speaking the same language, having perfect religious and civil liberty, with the best means of financial prosperity, of popular education, and of household comfort known on the earth?

An equivalent prospect is not only probable, but apparently certain, for the United States. It depends, of course, on the continued unity of the nation, but we will not doubt *that*, for the short period here given. Every patriotic motive increasingly guarantees that unity, and this grand prospect itself must tend to reinforce every such motive. Personal pride is usually a vice, but, in certain cases, it may be a virtue; national pride is always a virtue; it is an essential element of patriotism. Every American citizen must feel that this increasing glory of his country is reflected on himself and on his children. Whatever motive of discord (alleged to be justifiable or unjustifiable) may have heretofore endangered our unity, any citizen who would now abet intrigues which could defeat this great future, who could fire on the flag of his country, of such a country, is unworthy to have been born under its sky, unworthy of a grave in its soil. He is the enemy, not only of his country, but of the human race. Patriotism is, to be sure, a sentiment, but it need not be sentimentalism; for what are sentiments but heightened ideas, convictions of the heart as well as of the head, opinions incandescent? Every reasonable conviction, every intelligent opinion, respecting the interests of the country, or the self-interest of its citizens—and with us they are logically identical—demands the inviolability of the Union. The public conscience should never again allow it to be a subject of doubt. The one only serious peril to it has been extinguished. All the present and possible

interests of the nation are harmonious, not to say identical. The South, the Interior, the West, are rapidly becoming assimilated to the North and East, by manufactures and commerce. Georgia is becoming a southern Massachusetts. Distances and local isolations are mostly annihilated by the modern improvements in communication. Nearly all the remote States and Territories are, to-day, practically nearer the political center than the remote colonies were at the time of the organization of the Republic. One of our best scientific authorities has shown that the geography, the very topography, of the country forbids disunion.* Were the States of the Mississippi Valley to organize by themselves, they would impair their relations to their chief domestic markets; they would be wedged in between two great powers on the east and west, and would have as their own but one outlet to the seas, the mouth of the Mississippi. Were the South to secede, it would not only impair its relations to its best domestic markets, but it would provoke endless struggles with the West about the outlet of the Mississippi—a consideration which powerfully influenced the West in the Civil War. Were the Atlantic or the Pacific States to essay a separation from the Union, choosing, respectively, the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains as their natural boundaries, they would thereby not only impair their chief interior commercial resources in the valley of the Mississippi, but they would render themselves liable to the continual hostile reaction of the latter, hedged in, if not crushed in, between them. What an expense, too, in military provisions against one another would be implied by such divisions! The greatest feature on the face of the continent is the valley of the Mississippi. By its peculiar situation it has become a principal guarantee of the Union.

What in former times were considered to be the "natural boundaries" of nations—great rivers and mountain ranges—are no longer such, especially with us. The new means of communication to which we have alluded have obliterated these old barriers, and are miracles of our times, changing the face of the world. The philosopher must consider it a remarkable coincidence, the Christian thinker a remarkable providence, that these scientific miracles have been contemporaneous with the

* Professor Draper's "History of the Civil War."

history of the Republic. Watt's invention, applied to navigation by one of our own citizens, has not only rendered navigable, against their currents, the more than forty thousand miles of our navigable rivers, thereby opening the continent to emigration and commerce, and especially developing the valley of the Mississippi, but has woven a network of intercommunication and union over the surface of the Republic. Stephenson's later invention has done more; it has annulled the old "natural boundaries," so called, of States, has eliminated distances, has bound the Union in bands of iron; and Morse's invention, disregarding boundaries, distance, and time, causes speech to answer to speech from all the outposts of our wide-stretching, bountiful land.

We may assume, then, with no little confidence, that the Union will last, and that its growth of population will go on, at about its present rate, for the comparatively short period of the lifetime of our youngest children—for the little more than seventy years, which will bring it abreast of the present population of all Europe. Europe, of course, will meanwhile advance; but with its already overburdened population, its labor depressed by ours, and the continual drafts of emigration from it, to our advantage, its comparative growth will but slightly affect the relative power of the two great sections.

We may certainly pronounce this a revolution in the history of the civilized world. Its probable consequences present profoundly interesting problems for the consideration of thinkers, especially of statesmen, and most especially of European statesmen. What must be the reaction of the New World on the Old at that time? What the effect of this immense development of America on European industry, especially on European agriculture? What on European manufactures, on trade, on the balance of exchange? What on politics? What on war between the two sections? What will be the diplomatic influence of the New World, its moral, not to say its political, or military authority before Europe? In about eighty years the population of the Republic will, according to our formula, be more than seventy millions greater than the actual population of Europe; what can any European state, or any number of European states combined, then do in a belligerent dispute with the Republic? What even all Europe

combined—if we consider the distance between them and their comparative resources?

The reaction of the New World upon the Old has been more or less continuous ever since the beginning of our national history; the more effective for being tacit rather than violent—in accordance with Washington's wise counsel never to have entangling relations with European states—the wisest maxim of foreign policy ever given to us, and which should never be abandoned. The first French Revolution is now considered, by historians, as the epoch of modern political history; for, in spite of its terrible enormities, it initiated an irrepressible revolution in European life; it dispelled most of the remains of feudalism, and nearly completed the unfinished work of Richelieu, this time in favor, not of monarchy, but of the people; it confuted forever the dogma of the "divine right" of kings, and broke down the traditional ecclesiasticism of Europe, which, notwithstanding its occasional sporadic revivals, has become practically obsolete. Naturally enough, then, European writers pronounce it the epoch of modern history; but their opinion may need to be somewhat revised. Historically considered, the American Revolution may more properly be pronounced that epoch. A very brief period intervened between the two revolutions, and the one initiated the other. Between the American peace, with the return of the French troops, (1783,) and the French Revolution (1789) there were but about six years. The Frenchmen who shared in our Revolution—and without whose aid, let us gratefully acknowledge, it would have seemed to have been next to impracticable—returned to the Old World mostly republicans. The character of the struggling colonists, and especially the character of Washington, gave moral dignity and force to their opinions, in the minds of these chivalric foreigners, and they went home with new hopes for their own country. The proximate occasion of the French Revolution was, unquestionably, a financial one; but this was more a condition than a cause of the great change. Political ideas gave the revolution its political and social character. These ideas had, indeed, been long fermenting in France, as they had been in America. They were current among the "philosophers," and even in the persiflage of the courtiers; but they were crude and lacked the

practical common sense and high ethical character of the American politics. Rousseau had given them their most distinct expression, but with speculative extravagances at which the American patriots could only smile. His "*Contrat Social*" was the manual, the Bible of the French Revolutionists, and, to no little extent, the source of their frightful errors and the failure of their cause—its temporary failure, for it has been irrepressible, and, after repeated revivals, stands to-day reinstated throughout France. Voltaire, who is usually esteemed his chief coadjutor in bringing on the revolution, was a monarchist, without political sympathy with the people, and contributed only to the influence of the revolution against ecclesiasticism. Lafayette became the embodiment of American politics before France, and the best hero of the revolution, its faithful representative after its collapse, till it again arose in 1830. A royalist historian—Bertrand de Moleville—who witnessed the revolution, admits all we here claim. He says: "The American war developed in France new germs of revolt. It afforded at once the example and the tactics; confused ideas of liberty, of independence, of democracy, fermented in all heads, and prepared a general explosion." Madame de Staël, who passed through the whole revolution, wrote, at its outbreak, to Gustavus III., of Sweden, attributing it to "the North American Revolution." Gustavus himself wrote to his embassador at St. Petersburg "that it is an epidemic of popular effervescence—an epidemic which has had its real source in America, and is extending over France." Dumont, the friend and biographer of Mirabeau, and who wrote for him some of his most effective speeches, says that the "National Assembly began with the famous 'Declaration of the Rights of Man;' it was an American idea, and was regarded as a necessary preliminary." Dumont himself helped to write it. Lafayette introduced it in the Assembly. The first placards, on the walls of Paris, proposing a Republic, were written by Thomas Paine, returned from America, and signed by Duchâtelet, a nobleman who had fought in the American army. The Parisian "philosophers," with Condorcet at their head, immediately avowed their republicanism, and Dumont says that "America appeared to them the model of good government, and it seemed easy to transplant into France the system of Federalism."

The Duke of Montmorency, a representative of one of the oldest noble families of France, was one of our French soldiers, and it was he that moved in the French Assembly the abolition of aristocratic titles. Jefferson and Gouverneur Morris were both in Paris at the coming on of the Revolution, and were active in its preliminaries; the latter somewhat conservative in his counsels, the former in full sympathy with its leaders; both were oracles of the movement, consulted by all parties, and writing documents for all, including the perplexed king himself; and when the news of the death of Franklin arrived, the revolutionists paused to commemorate with public solemnities the man who, in the words of Mirabeau, had "wrested the scepter from kings and the lightning from heaven." During the first and best struggles of the French leaders the American Republic was ever present to their thoughts, the one realization of their political ideal.

If the French Revolution was then the epoch of modern European political history, the American Revolution, as its initiative, may be pronounced the epoch of general modern political history; and the reaction of the New World upon the Old must be considered an essential fact in European history. The influence of the antecedent republics and the "free cities" can scarcely be said to affect the question; we can hardly except that of Switzerland which, in its politics, as in its geography, has been too limited and too insulated, in the system of Europe, to have much effect, though it is daily becoming more effective by the new tendencies of European politics. The old republics and free cities were without any very distinct political dogmas or theoretical basis. The ethical idea of popular sovereignty, which is constantly becoming more and more fundamental in all civilized governments, is a doctrine of modern times, and is, in what we may call its scientific form, an American idea.

Latterly this American influence has been greatly augmented. Our Civil War may be said to have brought us fully out before Europe. European writers themselves tell us it was the most important civil war in the history of the world. It extemporized from its common citizens numerically the strongest military forces ever arrayed in such a conflict. Its great results, in the abolition of slavery and the organic consolidation of the

Republic—the peaceful disbanding of its forces, at the end of the war, and their re-absorption in industrial occupations; and—not the least consideration in Europe—the honest management and rapid reduction of the formidable national debt incurred by the war, are demonstrations of the efficiency of popular government which it would seem should end all controversy on that subject. They are powerful arguments for the Liberals of Europe. The Swiss Republic is adjacent to that of France, and there now projects, from the very heart of the continent to the Atlantic, what has been called a "Wedge of Republicanism." The common people of Europe are to-day pervaded by democratic ideas, and these ideas have taken on, more or less, an organized party form in most of her nationalities—in the Scandinavian countries, in Germany, Austria, Italy, Spain, and even in Russia. Though, through the impatience of the people under many grievances, especially military grievances, these forms are marred by extravagant theories, we need not despair, for we know that the possession of power by the people at last, will, through self-interest, if by no higher motive, be corrective of anarchy; for nothing more effectively tends to conservatism than the responsibility of power.

As to the reaction of the New World on the industrial interests of the Old, little need here be said; for it is now obvious enough, and has become a grave phenomenon to European economists. Judging from their own calculations, the staple agricultural interests of Europe would seem to be doomed by American competition. The agriculture of England is confessedly doomed. France has had a commission in the United States to report on the question as it affects her own peasantry. This commission has studied it in our Western States, particularly in Texas; and, after estimating the necessary capital invested in land and stock, the production per acre, the cost of labor, etc., its verdict is that French agriculture cannot long stand before the competition; even her wine industry is ultimately threatened. The American competition, with individual European states, acts not only directly on them, but affects their own interaction. We may thus account in part, at least, for the decline of the exports compared with the imports of French trade. In the years 1873–75 the former exceeded the latter about $150,000,000; but in the year 1876

"the tide turned, and the imports began to be in excess, the excess reaching $82,500,000. Last year the imports exceeded the exports by $275,000,000." Inevitably the staple cereals of Europe must give way before the great harvests of America. What, then, is to become of the peasantry of Europe who are the mass of its population? What we have called "unscientific" legislation may retard this revolution somewhat, but cannot arrest it, and can only exasperate its consequences. Emigration would seem to be the only relief, as Lord Derby has told the English laborers; but emigration itself will tend to augment the American competition, and thereby augment its consequences to Europe. There appears to be no alternative but in new, or, at least, in enlarged, manufacturing industries; but here again the New World is coming into competition with the Old. American manufactures are entering the markets of most of Europe, and competing with the manufacturers of the latter along the outlines of the whole world. From the superior resources of America in raw materials, the commercial energy of her people, and their inventive genius in supplying the lack of manual work by mechanical means, this portentous revolution would seem as sure as fate.

Should the American Union be maintained, as we certainly believe it will be, through the period we have been considering, its international relations with Europe, especially, in regard to war, will undergo extraordinary changes—changes the prospect of which must afford matter for speculation among military men. With the distance of the Republic, its vast resources, and its universal and patriotic citizenship, it would seem that it must be too formidable for military interference from any European state, or, as we have said, from any number of them combined. The two oceans are the best fortifications of the nation against both the European and the Asiatic worlds. If foreign forces could do harm to its chief ports they could not penetrate the country without plunging into a fatal abyss. The Washingtonian foreign policy will preserve us, we may hope, from serious international disturbances; but the moral force of American opinion, especially in the form of diplomacy, can hardly fail to be momentous, not to say irresistible. In the social developments of our age a new political authority has arisen, a higher law, a constitution of constitutions; it is

public opinion, public conscience. Certain evils once prevalent in individual states have disappeared, and others are disappearing under international moral influence. An *Auto-da-fe* could not again be ordained in Madrid, for the public opinion of Europe would not tolerate it, and her diplomatists would be ordered by all her other courts to forbid it. No serious religious persecution would now be allowed to go on, could it even begin, under this new constitution; persecutions of Christians within the Turkish empire have been arrested by it; the late persecutions of the Jews, though denied to have been religious, have had to give way before it. Extreme political vices are becoming inadmissible under it; Mr. Gladstone's famous letter on the political prisoners of Naples was an effectual blow against the Bourbon dynasty there, and for the unification of Italy. The New World ought to be, at the time we are supposing, capable of an almost absolute exercise of this power, and she will be, if she chooses to be, morally worthy of it.

The subject is a tempting one for prophesyings, and even for "preachments," but we are forgetting the Paris "Bulletin." We return to its statistics only to meet a still more striking result, one which, as we have seen, surprises the French writer, though his mathematics force him up to it, and which we ourselves face with some sober misgivings. Having determined the period in which the movement of the center of population will be completed, he proceeds to determine the problem, What will then be the amount of the population? The former he ascertains, as we have seen, to be about 320 years; of the latter he says: "I hesitate to give you the true ciphers." They appear incredible; but, in order to give confidence to his European readers, he drops the ascertained ratio of increase, and instead of from 25 to 28 years, takes 30 years and then 40 years, and, at a still later date, 50 years; and advances, he says, "without fear of exaggeration," to the year 2000; "but," he adds, "in 2050 I discover 800,000,000 of men here! This is more than *double* all the population of Europe, including Russia. This result begins to disquiet me a little." It is the figure which was given at the beginning of this century for the population of the *whole earth*. To-day the population of the whole world is given at 1,500,000,000,* but in only about 320 years, when

* The latest German estimate (by Behm and Wagner) is 1,433,800,000.

the population of the United States has attained its full measure, it will be 1,600,000,000;" that is to say, a hundred millions more than the whole present population of our planet!

Well may M. Simonin express his astonishment, and his Paris correspondents address to him eager questions about the strange significance of this result, inevitable in the future; in even the proximate history of the world. It is not further from us in the future than the conquest of Mexico, by Cortez, is in the past. The time it requires is hardly forty years longer than that which has elapsed since the first European settlements were made within our present limits by Juan de Ornate and his Spaniards in Arizona; only about forty years more than the time which has elapsed since Captain John Smith reached Jamestown; about fifty-seven more than the arrival of the *Mayflower* at Plymouth; and a half century less than has passed since Ponce de Leon landed in Florida. "Such," remarks M. Simonin, "is the geographical phenomenon, so worthy of consideration, that we establish; a phenomenon that the United States alone presents." For this period which he considers so short, and this result which he considers so grand, he has reasoned with much sobriety and caution; he has diminished nearly one half the accepted ratio of increase—that is to say, nearly doubled the time necessary for the doubling of the population. Of course, the disposition of European doubters would be to contest his statistics; for, these admitted, his deductions seem incontestable. He re-affirms, however, their authenticity, and very emphatically: "Never," he says, "has any country on earth prepared statistics more carefully, more amply, or more vigilantly than the United States."

Conclusive as M. Simonin considers the logic of his figures, we have confessed our misgivings respecting this result. The time which seems so comparatively brief to him seems so long to us restless Americans, and the contingencies of three centuries are so incalculable to our positive ways of thinking, that while we admit his arithmetic, we do so with some vague dubitations. And yet the lessons of history, which suggest many doubts on such a question, give it also some strong probabilities. The arguments which we have given for the durability of the Union, through a briefer period, would seem to be relevant here also, and even with redoubled force; for history

shows that it is the large states, provided they be homogeneou in race and material interests, which are not only the most powerful, but the most durable. It was the little states of Germany and Italy that were most wrangling and precarious in the European system till their unification. There is more breathing room for the personal ambition of great leaders, more space for their activity in a useful way, as well as more important interests of the common citizens, in large than in petty states. As to the durability of the Republic through the requisite three centuries, history may console us with the facts that the Roman Republic lasted considerably longer, more than half the time longer; and the Swiss Republic has lasted nearly twice that time, and is as solid to-day as ever it has been.

We may take hope, also, from the character of our people. A people given to practical ideas and habitually absorbed in industrial interests, and especially in a country every natural condition of which appeals to such predispositions, is bound to be conservative, of the state at least, and to shun war. Our people are also notably homogeneous; foreign ideas and foreign languages quickly melt away among us. We have no dialects. So far as the English language is concerned, Sir John Dilke's "Greater Britain" is here. There is a still more vital sense in which our population is mostly homogeneous. It is predominantly of Teutonic blood; it comes not only of that old select Aryan race, which founded Indian and Persian, Greek and Latin civilization, but from the best modern branch of that race, the people who have outsped all its other branches, and who, to-day, lead all the others in colonization, in thought, in arts and arms. Not only were our fathers Anglo-Saxons, in both the East and the South, but our immigration has become the means of a re-infusion of the original German blood. At the period of the seventh census (1850) the Celtic element greatly predominated in our foreign population. Mr. Walker, superintendent of the late census, says that at that time "the United States might, with very little exaggeration, have been called New Ireland." But all this has since been rapidly changing, especially by immigration from the sterling Teutonic peoples of the Scandinavian states. Of the immigrants in the decade preceding 1850 the Germans amounted to but 25 per cent.; of those of the next decade they were 37 per cent.; their

gains over every other foreign race have gone on rapidly ever since, and it may be said that the immigrant re-enforcement of our population is now generally Teutonic. In 1850 the Irish were 43.5 per cent. of our total foreign population; in 1860 they had fallen to 38.9 per cent.; in 1870 to 33.3 per cent. The census for 1880 has not yet reported their present per centage, but Mr. Walker has announced that they do not now "constitute more than 27 per cent, of the foreign population of the country;" that is to say, hardly more than one fourth. The fall from 43½ per cent. to 27 per cent. is not a little significant.

It is hardly possible to overrate the importance of the race element in the founding of the nation. Our colonial fathers, in both New England and Virginia, were not only Teutonic—Anglo-Saxons—but they were a select class of Anglo-Saxons. As Houghton, a New England divine, said, in 1688, "God sifted a whole nation that he might send choice grain into the wilderness." The leading families of the Virginia colonists are well known to have been of a high English type, but they were not more so than those of New England; and the mass of the colonists of the latter were much superior to the same class in Virginia. Professor John Fisk has shown that the leaders in the East were fully equal to those of the South in their English standing and their character generally; "they were highly educated and wealthy men;" "in point of fact, the English ancestors of the Washingtons, Randolphs, Fairfaxes, and Talbots were no higher in social position than the families of the Winthrops, Dudleys, the Eatons and Saltonstalls. On the other hand, if we compare the mass of the settlers in Massachusetts and Connecticut with the mass of the settlers of Virginia, the advantage is altogether on the side of the Northern colonies; their people were drawn from the very sturdiest part of the English stock. In all history there has been no other instance of a colony so exclusively peopled by picked and chosen men."

These Atlantic colonists have made the stamina of the nation. To say nothing of the millions of their descendants, who have gone westward from the Middle and Southern settlements, those of New England alone have spread out every-where and stamped the national type of character. The 21,000 Puritans who arrived in the East before the Long Parliament have become about 13,000,000; that is to say, more than one-fourth of

our present population. They have not only peopled all the Eastern States, but most of the interior of New York, and have swept thence to the Mississippi, founding the whole tier of great States along the lakes; and, at the breaking up of the somewhat regular movement of population by the gold discoveries of California, they have dispersed over all the far West, bearing with them the salutary traditions and institutions of their original home. Almost every-where they are the principal leaders of the commerce, the learned professions, the education, and the religious faith of the people.

With such a population, continually re-enforced by immigrants of the same Teutonic blood, we may hope that the future of the nation will be, as its past, safe and prosperous, though it may have struggles as in the past—struggles which, with nations as with individuals, invigorate. The native population has been the most effective force in all our national struggles. The American traveler in Europe is often amused by finding there quite a contrary impression. In Ireland he is saluted as the representative of a superlatively "illigant kentry," which the Irish saved, in the Civil War, by their numbers and valor in battle. In Germany he is assured that his country is next in greatness to the "Vater-land," and is particularly dear to the latter, because immigrant Germans saved it in the conflict with the Rebellion. He accepts gratefully the indirect compliment, but takes a sly satisfaction in stating the real statistics of the war. We know an American traveler who finds it convenient to bear about with him a brief printed copy of the official statistics, and to quietly present it for perusal in such cases. It shows:

American volunteers.....	1,523,267	English.....	45,508
German.....	176,817	Other foreign volunteers..	58,410
Irish.....	144,221	Drafted.....	521,068
British American.....	55,332		

Doubtless many of these "American volunteers" were descendants of foreigners; but are we not all such? We may add that the official medical statistics, which are highly prized by European statisticians, show the superiority of the native American troops in height, breadth of shoulders, strength, power of endurance, and recovery in the hospitals.

There is one problem of our population which has not apparently arrested public attention, and which may seriously

affect our future. In the extinction of slavery was extinguished the most formidable peril of the Republic; but we have been too much disposed to rest satisfied with that result, and have hardly thought of another evil which it entails upon us. We have suffered severe retribution for the great sin, but are not yet through with its penalty? Law is as vigorous in its penalties as in its precepts, otherwise it would cease to be law; and law prevails invincibly in the social and political as well as in the physical world. The sins of nations, it has been said, have their retribution in the present world, though the individual accountability for them extends into the next. If sin is the "transgression" of the law, the endurance and right use of its penaltics may, in a certain sense, be its "fulfillment," and may be salutary, especially to nations. The problem to which we now allude may give us occasion for the development of high national virtues. Optimism is the only rational philosophy here; the existence of law must be good; its invincibility must in a general sense be ultimately good, as there could be no reliable law without it; pessimism is absurd in the august presence of beneficent law; and Americans should never be pessimists.

The present problem is this: What must be the future of our African population and its results to the nation? The last census shows that it increases at a rate greater than that of the general population. It was then, in round numbers, 6,500,000, and equal to all our foreign-born population. The Paris "Bulletin" is surprised by this fact. The "Africans," it says, "were in 1870 only 4,880,000; but in 1880 they were 6,577,151. Their rate of increase is greater than that of the whites. This is a phenomenon curious and truly new—it is the first time, we believe, that a fact of the kind has been witnessed in statistical geography." An eminent historian, Professor Freeman, who has lately traveled in the United States, has pointed to this fact as one of the gravest reasons for national anxiety. Our colored population is already much larger than the whole population at the beginning of the nation—hard on to double the latter. We must bear in mind that its superior rate of increase is without the aid of immigration, upon which the growth of the whites so much depends. If it should double, not at its own present rate of increase, but at that of the general population, say in about

every 27 years, it will be greater, within the life-time of our children, in about 70 years, than the present population of some of the important states of Europe; greater by millions than that of France, and advancing hard up toward the present figure of our whole population, white and black. In about 81 years it will be some two millions more than our aggregate population at the last census—but three years ago.

Here assuredly is matter for serious reflection. What are we to do with this people, who have hitherto deserved so well of the Republic? If we have made them politically our equals, still, by our conventional opinions they are socially proscribed; and, unfortunately for the problem, the chief cause of that proscription, though it be but "skin deep," confronts us on their very brows. According to almost universal opinion the repugnance which it produces, and which prevents their blending, like all other races among us, with the common population, is founded, it is affirmed, in instinctive feeling; for, say what we please on the subject, a black rose could never be as acceptable to natural taste as a white or red one. It is an old maxim that "there is no accounting for taste;" were it true, it would not lessen the difficulty of the present problem; but the American people deny the maxim in this case; they repel "amalgamation," and insist that their distaste for it is founded in nature, and, therefore, can be accounted for. But are we to go on indefinitely, with (numerically) a nation, and a mighty nation, within the nation? Can we successfully so go on? Whatever may be the political condition of this people, its social proscription cannot fail to degrade it and embarrass and degrade us. In spite of all its struggles upward, and its political and moral claims to equality, it will be kept down by such a proscription; it will become an immense caste. Can a democratic nation like ours subsist prosperously with a perpetual and ever-growing caste? Can we safely incorporate in our republican and Christian civilization the Pariah barbarism of the Hindus?

We have our answers to these questions, but cannot present them here for lack of room. The problems we have been considering, are suggestive of not a few other urgent questions. Indisputably this nation stands before the world to-day in an attitude never heretofore seen in the history of nations. Both

our friends and our enemies abroad admonish us of that fact. We have reached a point where we must, in the interests of our children and of the human race, face some further and most momentous problems, and we should do so frankly and courageously. In a future paper we may discuss some of them.

Art. III.—RESULTS OF THE FIRST METHODIST ECUMENICAL CONFERENCE

In this paper I purpose to give some of the more important results of the Methodist Ecumenical Conference in City Road Chapel. And as I intend to confine myself to them, I begin by stating broadly that the Conference has already resulted in great good to universal Methodism, to the Church of Christ, and to the world, warranting the sure promise of much greater good for years to come. I am persuaded that the gathering of Methodists in City Road Chapel was providential, as providential as any fact in Methodist history, a history marked all along by special providences, ever since what Mr. Wesley called Methodism's "first rise," in 1729, in Oxford; or its "second rise," in 1736, at Savannah, Ga.; or its "third rise," in 1739, in London, when he organized the first Methodist societies.

The place, too, where the Conference was held was the most appropriate, and the time when the most opportune. The place was City Road Chapel, a spot as sacred to the followers of the great Methodist revivalist as Jerusalem to the followers of the Hebrew lawgiver, or Mecca to the followers of the Mohammedan prophet. It is true that the place was not in Aldersgate Street, where Wesley is said to have been converted; nor was it at the Old Foundry, Methodism's earliest chapel. For no Methodist chapel has ever been builded on the spot where, on that memorable night in Aldersgate Street, May, 1738, Wesley's heart was so "strangely warmed," and the Old Foundry was soon exchanged for Mr. Wesley's new chapel in City Road. City Road Chapel early became the nucleus of Wesley's labors, whence radiated those spiritual and revival influences which swept over the Three Kingdoms.

Opposite the chapel, and on the other side of the street

called City Road, is the celebrated Bunhill Fields, where are deposited the bones of the Dissenters, who, against king and court and bishops, boldly asserted their right to liberty of conscience and to worship God as the Holy Scriptures and the Holy Spirit seemed to them to teach. There lies all that is mortal of the great dreamer who described the Christian pilgrim's journey from this world to the celestial city; and there lies the body of Isaac Watts, the sweetest singer in Israel till Charles Wesley came, since death silenced forever royal David's tuneful harp. There many others, whose names to the lovers of religious liberty in both hemispheres are like fragrant and precious ointment, quietly sleep, waiting the trump of the archangel to arouse them from their graves. And there, too, rests the body of that "elect lady," so dear to the people called Methodists, Susanna Wesley, wife of the saintly rector of Epworth, and the mother of John Wesley, Methodism's great founder, and of Charles Wesley, Methodism's great lyric poet. As one enters the open court which leads to City Road Chapel, there, on the right, is the house of John Wesley, in which he gave back his life to God, and where, with his almost latest breath, he uttered those words which have been as a talisman to so many thousands in the dying hour, "The best of all is, God is with us." On the left, and in the rear of the house used as a parsonage by the preacher in charge of City Road Chapel Circuit, and directly facing the open court, is the room where Joseph Benson wrote his great commentary. In the chapel itself is the pulpit from which Wesley preached to the multitudes that hung upon his lips; and there, along its walls, are the marble tablets of many of Methodism's sainted dead. And in the humble grave-yard behind the chapel is the monument which tells us that the body of John Wesley lies beneath it; there the one which reminds us that we stand by the grave of Adam Clarke; and there are the tombs which hold the dust of many other illustrious Methodist worthies. There, in City Road Chapel, consecrated by so many precious memories of Methodism's earlier and later history, was most appropriately held the first Methodist Ecumenical Conference.

And the time for the Methodist hosts to gather in City Road Chapel was the most opportune. The fullness of time had come. An earlier date would have been too soon; if it had

been postponed to some future period it might have been too late. The Methodist world was ready for the Ecumenical gathering; the fatlings and the oxen were killed, and all were eager for the feast. What had gone before was the preparation before Methodism's greatest Sabbath; when that Sabbath came, Methodism awoke to the resurrection of even newer life, and of still brighter hopes for the future. Silently, but surely, through the long years past, God was preparing for the hour when he would show to his Church and to the world what he had wrought for both through his servant, John Wesley, and the great Methodist movement of the eighteenth century.

Not without many a hard struggle, and many long years of patient waiting, has Methodism at last had assigned to it any thing like its true place in English and ecclesiastical history. It was at first caricatured and satirized by poets and painters; it was mimicked by the wits of London; it was besmirched by the "successors in scurrility of the comic dramatists of the Restoration." Archiepiscopal sees madly anathematized it; bishops hurled bitter invectives and wrote scurrilous things against it; parish priests and curates derided it and persecuted it; courtly lords and high-born ladies treated it to jibes and sneers; and an ignorant rabble and a besotted populace, urged on by them all, often pelted it with brickbats and with rotten eggs. High-Churchmen, like Warburton and Lavington, assailed Methodism and its saintly founder with bitterness and rage; evangelicals, like Toplady and Rowland Hill, inveighed against both in language more suited to fishmongers than to preachers of the Gospel of peace. The great Baptist preacher, Robert Hall, speaking of the abuse which Toplady heaped upon the devoted head of John Wesley "for things purely speculative and of very little importance," says that he would not have incurred the sin of that abuse for ten thousand worlds. But none of these things moved John Wesley. "The most extraordinary thing about the Methodist movement," writes Robert Hall, "was that while Wesley set all in motion, he himself was perfectly calm and phlegmatic; he was the quiescence of turbulence." When I entered Machinery Hall, at our Centennial, in 1876, I was greeted with the buzz of saws, the clatter of shuttles, the hum of spindles, and with

many other noises in that vast acreage of machinery. In the middle of the immense hall I saw that the huge wheel of a Corliss engine was connected by bands with every machine in the building, from the most ponderous, to the lightest performing the most delicate ladies' needle-work. Silently, noiselessly, without friction, it was setting all in motion, while all around was din and confusion. Then I could understand what Robert Hall meant by the "quiescence of turbulence." What was seen and heard in Machinery Hall was no mean illustration of Wesley and his work. Unmoved by the taunts and jibes of the malignant, the sneers and derision of scoffers, the indifferentism of careless Gallios, the invectives and anathemas of worldly prelates, and the peltings of brutal mobs, John Wesley, with unparalleled English manliness, with heroic faith in God and his promises to the faithful, and with love to God and love to man for God's sake as his sole controlling motive, went through the Three Kingdoms, every-where proclaiming the newly-revived and glad evangel, arousing the slumbering Established and Non-conformist Churches, reclaiming the backslidden, and saving the lost. And ere he closed his eyes in death, at his house in City Road, he lived to see thousands of happy, joyous Christians in his societies and in the Churches of the Establishment and Dissent, and to hear himself invited and welcomed back to pulpits from which he had been rudely shut out.

Before the eighteenth century ended, the evangelical work of Wesley began to be acknowledged, and the claim of Methodism as a new and great spiritual force to be confessed. But this acknowledgment and confession were slow in their growth, partial and circumscribed in their extent. The nineteenth century passed its meridian before, in the Old World, or in the New where it has had its largest development, Methodism came to be treated with any thing like fairness. Meanwhile, in both, and notably in the New more than in the Old, Methodism, by its unparalleled successes, was powerfully vindicating its rightful claim to be considered the greatest force that God, in these latter days, has set in motion for the revival of his work and the spread of his Gospel. A few advanced thinkers outside of Methodism began in a measure to comprehend and acknowledge the justice of this claim. Lord Macaulay recog-

nized it, and to some extent acknowledged it, when he condemned "those books called Histories of England in the reign of George II. in which the rise of Methodism is not even mentioned." Mr. Buckle, the skeptical author of the "History of Civilization in England," saw the influence of John Wesley—whom he called "the first of theological statesmen"—upon the English Church, when he wrote that Wesley exerted as great an influence upon the Established Church of England as Luther exerted upon the Church of Rome. Robert Southey, once England's poet laureate, on whose head, when a mere child in Bristol, the hand of John Wesley was placed, and who felt that touch as a benediction through all his future life, in beautiful prose scarcely equaled in biographical literature, and with surprising fairness in one so little qualified to judge the spiritual side of the great Methodist revivalist, wrote a charming life of Wesley, whom, as he subsequently wrote, he considered "the most influential mind of the last century, the man who will have produced the greatest effects centuries, or perhaps millenniums, hence, if the present race of men should continue so long." Isaac Taylor, a very able and philosophic writer of the Church of England, though far from comprehending the true genius of Methodism, yet characterized the Methodist movement "as the starting-point of our modern religious polity, and the field-preaching of Wesley and Whitefield as the event whence the religious epoch now current must date its commencement," and saw that "the Methodism of the past age points forward to the next coming development of the powers of the Gospel." The name of Wesley had become such a household word in many British homes that Earl Stanhope, in his "History of England," wrote that "thousands who never heard of Fontenoy or Walpole continued to follow the precepts and to venerate the name of John Wesley." Sir James Stephen, in his "Essays on Ecclesiastical Biography," writing about the good men of Clapham who met at the princely mansion of the Thorntons, tells us that the whole evangelical party of the Church of England may trace their spiritual genealogy by regular descent from the Methodist George Whitefield, Mr. Wesley's disciple at Oxford, and the great pulpit orator of the Methodist movement. Nor at this day, however Wesley and his evangelical work may have been

caricatured and satirized by it, is English fiction without appreciation of the founder of Methodism. In "Adam Bede," he is "that man of God who spent his whole life in doing what our blessed Master did, preaching the Gospel to the poor." And in the "Diary of Mistress Kitty Trevylyan," he is the preacher who appeared "not so much to plead as to speak with authority, who by the force of his own conviction made his hearers feel that every word he said was true; and yet so moved were they that many would weep, some would sob as if their hearts would break, and many would gaze as if they would not weep, nor stir, lest they should lose a word."

But it belongs to the last decade to have done much fuller justice to Mr. Wesley and the Methodist movement. Of late, there has been a wonderful revival of thought on the life and work of John Wesley. Mr. Curteis, in his Bampton Lectures before the University of Oxford, in 1871, calls Mr. Wesley "the purest, noblest, most saintly clergyman of the eighteenth century, whose whole life was passed in the sincere and loyal effort to do good." Mr. Green, Examiner in the School of Modern History, Oxford, in his "Short History of the English People," tells us that "the Methodists themselves were the least result of the Methodist revival;" that "its action upon the Church broke the lethargy of the clergy, and the 'Evangelical' movement, which found representatives like Newton and Cecil within the pale of the Establishment, made the fox-hunting parson and the absentee rector at last impossible." Mr. Perry, Canon of Lincoln and Rector of Waddington, in his "History of the Church of England," says that it was John Wesley who "brought out with great force the teachings of the Church on the doctrines of grace, and showed to many of the clergy the meaning of their formularies which they had not before apprehended." Dr. Stoughton, in his "Religion in England under Queen Anne and the Georges," calls Methodism "a fact in the history of England which develops into large and much larger dimensions as time rolls on," and says that "its rise and progress may be regarded as the most important ecclesiastical fact of modern times." In "The English Church in the Eighteenth Century," the joint work of Messrs. Abbey and Overton, both of the University of Oxford and distinguished presbyters of the Church of England, Mr. Abbey

tells us that Methodism "marked a decided turn, not only in popular feeling on religious topics and in the language of the pulpit, but also in theological and philosophical thought in general," and that it was William Law, and, far more practically and effectively, it was John Wesley, who gave the deathblow to the eighteenth century forms of Deism. Mr. Overton, in the same work, tells us that Wesley "stands pre-eminent among the worthies who originated and conducted the revival of practical religion which took place in the last century." "The world," he adds, "has at length done tardy justice to its benefactor." Mr. Gladstone, the Premier of England, in his "Evangelical Movement: Its Parentage, Progress, and Issue," says that Wesley, whom he calls "that extraordinary man, whose life and acts have taken their place in the religious history, not only of England, but of Christendom," gave "the main impulse out of which sprang the Evangelical movement." Dr. Conant, in his "Narratives of Remarkable Conversions and Revival Incidents," writes that, in this movement, Wesley was "rather alone than eminent." J. Stowell Brown, of Liverpool, who has the reputation of being the most cultured Baptist preacher in England, when spokesman for the Non-conformist delegation of ministers to the Wesleyan Conference, Brunswick Chapel, Liverpool, July, 1881, in his address before the Wesleyan body, which the writer of this paper heard, said that but one man deserved to be called the saviour of England, and that that man was John Wesley. Mr. Leslie Stephen, in his "History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century," writes: "Wesleyanism was, in many respects, by far the most important phenomenon of the eighteenth century." Mr. Lecky, in his "England in the Eighteenth Century," writes: "Although the career of the elder Pitt, and the splendid victories by land and sea that were won during his ministry, form unquestionably the most dazzling episodes in the reign of George II., they must yield, I think, in real importance, to that religious revolution which shortly before had been begun in England by the preaching of the Wesleys and Whitefield." John Wesley, he thinks, had a prominent place in saving England from the horrors and infidelity of the French Revolution, and from the anarchy which was threatened by "the creation of the great manufacturing centers," and the angry contest

which arose between capital and labor; and that this John Wesley did by "opening a new spring of moral and religious energy among the poor, and at the same time giving a powerful impulse to the philanthropy of the rich." "The creation of a large, powerful, and active sect," he writes, "extending over both hemispheres, and numbering many millions of souls, was but one of its consequences. It also exercised a profound and lasting influence upon the spirit of the Established Church, upon the amount and distribution of the moral forces of the nation, and even upon the course of its political history." "The Methodists," he adds, "have already far outnumbered every other Non-conformist body in England, and every other religious body in the United States, and they are probably destined largely to increase; while the influence of the movement transformed for a time the whole spirit of the Established Church, and has been more or less felt in every Protestant community speaking the English language." And it was John Wesley—as Mr. Lecky writes in a letter to me—who, while the politicians were doing so much to divide, did so much, in spite of civil war and international jealousy, to unite the two great branches of the English people.

It will be noticed that in this paper we have presented no judgment of Wesley by any Methodist writer, or by any one who is at all connected with Methodism. Methodist authorities have been passed over in silence. Neither Richard Watson nor Abel Stevens has been mentioned; nor have we mentioned Methodism's later writers, Dr. Rigg, Luke Tyerman, or M. Lelièvre; nor have we named any who have recently written for "The Wesley Memorial Volume; or, Wesley and the Methodist Movement, judged by nearly one hundred and fifty writers, living or dead." It was to be expected that the testimony of the great men of Methodism in both hemispheres, whom the editor of that volume enlisted to write for it, would be favorable to Wesley and the Methodist movement. But Methodists are not the only ones who have written expressly for the Wesley Memorial Volume, or whose judgments, expressed elsewhere, are given in it. In that volume—both those who wrote expressly for it and those whose judgments of Methodism and its founder, given elsewhere, are presented in it—whether the writers are Arminian or Calvinistic Methodists;

whether High-Churchmen, Low-Churchmen, or Broad-Churchmen of the Church of England—whether Baptists, Presbyterians, Independents, Lutherans, Moravians, Salzburghers, or of the Reformed Church of France—whether English, American, Canadian, Irish, Scotch, German, or French—give concurrent testimony, so far as it relates to John Wesley as a revivalist of the Churches and to Methodism as a great spiritual force in the world.

Now one would suppose such evidence were enough to make the claim of Methodism universally acknowledged, and to close every mouth raised against it. But very few have seen the testimony thus presented. Many of the authorities mentioned in this paper have had their respective readers, but how few the number who have collated and compared them. Besides, if one outside of Methodism had read, collated, and compared all that has been said of Mr. Wesley and Methodism, he would have needed the evidence presented by the gathering of Ecumenical Methodism in City Road Chapel to enable him to form any thing like even an approximate estimate of the power and progress of Methodism. Nor is this true of those beyond the pale of Methodism alone. Before the assemblage in City Road Chapel, Methodism did not know its own power. The wisest and best-informed Methodists needed just the evidence which the Ecumenical Conference gave to show the nature and extent of what God had wrought in the world by the Methodist movement. The Ecumenical Conference taught what could not be learned from books. It supplied what could not be gained by the most intimate acquaintance with the work of the respective Methodisms represented on the floor of the Conference. It showed to Methodists themselves, to other Churches, to the outside world, what had not been known before. And it gave to what was shown a publicity which nothing else could have given. Comparatively few, and they but imperfectly, had learned from books what Methodism has accomplished; millions were taught it, and far better, by assembled Methodism in City Road Chapel. The Conference aroused an interest in Methodism, and an inquiry into its history, its nature, and its work, unheard-of in all the past. All eyes were directed to it. In England Annual Conferences of the respective Methodisms, outside of themselves, had been

of very little account. They came and went without notice, scarcely causing a ripple on the surface of current life and work. An Annual Conference of the Wesleyans in London was an event of trifling significance to others; hardly more significant was it in Liverpool or Manchester. But not so was it with the Ecumenical Conference. The spectacle of Methodism from all parts of the world assembled in the world's metropolis, from both hemispheres, from all continents, from Upper and Lower Canada, from New Brunswick, from Nova Scotia, from Newfoundland, from every State and almost from every Territory of the United States, from Mexico, from South America, from Africa, from Australia, from New Zealand, from the Fiji Islands, from China, from Japan, from India, from Italy, from Germany, from Prussia, from France, from Norway, from Sweden, from England, from Wales, from Scotland, and from Ireland, was a spectacle which attracted almost universal attention. The press, secular and religious, heralded its coming, and reported its proceedings after it came. The great London dailies — the "Times," the "News," the "Standard," and the "Telegraph"—through their respective reporters, gave well-prepared and truthful synopses of its daily proceedings. At breakfast every one throughout Great Britain who took one of the great London dailies read these reports with the same interest he had read, a short time before, the debates on the Irish Land Bill in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords. The electric telegraph flashed the daily proceedings of the Conference to the provincial papers of Great Britain and Ireland; submarine cables dispatched them to all quarters of the Christian world where there is a telegraph and a printing-press. Leaders after leaders—many written with surprising fairness and discrimination—appeared in the dailies, and in the weeklies, both secular and religious. In due time appeared able and appreciative reviews in the monthlies and the quarterlies. Methodism was thus the better understood, and its great work more highly appreciated. The debates of the Conference on many questions of great and practical interest, and the ability and spirit with which these debates were conducted, were greatly approved and commended. And the progress of Methodism, which the Ecumenical Conference tangibly and practically demonstrated, astounded all. Most

Englishmen had been accustomed to think of Methodism only in its relation, as seen in Great Britain, to the overpowering and overshadowing Establishment. But now they saw with their own eyes, and heard with their own ears, what a mighty spiritual force Methodism is in the world, and how great its progress and development from small beginnings scarcely a century and a half ago. But one hundred and forty-four years had passed since Wesley fled from his persecutors in Georgia, a fugitive and an exile, believing that his life was a failure. But now over five million communicants are called by his name; over one hundred and twenty-five thousand itinerant and local preachers are preaching the same Gospel which he preached; nearly six million children are in Methodist Sabbath-schools; and thirty million adherents are under Methodist influence. No wonder the outside Christian and the irreligious world were astounded by such amazing results. Christians of other evangelical Churches rejoiced to see what God had wrought through Methodism; and the irreligious world conceived a respect for Methodism such as it had never had. Was not, then, the time for holding the Ecumenical Conference most opportune? And was not Methodism a great gainer by it?

One event happened during the Conference which deserve passing notice. This was the death of President Garfield. Near the close of the Conference the sad intelligence was announced that the President of the United States had at last yielded up his life a victim to the bullet of the assassin. Day after day prayer had been offered that his life might be spared. These prayers, and the sense of a common affliction, had drawn into closer union and fellowship the delegates from the various Methodisms of the United States. All distinctions of party and race and color, of North and South, were obliterated by the heaviness of the blow which had fallen on all Americans alike. A warmer and a deeper brotherly feeling was kindled in every American heart, heightened and intensified by the true and generous sympathy which every Briton in the Conference extended to their brethren from America who were bowed down by a common sorrow. But pure and true and deep as was this brotherly feeling when we prayed for our President living, it was increased manifold when we prayed for the wife and children of our President dead, and our

English and Welsh and Scotch and Irish Methodist brethren mingled their tears with ours.

But we come now to notice more particularly the influence of the Ecumenical Conference upon Methodism itself, and notably upon the Wesleyans of Great Britain and Ireland. But before we write what we have to say about the Wesleyans, it may be well to indicate the sources of our information respecting them, and the opportunities we had of estimating their spirit and work.

In 1878 I visited the Wesleyan Conference at Bradford, and, seated upon its platform, was for three weeks a daily attendant upon its proceedings. During that time I made the acquaintance of many prominent Wesleyan preachers and laymen, for whom I came to entertain a high regard. In public and in private, in the conference room, at dinings, and elsewhere, I was a close observer of the Wesleyans who honored me with their acquaintance. From Bradford I soon went to London, where I remained for three months. There again, in many ways, I was brought into more perfect knowledge of the Wesleyans and their work. This work was my study. I studied in their books, in their Church papers, magazines, and reviews, in the Minutes of their Conferences, and in attendance on their meetings; and I learned much from conversations with many of their leaders. Not only my special mission to England—to solicit the co-operation of British Methodists in building in Savannah, Georgia, the Wesley Monumental Church as a connectional and ecumenical work—but the conception of the Wesley Memorial Volume, and the effort to secure the best Wesleyan writers as contributors to its pages, brought me into a correspondence with Wesleyans which has been to me both a profit and a delight. Again, in 1881, about six weeks before the Ecumenical Conference, I was for ten days at the Wesleyan Conference, during its session in Brunswick Chapel, Liverpool. The interval between the Wesleyan Conference in Liverpool and the Ecumenical Conference I spent in London. All this time, and during the Ecumenical Conference itself, in which I sat as one of the delegates of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, I was a close student of Wesleyanism, its men, its spirit, its institutions, its methods, and its work. While others were hurrying through the Three Kingdoms and the Continent, tak-

ing a bird's-eye view of what they saw, I never went outside of London, both during my sojourn there in 1878, and afterward in 1881, unless I except a trip of six hours to Windsor, when the Ecumenical Conference was over. Hence, I saw Wesleyanism, not only on its gala days and dress parades, but in camp and in field.

When I looked on the Wesleyans at Bradford in 1878, and again at Liverpool in 1881, I thought that these eyes never beheld a finer or more imposing body of men. And I do not speak of their physique—though that was manly and commanding—but of their intellectual endowments, their mental wealth, their practical common sense, their mastery of business, their knowledge of parliamentary law, and their skill in debate. Neither did consecration to their work, nor any moral or spiritual force, appear to be wanting. I was devoutly filled with admiration, and often silently gave praise to Almighty God for raising up so many sons of Wesley to carry on the great work of revival which God had committed to their hands. Both at Bradford and at Liverpool the Wesleyans impressed me as a great and powerful body of ministers of the Lord Jesus. And, as I looked on, here, thought I, is intellectual and spiritual power enough to turn the Three Kingdoms from sin and Satan to God. What, I asked myself, could John Wesley have accomplished if he had had at his back the great preachers whom I saw before me—the president, the ex-presidents, the governors and tutors of colleges, the missionaries to far-off lands, the superintendents of districts, and the great body of educated and well-trained ministers of circuits? And when I beheld the Mixed Conference of preachers and laymen assembled for the first time at Bradford, I asked what limits to Wesley's work, if he had had to aid him these consecrated merchant princes from Bradford and Manchester, these wealthy bankers from Liverpool and London, these rich miners from the Principality and from Cornwall, these influential magistrates of provincial towns, these learned councilors of the Queen, these titled baronets of the crown, and these eloquent members of the High Court of Parliament? But where, I further asked, in all England, in Wales, in Scotland, or in Ireland, was there evidence of work for the Master commensurate with the great intellectual, moral, and religious forces of the Wesleyan body?

That body, it is true, is the largest of the Methodist bodies of Great Britain and Ireland; it is much larger, indeed, than any other Non-conformist body in England. But ought it not to have been much larger than it is? We make every allowance for what Wesleyanism has lost through emigration to other countries. And it has thus lost a great deal. The Methodisms of other parts of the world—in the United States, the Canadas, Australia, and many isles of the sea—have largely gained by the losses of the Wesleyans. What has been thus lost to Wesleyanism has been a great gain to Methodism elsewhere. And while we think that its progress at home has not kept pace with the means at its command, we gladly acknowledge that its success in distant missionary fields is without a parallel in the history of modern missions. The Wesleyans of Great Britain and Ireland have the most successful Protestant Missionary Church in the world. Over one hundred thousand converts to Christianity, now living in heathen lands, tells the bright story of their success as a Missionary Church. God be praised for this! If the Wesleyans had done nothing more, they would be justly entitled to the plaudits of evangelical Protestantism in all parts of the world. But why, it may still be asked, has Wesleyanism not effected greater conquests at home? There is but one answer to this question, and it is the whole answer. It is an answer which applies as well to other Methodist bodies of Great Britain and Ireland, and, indeed, to all Non-conformist bodies in the Three Kingdoms. The one cause of comparative failure in all is the overshadowing power of the Establishment. The Wesleyans are so overshadowed by the great and powerful Establishment as to be afraid of their own shadows. If they had had in England the same zeal and courage and faith which have ever distinguished them in lands where they have been beyond the fear-producing shadow of the Establishment, their success in England would have been much greater. We do not say that, by this time, Wesleyanism ought to have undermined the Establishment, or to have wholly pervaded it with its own spirit. But we do say that the relative strength of the Establishment ought to have been weakened, and the relative strength of Wesleyanism greatly increased.

Do we expect these thing to continue in the future as in the

past? By no means. We confidently expect much larger results to Wesleyanism in the years to come. The Ecumenical Conference gave to Wesleyanism the very thing it needed. It greatly encouraged and strengthened Wesleyanism. The Wesleyans saw that, though they are a small body compared with the Established Church, they are a great part of the most powerful evangelical body in the world. To the other Methodisms, forming in the aggregate a mighty spiritual force, the Wesleyan body stands related as the parent body of the whole. They saw how many stalwart sons stand at the back of "the mother of us all." Hence, by the Ecumenical Conference, the very back-bone of Wesleyanism was stiffened, its faith increased, its courage strengthened, its zeal quickened. Looking beyond the Atlantic, and seeing what Methodist faith and Methodist courage and Methodist zeal and Methodist manhood have accomplished, under God, in the New World, Wesleyanism, with armor refurbished and strengthened, has buckled it on anew, and gone forth to the contest with largely increased assurance of success.*

In a paper on the Ecumenical Conference it may be well to notice its effects on Disestablishment. While the union of Church and State may have saved Protestantism to England by uniting her people against the Papal power, it has certainly hampered freedom of thought at home by its direct, or indirect, proscription of all who do not subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles. It has not only hindered the growth of other forms of evangelical Protestantism, but it has necessarily weakened the Church itself by its latitudinarianism, by its laxity of discipline, by its benefices, by its preferments, and by infusing worldly policies and maxims into the Church of Him whose kingdom is not of this world. The Establishment having served its day as a bulwark against the armed coalitions of Catholic Europe, and English Protestantism being no longer in danger from this quarter, there are thousands in England, *inside*, as well as outside, of the Establishment, who think that the only way to correct the evils inseparable from

* Long after the above was written we received the report of the Wesleyans for 1881–1882. The result has been as we expected. The past has been by far the most signal and successful in the history of British Wesleyanism for many long years.

the union of Church and State is to dissolve that union now and forever. Hence, Disestablishment—that is, the separation of Church and State—is the rallying cry of many within the Establishment itself.

In the Established Church of England there are three great parties—the High-Church, or the Liturgical, party; the Low-Church, or the Evangelical, party; and the Broad-Church, or the Latitudinarian, party. In the High-Church party many are seeking disestablishment. Their theory is that the Church is supreme, and that Christ is the only lawgiver. Believing that they can worship God more acceptably by more æsthetic forms and more imposing rubrics than those prescribed and sanctioned by the laws of the realm, they aim to place the Church and its service beyond the power of Acts of Parliament. And as this can only be done by the separation of Church and State, they are for that. Already have some of the parish priests of this party been tried, convicted, and punished for infractions upon the rubrics of the Church. The Judge of the Arches Court—called in England the Dean of the Arches—has pronounced against appellants from the lower Ecclesiastical Courts, who were convicted of worshiping God contrary to the prescribed forms of the Church of England. The convicted have been doomed to prison walls for reasons like to those which sentenced John Bunyan and Richard Baxter to English jails. That they may worship God according to forms which the conscience and taste of the worshipers dictate, they are sufferers in a cause like to that which sent Presbyterians to the pillory and Methodists to the horse-pond.

But not only are many of the High-Church party contending for disestablishment, but many of the Low-Church party are doing the same thing. The truly evangelical of this party have learned, from an experience of nearly one hundred and fifty years, that no State Church can be wholly pervaded by a revival of religion. They have learned more than this. They have learned that establishment is no fruitful soil for evangelicalism. The leaders of the evangelical party, its Cecils, its Scotts, its Milners, its Newtons, its Cowpers, and its Thorntons—successors to its Venns, its Berridges, its Romaines, its Herveys, and its Topladys, who received their inspiration direct from the Wesleys and Whitefield—have themselves been

succeeded, in these later years, by some who, like Newman and Manning, have gone over to Rome. The latter part of the nineteenth century exhibits the strange phenomenon of a Church whose highest ritualists are more spiritual and evangelical than many of the successors of the evangelicals of the eighteenth. These things are forcing upon some of the Low-Church party of this day the anxious inquiry, Why this phenomenal condition of things? The answer they find in the fact that a State Church must of necessity be so latitudinarian in doctrine and so lax in discipline as to include thousands of self-seekers, whose only connection with it is the accident of birth; whose only orthodoxy is the formal subscription of their hands, and not of their hearts, to its Thirty-nine Articles; and whose only spiritual pabulum is the loaves and fishes which it holds out to them. To free themselves from influences so hurtful to evangelicalism and all healthful Christian growth, many of the Low-Church party are also advocating the separation of Church and State. A comparison of evangelicalism *within* with evangelicalism *without* the Establishment, forces the conviction that the Church is the purer the freer it is from connection with the State. Broad-Churchmen, as the rule, may favor establishment; many High-Churchmen and Low-Churchmen, for the reasons given, are for disestablishment.

Among those in England favoring disestablishment are the Non-conformists, namely, the Presbyterians, the Independents, the Baptists, and the various Methodist bodies, except the Wesleyans. Strange to say, the Wesleyan leaders have been mainly Tory, or conservative, in Church politics. The Wesleyans have been a powerful breakwater against the tide which threatens the overthrow of the Establishment; and yet the Establishment has so fettered Wesleyanism as greatly to hinder its progress. This influence of the Wesleyans, being the largest and most powerful Non-conformist body in England, has had very great weight. In a conversation with some of the Primitive Methodist leaders we were told that, if the Wesleyans would unite with the other Non-conformists of England, and with those of the Church of England who are advocating disestablishment, it would not be ten years before the separation of Church and State would be an accomplished fact. But it must be said that there are strong and able men among the

younger Wesleyans who do not hold the views of the older and more conservative leaders. They, too, are for disestablishment. This growing party within the Wesleyan body needed to be strengthened. The needed strength was given by the Ecumenical Conference. The growth of Methodism in countries—as in the United States of America—where there is no union of Church and State, contrasted with its growth where such union exists, could not fail to exert a great influence upon both parties in the Wesleyan body. The one was strengthened; the other, correspondingly weakened. Hence, as one of the results of the Ecumenical Conference, we expect to see the Wesleyans united against establishment; and, at an early day, as predicted by the Primitive Methodists, the separation of Church and State in England.

Another result of the late Ecumenical Conference will be that the Wesleyans will be less exclusive and more connectional, less national and more international, in the future. We shall not mention all that is suggested by this thought, or all that the facts fully warrant. British exclusiveness may not have lessened respect for British authority, but it has greatly affected the love of others for the British people. The supercilliousness common to Englishmen has not been so changed and sanctified by grace as to disappear altogether in English Christians. British superiority is asserted, not only in arms, in government, and in literature, but in Christian culture and in Christian work. An Englishman of the times of Pitt or of Gladstone, whatever his religious faith, is like an Athenian in the days of Pericles, or Demosthenes. As no pre-eminence was admitted outside of Attica; so no pre-eminence is admitted outside of England. And as the average Athenian, asserting an exclusive claim to originality, refused to be taught by others; so the average Englishman, asserting a like claim, believes that no other can instruct him. But this is an age in which the tendency—to a greater degree in America than in England—has been to the strengthening of international ties. The community of interest, of similar pursuits, and of like principles has been growing stronger, as the facilities for international communication have been multiplied by steam and telegraph. This community of interest, pursuits, and principles has formed a bond of union between men of different nationalities

almost as strong as that of kindred and blood. Class gravitates to class as never was known before in the history of the human race. And when to the bond of which we are speaking has been added the bond of a common faith in a common Redeemer—the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace—the international is strengthened, and the merely national proportionately weakened. That God made of one blood all the nations of the earth, and that the salvation of all—whatever one's nationality may be—is equally the care of the common Father, is being the more received as a divine truth. Now, British exclusiveness, not theoretically it is true, but practically and surely, has been in the way of the development of this idea. There has not been that oneness of aim and feeling between British Christians and American Christians of the same faith and order which a common ancestry and superior international communication would lead us to expect. It is true that there is not so great a union between American Christians and French Christians. But this does not militate against that for which we are contending. There is but one reason to assign for this—the fewness of the number of Frenchmen who are at one with any body of Protestant Christians in the United States. *If Frenchmen were Protestants and Methodists—even with less facilities for intercommunication—the bond of union between them and American Methodists, notwithstanding the differences in race and language, would be far greater than that between American and British Methodists.* British exclusiveness has been the cause of this—an exclusiveness which, as we believe, was greatly modified by the Ecumenical Conference. British Methodists and American Methodists were there brought nearer, and were bound more closely together. The exclusive Methodist Englishman decreased; the international, the cosmopolitan Methodist Englishman, increased.

It has been painful to American Methodists to see how little practical sympathy British Methodists have had in work outside of themselves—especially in work on this side of the Atlantic. They have been shut up within themselves, caring but little for the enterprises of others. This has been at the expense of that enlarged liberality which bears one another's burdens. No great body of Christians are more liberal to themselves; few,

perhaps, less liberal to others. In providing for their own the Wesleyans are beyond praise. Witness the recent Thanksgiving Fund, and the ample provision for their ministers. The Wesleyans have, pecuniarily, the best-endowed body of Christian ministers in the world. To get within the Conference, and to keep within it, is to be well endowed for life. The average provision for a Wesleyan minister is much above the average provision for the priests and curates of the Establishment. Indeed, the truly self-denying and cross-bearing ministers of the England of to-day are the lesser parish priests and curates of the English Church. While societies of ladies are formed all over the realm to beg second-hand and cast-off clothing for the poorer clergy and their families, the Wesleyans have splendidly provided for the education and even the maintenance of the children of their ministers, for the help of the widows and orphans of their deceased pastors, and for the support of their supernumerary as well as their superannuated preachers. Liberality is expended in this way more largely than by any other Christian Church. And so jealous are the ministers themselves to secure to the beneficiaries what is devoted to these uses, that they guard, with the utmost vigilance, all admissions to the Conference, lest the applicant, if received, diminish the distributive share of those already admitted. And this is too often done at the expense of aggressiveness. At the Wesleyan Conference, held at Brunswick Chapel, Liverpool, July, 1881, at which the writer was present, not an applicant was admitted to the Conference, though about seventy-five—chiefly young men and graduates of its colleges and theological training-schools—were earnestly knocking at its doors. The argument which prevailed against their admission was that it would lessen the income of those who were already claimants on the Conference funds. The hardness of the times—the financial crisis—was pleaded as the excuse for this. In vain was it urged in reply that the fields were white to the harvest; in vain was the Conference incited to greater enterprise and stronger faith in God. Equally vain was the argument that, if God called these men and qualified them for the work of the itinerant ministry, he would also provide the means for their support. Every applicant was shut out, and all were held over till the next Conference, though it was

officially announced that, at the next Conference, the applicants would be increased to the number of near, if not quite, one hundred. The declaration of our Lord was thus practically reversed: in his day, the harvest was great and the laborers few; in the England of the present day, the harvest seems to be small and the laborers many. And thus the Wesleyans showed themselves liberal in providing for themselves and careful in holding on to that which was provided. Equally liberal, likewise, are the Wesleyans to their Foreign Missions. But even this is liberality to themselves, and not to others. For every Wesleyan looks upon the distant mission fields of his Church just as every Englishman regards the colonies and dependencies of the British Empire. They are his own; they must be supported and defended; but when he provides for them he does no more than when he provides for his own household.

It is indeed marvelous how few appeals to the Wesleyans from American Methodists have been met with any thing like liberality. And that, too, though British Methodist enterprises not unfrequently have been presented to American Methodists, and found a hearty and generous response. In view of this there can be no question that enlarged liberality—a liberality which is confined at home is not enlarged—is not a grace bestowed upon the Wesleyan body. To bear one another's burdens and so fulfill the law of Christ, is the law for all Christians. The law of mutual help should govern not only Churches of the same faith and order, but it would be wise, it would be noble, it would be catholic, it would be more than Christian—it would be Christ-like—if it were shown to all sister evangelical Churches that name the name of the same Lord. If Christians of different denominations would think less of their differences, and more of what they hold in common as the essentials of a common faith, they would rejoice more in one another's successes, and aid one another more in work for one and the same Master. Hence, we rejoice in every dollar given by one Christian denomination to another. Nothing serves to bind them more closely together; nothing more effectually destroys a sectarianism which has in it more of earth than heaven. If this be true of Christians of different denominations, how much truer is it when applied to those who

are called by the same name! Every chance for help to others, when it is in our power to afford it, ought to be hailed as a privilege—as a blessed opportunity to develop that which makes us most akin to Him who came, not to be ministered unto, but to minister. Instead of treating coldly those who come to us with duly accredited commissions from sister Churches to solicit aid, let us rather bid them Godspeed, and rejoice to assist them as of the ability which God giveth. If, therefore, the Ecumenical Conference has done aught to increase enlarged Christian liberality, it has done a glorious work. And this is what we believe it has done; so confident are we of it, that we do not hesitate to set it down as one of its more important spiritual results. If it give to Wesleyan Methodism that for which it has been by no means pre-eminent, it will have accomplished a good thing. If Wesleyan Methodists be made "to abound in this grace also," that will have been added to their otherwise eminent Christian character which will give to it a fullness and roundness that will cause, through many, abundant thanksgivings to God.

And now it will be in place to notice somewhat the influence of the Ecumenical Conference upon catholicity. In the Conference there were, if I remember rightly, twenty-seven different Methodisms. Among these there were differences in Church polity. On the floor of the same Conference there were Episcopal Methodists, and there were non-Episcopal Methodists; there were ordained Bishops, and there were unordained—not ordained for special work as Bishops are—presidents and ex-presidents; and there were presiding elders of districts, and there were superintendents of the same. On the same floor there were liturgical and there were non-liturgical Methodists; there were those who use a liturgy and there were those who worship without, or according to the simplest, forms. These differences had been, in the past, fruitful sources of bitterness and strife; of alienation and separation; of bigotry and intolerance. Advocates of opposing views—though they had come together in a great Ecumenical Conference; though they had greatly succeeded in burying the bitterness of past conflicts; and though they had come to hail one another as brethren beloved of the same Lord, and fellow-heirs of a common Methodist heritage—yet they still retained much of

the old feeling which claims that rather "in Jerusalem" than "in this mountain" men should worship the Father. But when it was seen what God had wrought in all parts of the world through the people called Methodists—by whatever additional distinctive name they are known, and whatever their differences in Church polity—a profound respect for one another, and a great catholicity toward all, became the universal feeling. It was seen that God had been with all, and had blessed all—episcopal and non-episcopal—liturgical and non-liturgical. There, for instance, it was manifest that if God had greatly enlarged the Episcopal Methodisms of America, he had given to the non-Episcopal Methodisms of Great Britain more converts in heathen lands than he had given to all the Episcopal Methodisms in the world. There were we more clearly taught the meaning of the Master, when, at Jacob's Well, he announced to the woman of Samaria the culminating truth of inspiration: Woman, believe me, the hour cometh, and now is, when neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, shall men worship the Father. God is a Spirit: and the true worshipers are they—anywhere, every-where, and by whatever forms—who worship him in spirit and in truth. Into the truth and spirit of this no one had drank more freely or more deeply than John Wesley, the catholic founder of Methodism. No one, more fully than he, believed that no form of Church government or of Church service is prescribed, or proscribed, by the New Testament; and no one more fully than he was more liberal to those whose tastes and whose views of Church polity and methods of worship differed from his own. Many called by Wesley's name had not his catholicity. But at the Ecumenical Conference they drank deeper into the spirit which Wesley received from the Master. There we all were taught, as perhaps we were never taught before, that the harp of God sends forth the same divine strains, whether the delicate hands of Miriam or the manly hands of Israel's warrior king sweeps its responsive chords along; and that the true prophet of God stands confessed, whether he who speaks to us in the name and by the authority of God speaks to us arrayed in the splendid vestments of Aaron, the Lord's anointed high-priest, or in the royal robes of David, the Lord's anointed king; or whether he who thus speaks to us speaks to us wrapped in the humble

mantle of the Tishbite, or clad in the coarse raiment of camel's hair of the Baptist. Nor was this all. The various Methodisms represented on the floor of the Conference—more than ever before—were brought face to face, in the world's metropolis, with the other great evangelical Churches. We saw their work for the Master as we had never seen it; and what we saw gave to us a profounder respect for, and a greater catholicity toward, them and their work. And this respect and this catholicity, we are persuaded, were mutually and fully reciprocated. Never can Methodists forget how they were received and welcomed by other Christian Churches of Great Britain and Ireland. One Lord, one faith, one baptism, was the one confession of faith; to walk worthy of the vocation wherewith we are called, with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love, and endeavoring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, was the one purpose of all; and that to every one of us is given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ, was the one common acknowledgment.

And we were more convincingly taught by the Conference in what Methodist power consists, and to what Methodist success must be ascribed. Methodist power is not in outward things; it is not in Church polity, or in any prescribed formula of worship. In these we differed; and yet, as we have seen, we all have power; we all had success. This common power and this common success lay in our doctrines of free grace, in the similarity of our usages—the class-meeting and the love-feast—and in the oneness of our Christian experience. With marvelous unity all these had been preserved by Methodists all over the world. The success of Methodism was seen, not only in the millions that Methodist preaching and Methodist usages and Methodist living had added, under God, to Methodist Churches; but in the numbers which the same things had added to our sister evangelical Churches, and in the modifications which they had made in their doctrines, in their usages, and in their Christian experience. Every delegate came away from the Ecumenical Conference more fully determined to adhere, with tenacity and unwavering faith, to our doctrines as embodied in the sermons of John Wesley and the lyrics of Charles Wesley; to our class-meetings and love-feasts; and to

our common experience of a personal and conscious acceptance with God, confirmed and sanctioned by the witness of the Spirit. To preserve the unity and purity of Wesleyan Methodism as the best means, under God, of saving sinners and spreading scriptural holiness over all the earth, was the one and fixed resolve of each and all.

Nor was the Conference without results to Methodist unity in other regards. In England, Methodism is divided into various bodies, the most important of which are the Wesleyans, the New Connection Methodists, and the Primitive Methodists. The two Methodisms last named, as well as the first, are doing a great and noble work. The New Connection is adorned by two of the purest, noblest, and ablest Methodists in the world —the venerable William Cooke, D.D., of Forest Hill, London, and Thomas Austin Bullock, LL.D., of Manchester. The Primitive Methodists, who are more like our American Methodists than any other Methodist body in England, are especially engaged in preaching the Gospel to the poor. The causes which gave rise to these two Methodisms are well known to the student of English Methodist history. Not long after Mr. Wesley's death, a party arose in the Wesleyan Conference demanding lay ordination. This was refused by the majority, who still depended for the sacraments upon the parish priests of the Church of England. Those who claimed lay ordination for themselves pleaded that Mr. Wesley had ordained lay preachers for America and Scotland; that what he had a right to do as a presbyter other presbyters had an equal right to do; that this Mr. Wesley himself fully admitted when he came to regard apostolic succession as a mere figment, and of no scriptural authority whatever. In a word, when the Conference refused, they who demanded lay ordination withdrew and set up for themselves. The Methodist New Connection was the result. The camp-meeting, and—passing strange—preaching in market-places and on the highways, was the cause of another separation from the Wesleyan body. The result was the Primitive Methodists. But that which caused the widest divergence between them and the parent body was the adoption of lay representation by the seceding Churches.

But, in process of time, the Wesleyans ordained lay preachers for themselves; and at Bradford, in 1878, they admitted lay

representation into the Conference. And thus have the chief causes of difference been providentially removed. These causes removed, there is no good reason why the three bodies should not be organically one. And this will be accomplished when the Wesleyans, for the common good, are unselfish enough to divide endowments and incomes with their poorer brethren. Upon organic union between them the Ecumenical Conference exerted a strong and persuasive influence. At all events, as one of the blessed results of the Conference, if organic union does not follow, unquestionably there will be a truer and warmer fraternity, and a more cordial co-operation. We have seen signs which lead us to hope that the former will be the result at no very distant day. Calls, we hope, similar to that which was made soon after the Ecumenical Conference adjourned, for the various British Methodisms to meet at Birmingham to consider the question of a more perfect union, will be repeated, until, as the English Wesleyans and the Irish Wesleyans were lately united, all the Methodisms of Great Britain and Ireland are inseparably joined in one body.

And what we pray—what we anticipate—for British Methodists, we hope may be the result of the Ecumenical Conference to the Methodisms of the Canadas and to the Methodisms of the United States. Here, too, in America, causes which divided Methodism have been providentially put out of the way. In this we greatly rejoice, and hail it as the harbinger of more united and fraternal Methodisms in the Canadas and in the States of the American Union.

But we must not conclude this paper without a passing reference to the colored brethren who, in the Ecumenical Conference, represented their respective Churches in America. Every eye-witness will testify to the perfect harmony which was manifest between them and the delegates of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. It is with gratitude that, as one of the delegates of the latter Church, the writer can bear witness to the courteous and manly acknowledgment of their indebtedness to the ministers and laymen of that Church for the Christian experience and culture which their race, in the Southern States of the United States, possessed before the late fratricidal war. In an estimate of the results of the Ecumenical Conference the impartial historian of our future Methodism

will truthfully record that among those results none, perhaps, were more important than the meeting of representative colored Methodists and representative white Southern Methodists from America in City Road Chapel, and the mutual respect and confidence which that meeting produced. We returned home from the pilgrimage to our common Mecca mutually resolved to work side by side in Southern fields for the elevation of both races, and the advancement of our common country.

And now, as the last result of the Conference which we mention, we add that we all returned to our respective Methodisms baptized anew with the Spirit of Wesley's Master and ours, and more than ever persuaded of the possibilities of Methodism. Nor was this persuasion diminished by the fact that Methodism is to-day increasing in many parts of the world—the Old and the New—in a greater ratio than at any period of its history. But the rather were we persuaded that, if Methodism be true to its great mission, before the first sun of the next century shall have arisen from his nightly bath in the waters of Oceanus, Methodism will have become the most prevalent Protestant religion of the world, and will have fully pervaded all its sister evangelical Churches with the spirit of John Wesley and the great Methodist movement of the eighteenth century.

ART. IV.—JOHN KEBLE AND THE TRACTARIAN MOVEMENT.

A Memoir of the Rev. John Keble, M.A., late Vicar of Hursley. By the Right Honorable Sir J. T. COLERIDGE, D.C.L.

Reminiscences Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement. By Rev. T. MOZLEY, M.A. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

The Oxford Counter-Reformation. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, A.M., in his "Short Studies on Great Subjects."

Keble. By Professor J. C. SHAIRP, in "Studies in Poetry and Philosophy."

MR. MOZLEY'S gossipy "Reminiscences" of the Oxford Movement, and Mr. Froude's "Essay," have somewhat revived public interest in the distinguished writers known as "Tractarians," whose famous tracts shook the Church of England from center to circumference some fifty years ago. It has, therefore, occurred to the writer that a brief *resumé* of the events connected

with the origin and results of that movement, interwoven with a study of the life and character of one of its leaders, might not be without interest to the readers of the Quarterly.

Among the original Tractarians there was no one of them more highly esteemed than JOHN KEBLE, the author of those sacred lyrics known as "The Christian Year." Mozley pronounces him "a glory to the college," (Oriel;) "a comfort, and a stay." Of his surprisingly popular work the "Encyclopedia Britannica" says: "It contributed *equally* with the 'Tracts for the Times' to the success of the Anglo-Catholic reaction in the Church of England. In those pensive, dreamy, soothing strains we have the logic of the Oxford schools turned into rhetoric. The academic cloister and the Gothic aisle are the 'haunt and main region' of his song. The white Levitical vestment is his singing-robe, and you listen in the dim religious light to a music like the lulling chime of church bells."

The precise relations between great political and religious movements and their various causes are not easily ascertained. Hence it may be that Keble's "Christian Year" contributed *equally* with the "Tracts for the Times" to the power of the Tractarian agitation. The affirmation is easily made, but where is the proof? The churchly character of its poems does not prove it, since the church, from its altar and priestly vestments to its very floors, is, still more emphatically, the "haunt and main region" of holy George Herbert's song. Yet his influence was, and is, almost exclusively spiritual. The same may be safely affirmed of "The Christian Year" and its influence. It is, doubtless, true that its sad and mediæval tone, and its occasional and sympathetic allusions to Sacramentalist dogmas, made it a special favorite with the Oxford agitators when they began their movement, five years after its publication. But, long before their appearance as agitators, its poetical merits and its value as a help to the culture of the spiritual life had won for "The Christian Year" a warm place, not only in the regards of High-Churchmen, but also in the affections of spiritually-minded Low-Churchmen and Dissenters. It may, indeed, be fairly questioned whether any man not predisposed by his political and ecclesiastical principles was ever made a Tractarian by the study of that book. As we shall presently see, it was not aimed at any such result.

There is an idyllic beauty, not only in the lives, but also in the material surroundings of many ministers in the rural parishes of England. There are, no doubt, numerous hard, disagreeable, poverty-stricken parishes; but ideal ones are scattered in secluded vales all over that highly-favored island. These latter have their ancient church, with the village dead of many generations quietly sleeping around it in the shade of solemn yew-trees. Near by stands the moss-covered parsonage, with its ample lawn in front and its well-cultivated garden behind. Not far off is the parish school, the village street, and, in the distance, the mansions and parks of the neighboring gentry. On all sides, a charming landscape, undulating, green as emerald, fruitful, and watered by babbling streams, fills the observant eye with images which awaken feelings of pure delight. The rector, or vicar, if true to his vocation, which, alas! is not always the case, is treated by both rich and poor with the reverential respect due to a pastor, and is loved by many with the affection due from children to a father. Within such parsonages there is usually abundance, sometimes wealth, the amenities of high intellectual culture, and the still more graceful affectionateness which is the outgrowth of Christian faith. Happy, indeed, is the truly spiritual pastor whose lot is cast in such a home!

It was John Keble's fortune to spend his early life in the "sacred seclusion" of such a home. His father was Vicar of Coln, St. Aldwin's, near Fairford, in Gloucestershire. The poet was born at the latter place in 1792, and was educated by his scholarly and pious father so effectually that when he was only fourteen years and eight months old he was elected scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. No anecdotes of his boyhood were preserved, except the fact that his devotion to study was so voluntary and self-regulated that his father safely left him free to choose his own hours for getting his lessons. It is also said that one of his godfathers, who knew him intimately, designated him by the title of "John the Good." Hence, both intellectually and morally, "the child was father of the man."

Corpus Christi was a small college, seldom having more than twenty pupils, some of whom were resident Bachelor students. Most of its few undergraduates were, like Keble, mere boys. Their habits were inexpensive, temperate, and studious. Their

tutors were gentlemen in manners, accurate scholars, and judicious in their methods of teaching. Keble's tutor, Mr. Darnell, was a man of excellent taste, "one of the ornaments of Oxford," and admirably fitted to develop the mind and character of this shy, home-bred, home-loving, affectionate lad. Under his tuition Keble made a good record in college; albeit, though he wrote for several prizes during his undergraduateship, he was never successful. Two causes, possibly three, may be assigned for these failures: his extreme youth, his lack of public-school training, and chiefly his distraction of mind caused by the preparations necessary to his intention to try for the "first class both in classics and mathematics." In this great effort he was successful, and, in 1810, was placed in both first classes, a distinction which, up to that time, no one had earned but Sir Robert Peel. It was a great intellectual triumph for a lad of eighteen; and it led to his election, the following year, as a Probationer Fellow at Oriel College.

The development of Keble's character was greatly aided by the friendships he formed at Corpus Christi. Three of these were especially intimate, and were life lasting. These three friends—Miller, Cornish, and Dyson—were remarkable for intellectual quickness, simplicity of character, refined tastes, and warm affections. Cornish, like Keble, was reserved and shy, yet genial and humorous when in the company of his chosen associates. All of them resembled Keble in their indifference to Church honors and preferments, except so far as they might offer them fields for usefulness. These sweet and precious college friendships Keble embalmed in the following extract from a short poem he wrote on quitting the delightful associations of Corpus Christi:

> "Seat of calm delights, farewell!
> Home of my muse, and of my friends! I ne'er
> Shall see thee, but with such a gush of soul
> As flows from him who welcomes some dear face
> Lost in his childhood—yet not lost to me
> Art thou; for still my heart exults to own thee,
> And memory still, and friendship, make thee mine."

At Oriel, in 1812, Keble won two Bachelors' prizes: an unprecedented honor, achieved only twice since. The next year he was appointed examining master. In 1815 he was ordained deacon. The following year the same bishop, Jackson,

ordained him priest. It does not clearly appear that he entered this high vocation because he was especially moved thereto by the Holy Ghost; neither did he aspire to it for low, mercenary ends. To his mind it appeared as a grand sphere of usefulness, which he entered with visions of brilliant results, "inasmuch," he writes, "as the salvation of one soul is worth more than the framing the Magna Charta of a thousand worlds. . . . Can there be, even among the angels, a higher privilege, that we can form an idea of, than the power of contributing to the everlasting happiness of our neighbor?"

He does not disavow the presence of ambition among his motives for entering the clerical office. "On the contrary," he writes, "I have a great deal of ambition—too much, I think, for my profession; . . . but I think I see clearly that, as a motive to my clerical exertions, it is either wrong in itself or liable every moment to become so, and therefore I am sure I ought to keep it down as much as possible."

This is the language of a man sincerely desirous of thoroughly knowing himself, and of entering on the duties of his high office in a spirit corresponding to its spiritual dignity. He quickly demonstrated his sincerity by the manner in which he applied himself to the duties of two small curacies which he accepted immediately after his ordination as deacon. A resident near one of his churches told his biographer that after he began his work a great change took place in the village; he commenced a Sunday-school; the church was well filled. A sturdy Baptist attended, stating as a reason that he there heard the Gospel. And this resident adds, "I have myself much reason to be thankful for Mr. Keble's ministrations. Mr. Keble was outside the church what he was in it."

Early in 1818 Keble entered upon the duties of a tutor at Oriel, to which he had been appointed the preceding autumn. He had some scruples at first with respect to this exchange of parish for academic work. But he quieted them on the ground that tuition is "a species of pastoral care," and his affectionate fidelity to the religious, as well as to the intellectual, life of his pupils showed that this was no mere opiate administered to his conscience, but a valid justification of his action. Oriel, in Keble's time, had a corps of tutors equal, if not superior, to any college of the university; and Keble soon

won a high reputation among them, not for scholarship merely, but also for success in teaching, and for binding his pupils to him with the ties both of respect and of affection. In his class he is described by Mozley as a man with a beautifully formed head and wonderfully black eyes, dropping diamonds and pearls from his mouth. The impression his pure character made on the members of his college, and in the university generally, is illustrated by an incident related by Dr. Newman, who says, that as he was walking with a friend one day in High Street, Oxford, his companion startled him by eagerly crying out, "There's Keble!" Then, remarks Newman, "with what awe did I look at him!"

Newman's awe of Keble's character was not an evanescent, but an enduring, feeling. It showed itself some years later when Newman himself was elected to an Oriel Fellowship, and went to receive the congratulations of all the Fellows. "I bore it," said the future Cardinal, "till Keble took my hand, and then felt so abashed and unworthy of the honor done me, that I seemed quite desirous of sinking into the ground. His had been the first name I had heard spoken of with reverence, rather than admiration, when I came up to Oxford." These spontaneous tributes paid to the youthful tutor by Newman were rendered, not by him alone, but in a measure by all in the university who knew Keble. His scholarly attainments, his courteous, gentle manners, his unaffected humility, his affectionate spirit, and his manifestly sincere piety, were the qualities which commanded this reverential regard.

After nearly five years' service as tutor at Oriel, Keble, influenced by his high sense of filial duty, resigned his tutorship and returned to his beloved curacies, which had been served partly by his brother and partly by himself during his residence at Oxford. The death of his mother and the illness of his sisters had made him desirous of living near his venerable father's parish. The income from his small curacies, now increased to three, was only about $500 per annum. His rising reputation might have procured him a richer living. He was, in fact, offered an Archdeaconship in the West Indies with a salary of $10,000 a year; but preferred obedience to the impulses of filial love to any increase of income or Church preferment purchased at the price of residence at so great a distance

from his father's parish. And when, under the oppression caused by the death of one of his two sisters, his father's health was impaired in 1827, he became his curate, lived in his parsonage, performed his official duties, and did all that devoted affection could do to smooth the venerable vicar's pathway to the grave.

During his tutorship at Oriel, and probably before, Keble had wrought as he found opportunities on the poems which make up his "Christian Year," a work which was destined, contrary to his expectations, to secure him national celebrity, and, in fact, to make his name a household word, not only among Churchmen, for whose use it was designed, but also in unnumbered homes outside the limit of his own Church, wherever the English language is spoken. His biographer, Sir J. T. Coleridge, shows, on Keble's own authority, that it was the poet's original intention to keep "The Christian Year" in manuscript during his life-time, after the example of George Herbert, who, instead of publishing his "Temple," left it to be given to the public subsequently to his death, or to be committed to the flames, as his friend and executor, Nicholas Ferrar, might determine. Keble's purpose arose, in part, out of the modest estimate he placed upon its merits; but chiefly out of his apprehension that it might lead men to overestimate his piety. He had written its poems as, according to his "Prælections on Poetry," all who are not mere poetic artists, but born poets, must write—"because they could not help it." They expressed his own "eager feelings" which struggled within him to find vent. They were "a melody in his heart which would out, a fire in his blood which would not be suppressed." Hence he put his emotions into metrical forms which both satisfied their craving for outward expression, and "served as a veil to draw over them. For the utterance of high and tender feeling, controlled and modified by a certain reserve, is the very soul of poetry." Conscious, therefore, that his poems were not hymns fitted for public worship, but poetical meditations which were the utterances of his own inner life, he feared that the Christian public, on discovering this fact, "would, incorrectly, attribute to him a degree of saintliness far higher than he actually possessed." From such a judgment his pure, truthful, humble nature instinctively shrunk;

and to prevent it, at least during his life-time, he proposed that, if published at all, "The Christian Year" should appear as a posthumous work. His most confidential friends advised otherwise. His aged father, very naturally, desired to see it in print before he died. Yielding to these urgent persuasions, Keble finally consented to give his work to the public in 1827, but without his name. Hence it made its first appearance in the world as an anonymous publication.

Its success was immediate and eminently satisfactory both to Keble and to the small number of his friends who knew that he was its author. Though intended to be a companion to the Prayer Book of the Church of England, and, in that particular, especially adapted to the needs of devout members of that denomination, yet its harmony with universal Christian experience; its calm earnestness, its transparent sincerity, its sad yet hopeful tone, its unpretentious yet authoritative spirit, its urgent, scriptural appeals to that religious, not to say devotional, sentiment which even an evil life cannot completely expel from the human heart, commended it at once to the spiritually-minded of all sects and parties. Almost every such person who read it felt moved by it to cultivate stronger Christian feeling, to look above himself, to cherish a personal, reverential, obedient love to his Creator and Redeemer. And men of mere literary culture, who were indifferent to its religious element, admired it, not as faultless poetry of the very highest intellectual order, which it is not, but as a series of poems abounding in lines of exquisite sweetness, tenderness, and beauty, in descriptions of natural scenery often not unworthy of Wordsworth himself, and in such high poetic expressions as are the pure coinage, not of a capricious fancy, but of an imagination so exalted and penetrative as to perceive, with exceptional clearness, the analogies which really exist "between nature and spirit." These high qualities, despite its undeniable faults, sufficiently account for its sale to the number of 108,000 copies in twenty-six years immediately succeding its publication; and for the hold it still retains, as a book of devotional poetry, on multitudes of devout minds.

Keble's intimate friends were very naturally quite profuse in their congratulations on the remarkable popularity of his book. But his sensitive mind shrunk from praise, lest it should

minister to the growth of vanity. To this fear he gave expression in his "*Lyra Innocentium*," saying,

> "And ah! to him what tenfold woe,
> Who hides so well his sin,
> Through earth he seems a saint to go,
> Yet dies impure within."

And in replying to a letter from his very dear friend, Dyson, he says of certain expressions praising his filial devotion to his deceased mother, "They please me so well at first that I am quite sure they are best not thrown in my way. I beg it of you as kindness to forbear." There is a beautiful, even saintly, sensibility to spiritual danger in this protest and in those lines. Possibly they indicate morbid feeling; yet what Christian who knows his own heart can refuse to admire the profound humility which was the root on which they grew?

The student of "The Christian Year," in whose mind Keble stands as a leader of the Tractarian movement, is surprised to find so little of the peculiar Tractarian teaching in these poems. He finds their ecclesiastical titles, borrowed from the "Calendar," to be little more than designations, often very awkward and inappropriate, of the order in which they stand. He finds the dogmas of the Sacramentalists occasionally implied, but seldom strongly expressed, never sustained by proofs or arguments. Any Churchman, never dreaming of active sympathy with the Oxford agitators, might, if sufficiently gifted, have written most of these poems. So far as Tractarians were imbued with a deeper spiritual earnestness than was then prevalent among Churchmen, they could find nourishment in these poems, but in no greater degree than the Evangelicals and Dissenters. It was possible, as Dr. Shairp reasons, that the spirit, the devout feeling, the respect for authority and for antiquity, and the repugnance to heresy characteristic of "The Christian Year," might, when "confronted with opposing tendencies and forced into a dogmatic attitude, find true expression in the Tractarian theory." But inasmuch as this work was written without foresight of that movement, and six years before it originated, the professor concludes that it "cannot be regarded as in any way" the parent of that well-meant, but, in some of its results, unfortunate, agitation which had its parentage, not from this book, but from certain parliamentary

measures of reform, as we shall presently see. Hence, a candid critic of "The Christian Year" will not associate it very decidedly with Tractarianism, but will judge it by asking, What did Keble seek to accomplish by it? and Is his work skillfully adapted to his purpose? The first question is answered by the author in his prefatory note, wherein he candidly tells the world that he wished to present "a sober standard of feeling in matters of practical religion as exemplified in the Prayer Book." To the second question its immediate and continued popularity is an affirmative reply; and even to-day every devout reader finds this popular verdict sustained by its influence "chiming in his heart like church bells."

Keble's authorship of "The Christian Year" did not long remain a secret. When it became publicly known he found himself a celebrity. The doors of Church preferment were then thrown open to him. One of his Oriel friends offered him the vicarage of Hursley. The Bishop of Exeter, regarding him as the most eminently good man in the Church, offered him the valuable living of Paington, in Devonshire. He declined both; not because he either despised or did not need their emoluments, but because the intensity and breadth of his filial affection still bound him, as with silken bonds, to Fairford, where he could best perform what he esteemed the sacred duty of caring for his venerable father. But, in 1831, he accepted the chair of the Poetry Professorship at Oxford, which did not compel him to quit his paternal home except at intervals. By his admirable lectures from that chair he both honored the university and increased the brilliancy of his own literary reputation.

We have now reached the period of Keble's connection with the famous Tractarian movement, which was intimately related to the political agitations that terminated in the passage of the Reform Bill extending the elective franchise, in the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, and in the suppression of ten Irish Protestant bishoprics in 1833. All these measures, especially the latter two, were very obnoxious to the dons and students at Oxford, who were mostly Tories, and many of whom looked upon the ruling Whigs of the day as "the forerunners of Antichrist." Keble was very deeply moved by the suppression of the bishoprics; and being appointed to preach the Summer Assize

Sermon at Oxford, in 1833, he gave utterance to his grief and to his alarm for the Church in a discourse which he subsequently published with the title of "National Apostasy." Dr. Newman says, in his "Apologia," that he has ever considered and kept the day of the publication of that sermon as the start of the religious movement of 1833. It would be folly to impeach this statement of one so intimately acquainted with the origin of the agitation of which he soon became the recognized leader. We must, therefore, concur with the opinion of Sir J. T. Coleridge in regarding John Keble as its true and primary author.

John Keble's sermon could not have become the germ of an excitement which made the Church of England rock to and fro like a fabric shaken by an earthquake but for the disturbed state of the public mind and the sad spiritual condition of that Church. She had been blind to the great opportunity to renew her spiritual life, and to gain an imperishable hold on the middle and poorer classes, offered her when John Wesley stirred the heart of England. That great man's love for the Church inclined him to turn the spiritual tides which flowed through his influence into channels adapted to raise her into a genuinely reformed Church. But she rejected him, and he created Methodism. That rejection on her part was followed by the growth of a formalism that threatened to reduce her to the condition of the Church in Sardis when the divine Head of the Church said to her, "Thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead." True, there were a faithful few among her clergy known as Evangelicals, who had caught the spirit of Methodism, of Leigh Richmond, of Cecil, of Newton, etc., and who toiled as earnestly for souls as the prevailing formalism in Episcopalian circles would permit. But these men held very liberal ecclesiastical theories, which were offensive to men of High-Church proclivities, who regarded them, not as friends, but as enemies of the Church. Froude illustrates their estimate of such with the fact, that in his brother's family the evangelical clergy were spoken of as "fellows who turned up the whites of their eyes and said, 'Lawd.'" Hence, when a few men at Oxford, like Keble, Newman, Hurrell Froude, Pusey, Rose, Palmer, etc., turned their attention to the prevailing condition of the National Church, and noted her general contemptuous indifference to the spiritual side of religion, the growth of

outspoken unbelief, and particularly the increasing irreverence for Church forms, and the rise of a disposition to favor the disestablishment of the Church, they began to look upon the Established Church as "a ship in danger of being scuttled and sunk" under the "combined attacks of liberal unbelievers, rationalists, Dissenters of every variety, and parties and schools in the Church who also had their future." To ward off this threatening catastrophe they thought it "necessary to believe more," to aim at giving the Church "a more catholic form and manner;" in a word, while retaining her general forms, to introduce into her life what Keble called "primitive notions regarding apostolical succession," etc. The *et cetera* contained, either germinally or in process of active development, their Sacramentalism, their priestly conception of the ministerial office, the confessional, absolution, the mass, symbolical vestments, and, in the cases of Newman, a few of his personal disciples, and a small band of somewhat noted clergymen, departure into the Papal Church. These, with the claim, asserted in an address of Tractarian laymen to the Archbishop of Canterbury, "that the consecration of the State by the public maintenance of the Christian religion is the paramount duty of a Christian people," were the dogmas which, if made dominant in the Church, would clothe her in robes of beauty, make her "comely as Jerusalem," "and terrible as an army with banners."

Keble's relation to the Tractarian agitation now became that of an active promoter of the movement. He followed up his Assize Sermon with a proposition to form an association to promote the circulation of the notions aforesaid, by means of tracts. This proposal he urged on his personal friends, both by correspondence and conversation. The result was, that the Rev. W. Palmer and Hurrell Froude, meeting in the Common Room of Oriel, resolved to form such an association. This resolution they communicated to Keble, Rose, and Percival. Newman was not in England at the time, and was not present, therefore, at the first meeting of these friends, at Hadleigh, in 1833. Other conferences were held at Oriel shortly after, at which Newman was present. The first result of these interviews was a circular sent to all parts of England, in the autumn of that year, defining the objects of a proposed association to "maintain pure and inviolate the doctrines, the services, and

the discipline of the Church . . . and to afford Churchmen an opportunity . . . of co-operating together on a large scale."

The excited state of the popular mind at that critical period is made obvious by the fact that, in the following February, seven thousand clergymen signed an address to the Archbishop of Canterbury, pledging their support to the primate in carrying into effect such reforms as would "tend to revive the discipline of ancient times." In still more forcible terms 250,000 lay heads of families also addressed the archbishop, declaring their adherence to the sentiments of the clerical address. Both these addresses were counterblasts from the Church, called forth, not by the circular alone, but chiefly by the hostility of High-Churchmen to those Parliamentary measures which had made Dissenters, Roman Catholics, and Churchmen political equals.

The tracts, so famous for a time, but now lost in the limbo of oblivion, were already in the field. Only four of the ninety which ultimately composed the series are attributed to Keble by his biographer. Both he and his associates wrote as their individual tastes and judgments suggested, without mutual supervision or restraint. After originating the movement, Keble naturally yielded its leadership to the more acute and practical mind of his friend Newman. Nature had not endowed him with the qualities necessary to leadership. He was too shy, too much in love with seclusion, too fond of living, as Mozley puts it, "in a calm, sweet atmosphere of his own;" too lacking in power to debate with men who held opinions opposite to his own. Mozley says: "He very soon lost his temper in discussion; . . . there was really no getting on with Keble without entire agreement, that is, submission." Besides these constitutional disqualifications, he was intellectually unfitted to guide a great practical movement. Froude says, not unjustly, that "he was not far-seeing; his mind moved in the groove of a single order of ideas. He could not place himself in the position of persons who disagreed with him, and thus he could not see the strong points of their arguments. . . . Circumstances independent of himself could alone have raised him into a leader of a party. For the more delicate functions of such an office he was constitutionally unfit."

On the other hand, Newman was a born leader of men.

Despite the vagueness of his ideas, his acknowledged indisposition to the textual study of Holy Writ, his conceit that every event, good or ill, was a special voice from Providence calling him to action, and his fanatical belief that all his public movements, including his renunciation of Protestantism and connection with the Papal Church, were directed by "special inspiration," he had many great qualities. He was an original thinker, an observer of men, an omnivorous reader, and his mind ranged over every field of thought. He was gifted with a wonderfully impressive personality. His belief in his theological creed was so real that none who heard him could either doubt his sincerity, or his indifference to the good or evil consequences which might come to him because of his utterances. In fact, he thought and spoke like one who neither knew nor cared whither his creed might lead him. Hence both his writings and preaching "pierced into the heart and mind, and there remained." Add to these qualities an uncommon degree of gentleness, and a power to always say something real and worth thinking of in conversation, and it is easy to see why this remarkable man, and not John Keble who started the movement, soon became its acknowledged leader. Had the poet stood at its helm, it would not have developed its tendency toward Romanism so quickly as it did under Newman's direction, because the poet, unlike Newman, was governed more by his intuitions and feelings than by the logic of principles. Nevertheless, the principles of the High-Church party do logically lead to Rome; but whether that party, influenced by worldly considerations and national traditions, will ignore, as Keble did, the logic of its principles and be content with the Church of England deformed into an image of Rome without its pope, or whether it will finally secede to Rome itself, it were folly to predict.

Keble's father died in 1835. This event was followed by his acceptance, a few months later, of the living of Hursley, and by his marriage. The quiet of this desirable parish and its pastoral duties delighted him. His hours of leisure he spent in working on the "Library of the Fathers," then in course of publication at the Tractarian press. But this delicious quiet was disturbed, in 1841, by the publication of Tract No. 90, written by his friend Newman. This famous tract fell like a bomb on

the National Church. Its explosion shook the Church and alarmed the nation. Its purpose was to show that the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England were not opposed to those dogmas and practices of the Roman Catholic Church which English Protestantism had long ago discarded; but which the High-Church party was trying to revive within its pale. "It was written," says Froude, that its author "might see whether the Church of England would tolerate Catholic doctrine." Its arguments were not easy to answer, since those articles were originally molded with a design to make the bridge from Romanism to Protestantism wide enough to permit all, except the most conscientious and bigoted Romanists, to cross from the one to the other. The wide-spread, violent storm which arose was England's reply to Newman's problem. It told him she would not as yet tolerate a Romanized Established Church. Oxford, notwithstanding the great influence of the Tractarians in her colleges, gave voice to that response by publicly censuring the tract.

Keble acted a manly part during this excitement. He had read and approved the tract before it was printed. This prior approval, instead of concealing, as he might, he openly avowed, as did his friend Pusey also. These men did nobly when they volunteered to share its odium with its author. Four years later, Newman, faithful to its principles, went over to the Papal Church, claiming that he "had reached a strong intellectual conviction that the Roman Catholic system and Christianity were convertible terms," and that his "submission of mind and heart to Rome" was given him by special revelation, and that he found in her infallible doctrinal authority a repose of faith he could not otherwise attain. Was Keble inconsistent or cowardly when he refused to follow his friend and leader to Rome? Neither. He believed in the dogmas of Newman's tract, consequently he wished to introduce certain Papal usages into the English Church, not however to lead her back to the Roman Church, but to practices which he had persuaded himself were sanctioned by the ancient Roman Church before her division into the Eastern and Western Churches. Keble had misled himself by using the writings of the early Fathers as the lights by which he studied the primitive Church. Had he viewed her in the clear light of Scripture, he would have been,

not a High, but an Evangelical, Churchman, as his deeply devout nature fitted him to be. But though thus misled, he would not go to Rome, because she had corrupted herself. Newman's going thither "was the sorrow of his life." Yet, with strange inconsistency, he would have the Establishment become as much like Rome as possible, minus her corruption and her pope. How singular was that blindness which prevented such good and great men as Keble and his associates from seeing that it was not until the ancient Church permitted her ministry to claim apostolical and sacerdotal authority that she lost her true life. That claim was the germ of Roman Catholicism.

Of the final outcome of the Oxford movement, who can say what it will be? Concerning what it has accomplished, Mr. Mozley says: "Upon the whole, the movement must be credited with the increased interest in divine things, the more reverential regard for sacred persons and places, and the freedom from mere traditional interpretation, which mark the present century in comparison with the last. The Oxford movement, unforeseen by the chief movers, and, to some extent, in spite of them, has produced a generation of ecclesiologists, ritualists, and religious poets. Whatever may be said of its priestcrafts, it has filled the land with Churchcrafts of all kinds. Has it not had some share in the restoration of biblical criticism, and in the Revision of the Authorized Version?"

These are mixed results, partly good, partly bad. Mr. Froude sees less good and more evil in its fruits than Mr. Mozley. In his view, though Newman's secession was not an immediate success in carrying many immediately over to Rome, yet the movement sowed seed which is still growing, not in the middle and lower classes, but "among people who have money enough to live upon and nothing to do." It has made Romanism a proselyting power among the upper classes, and has contributed largely to its political influence. In the Church itself it has fostered sacerdotalism, sapped Protestantism, weakened her as a political power in the realm, robbed her clergy of influence over public opinion, and encouraged the growth of doubt in the supernatural among the great body of the people. In "a ritualist English Church" Froude sees a Church "as powerless over the lives of the people as the Roman augurs over the Rome of

Cicero and Cæsar." Nevertheless, he is confident that "the great body of the English people, which is Protestant at heart, will never allow" the pretensions of those Romanizing Ritualists, though it may be a long time before they will find a way to suppress them.

This is, in truth, a gloomy enough outlook. But is there not a ray of light shining through the confusion caused by the clashing of Church parties, in the rising demand of large numbers of the people for disestablishment? As a spiritual body, able to provide for the religious needs of the English nation, the National Church is and always has been a failure; albeit it has produced many mighty men and achieved not a little good. Nevertheless, it has never covered the national religious need; and it never will. Its Ritualists are working on false principles, which must in the end breed corruption. Its Broad-Churchmen, though highly cultivated and intellectually strong, are more likely to lead it into a proud, profitless skepticism than to make it a mighty spiritual force. Its Evangelicals are apparently too few and feeble to reform it. Yet they, with the Dissenters, are the hope of England; and, in case of disestablishment, would probably join hands with them, sympathetically if not organically, in efforts to hold the middle and lower aristocratic classes, which contain the heart of England, true to the faith of the Gospel. Hence the growing idea of disestablishment appears as a rainbow giving promise to the reflective mind of brighter days to the Christianity of the British Isles.

After Newman's secession Keble devoted himself very closely to his parish duties, which he fondly loved; to the completion and publication of his "*Lyra Innocentium*; or, Thoughts in Verse on the Sayings and Doings of Little Children," and to writing the "Life of Bishop Wilson, of Sodor and Man," which was published in 1863. His further labors in behalf of the Tractarians were chiefly epistolary. He was constantly consulted by the more active workers among them, and much of his time was given to such correspondence. His "*Lyra Innocentium*," which was *about*, not *for*, children, gave such marked prominence to his High-Church opinions, that it failed to find general acceptance. In poetical merit it was far below "The Christian Year;" albeit his biographer claims that, if not equal to that successful work "as a whole, it is at least more

than equal in some parts, and, on the whole, worthy of its author." Professor Shairp pronounces a few of its poems fine lyrics, equal perhaps to most in "The Christian Year," but attributes its failure to "strike home to the universal heart" partly to its High-Church tone, and partly to the probable fact "that the fountain of inspiration did not flow so fully as in earlier years."

His "Life of Bishop Wilson," though exhaustive of every thing touching that good man's life, and highly esteemed for its many excellences, was yet never popular. Like many other biographies it was too lengthy, and Mr. Coleridge regrets that Keble, in preparing it, did not make old Izaak Walton's spicy biographies of Herbert, Donne, etc., his models.

The latter part of Keble's life was somewhat shadowed by the frequent sicknesses of his admirable wife and by his own ill health. Hence both his parish and literary work were often interrupted by brief tours in search of health. At last, on March 29, 1866, his earthly tasks were ended, and his spirit passed into the unseen world, after bequeathing to posterity an example, not indeed of a life free from serious mistakes, but of "singular piety, of inflexible integrity, and entire indifference to what is called fame or worldly advantages."

Besides the writings already mentioned, Keble was the author of a "Metrical Version of the Psalms" and the editor of what many Churchmen esteem as the best edition of Richard Hooker's works. But his literary fame reposes not so much on any or all of his other writings, as on his "Christian Year." Mr. Froude, while conceding that this work "will always hold a high place in religious poetry," contends that it owes its extraordinary popularity to temporary and accidental circumstances, and that because it is utterly lacking in insight into the complicated problems of humanity, "and is not in sympathy with the passions which are the pulses of human life," its rhymes will not "outlive the pyramids. The qualities which have given them their immediate influence will equally forbid their immortality."

Opposed to the somewhat self-contradictory judgment of this incisive critic stands that of the acute and broad-minded Professor Shairp. He discerns, as every unbiased Christian must, that "The Christian Year" did not gain its first popularity

because Keble voiced Sacramentalism in its poems, as Froude, with only partial correctness, assumes; but because it expressed hopes and fears, joys and griefs, desires and aspirations, which are the pulses of the Christian life in universal humanity, and therefore, the professor says, "it may be expected to live on, if not in so wonderful esteem, yet widely read and deeply felt, for it makes its appeal to no temporary or accidental feelings, but mainly to that which is permanent in man. It can hardly be that it should lose its hold on the affections of English-speaking men as long as Christianity retains" its hold upon them. It is because "The Christian Year" has succeeded in conveying to the outer world some effluence of that character which his intimate friends loved and revered in Keble that, as Shairp believes, "it will not cease to hold a quite peculiar place in the affections of posterity."

Art. V.—THE WESLEYAN CONDITION OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP—ITS MODIFICATIONS.

The occasion has arisen for a review of the Wesleyan condition of Church membership, and a survey of the present terms and conditions upon which persons attain to membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

In the January (1882) number of the "Southern Methodist Quarterly Review," Rev. D. C. Kelley, D.D., in an article of general excellence on the question of "Fraternity," offers, as one reason why the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is not one with the Methodist Episcopal Church:

> That the addition of two questions and answers to those proposed as candidates for Church membership, in the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, has so changed the Church from the basis on which Christ placed it, and Mr. Wesley left it, that we find a necessity for separate existence, that we may retain the marks of a New Testament Church. The condition of admission, as we understand the New Testament, is "a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins." The form of reception in the Methodist Episcopal Church demands of the penitent that he shall already have a *consciousness* of pardon; and further, that he shall declare that he believes in the doctrines

of Holy Scripture as set forth in the Articles of Religion of the Methodist Episcopal Church. We teach these as *duties*, but refuse to place them as conditions at the threshold of the Church—following thereby Christ and Wesley.

Again:

When we elect to defend our separate existence on the ground of vital doctrinal difference in the matter of reception into the Church, we stand on ground which is not only every way solid, but deal with a question which, in the future movements of Christianity, must become daily more a living and momentous issue.

There are other sentences in Dr. Kelley's article of a similar import, some of them containing stronger language, but these are sufficient to clearly indicate his position. It is remarkable that a writer so clear-headed and broad-minded as Dr. Kelley appears to be, after uttering sentiments of large liberality, and bravely protesting against the narrow spirit which, on the old issues, "regards one party as *always right*, and the other *always wrong*," should allow himself to take a precisely similar stand regarding the present doctrinal attitude of the two Churches. In his vigorous efforts to lead the liberal South into still greater liberality, we most heartily wish him Godspeed, and we believe that the standard which he and some of his brethren have so courageously set up will have a triumphant following in the "New South" not far hence; but at the same time we must demur to such a statement of the present ecclesiastical issue, as not only admits of a boast of Southern Methodist conservatism of right, but sharply charges the Methodist Episcopal Church with gross misapplication of a fundamental Scripture doctrine, and the utter perversion of a vital Wesleyan principle.

Dr. Kelley's understanding of the New Testament Church may be correct, and it may be decidedly incorrect. It is easy to make confident assertions respecting a particular rule of discipline among the apostles, but not easy to substantiate them by satisfactory evidence. There are points of order wherein nearly all denominations of Christendom differ, at the same time each one of them holding its own custom to be apostolical. That saving faith, as well as evangelical repentance, was a requisite of admission to membership in the New Testament Church, and that this condition was not ignored or discarded by Mr. Wesley, is our thorough conviction, though in support of it only a few considerations can here be presented. It is not

to be supposed that either Christ or his apostles practiced, held, or taught laxity of principle as to the examination of the moral and Christian character of those proposing to enter the holy communion of the visible Church. We know that proselytes to the Jewish faith were thoroughly proved and instructed prior to formal admission, and it is evident that the early Christian Church exercised a similar care.

"None in those days," Lord King says, "were hastily advanced to the higher forms of Christianity, but, according to their knowledge and merit, gradually arrived thereto."

Bishop Stillingfleet designates one principal cause "of the great flourishing of religion in the primitive times to be the strictness used by them in their admission of members."

Dr. Neander affirms:

At the beginning, when it was important that the Church should rapidly extend itself, those who confessed their belief in Jesus as the Messiah, (among the Jews,) or their belief in one God, and in Jesus as the Messiah, (among the Gentiles,) were immediately baptized, as appears from the New Testament. Gradually it came to be thought necessary that those who wished to be received into the Christian Church should be subjected to a more careful preparatory instruction, and to a stricter examination. . . . The period of probation must have been determined by the different condition of individuals.

Dr. Neander's entire chapters on Baptism and the Confession of Faith in the Apostolic and Primitive Churches would be in point, had we space to produce them.

Says Dr. Henry Cowles:

The apostolic condition of membership was no other than faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. See Acts v, 14; viii, 37; xvi, 33, 34; Rom. x, 8–10; 1 John v, 1; 2 John 7–11. "*Believers* were the more added to the Lord." "If thou believest with all thine heart," etc. "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born of God." "Whosoever transgresseth and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ hath not God." "If there come any unto you and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house," etc.

An examination of these passages will show: (1) That faith in Christ was made the condition of admission to the ordinances and Church fellowship. (2) That all those who had this faith were admitted. (3) That those who denied this cardinal doctrine were deemed Antichrist, and rejected. (4) That this doctrine was regarded as a test of piety of heart, as well as of purity in sentiment.

All through the New Testament Scriptures the Church is uniformly represented as the company of the *saved.* St. Paul calls it the *body of Christ,* and believers the *members* of this body. 1 Cor. xii, 27. It is Christ's bride, (Eph. v, 31, 32,) the light of the world, (Matt. v, 14,) the salt of the earth, (Matt. v, 13;) all of which indicates that the Church is to be "the true source of spiritual illumination and the instrument of salvation to the world." True members of the real Church are represented as having "come out from the world," (2 Cor. vi, 17,) "born again," (1 Pet. i, 23,) "made new creatures." 2 Cor. v, 17. Is it to be supposed that to this company of the *saved* new members were admitted without any questions as to "saving faith"? How, then, could it have been known whether the Church was being perpetuated as a company of the saved—the believing body of Christ, the shining light, the preserving salt—or only as a body of "penitents" desiring "to flee from the wrath to come"?

The rigor with which the apostles enforced discipline in the exclusion of unworthy members is strong presumptive proof that they guarded the door of admission with equal care and zeal. How stern are the apostle's precepts upon this point! John forbids even saluting a willful and incorrigible Gnostic heretic. 2 John x, 11.

Paul prohibits eating with a fornicator, a glutton, an idolater, a railer, a drunkard, or an extortioner, who still calls himself a brother, and claims the privileges of the Church, (1 Cor. v, 9–12,) and he peremptorily requires that such an offender be put out of the Church, (v, 13,) with allusion to the injunction of the law of Moses.*

Indeed, the best inferential and positive Scripture evidence regarding the Church as Christ founded it is in support of the principle of a regenerate membership.

That the Christian Churches of whose constitution and history we have information in the New Testament were designedly founded upon the basis of a new life in their members, there can be no reasonable doubt. Those who are received into these Churches are every-where represented as holding their title to membership on the evidence that they have become true believers in Christ. Those who heard the Apostle Peter at Pentecost had their hearts penetrated with sharp pain on account of their sins: they were exhorted to change their underlying moral purpose, and be baptized upon the ground of their faith in the Lord

* Schaff's "Apostolic Church."

Jesus; and, when they had accepted this exhortation to salvation, they were in fact baptized. Those whom the Spirit of Christ at that time added daily to the Church are designated as *οἱ σωζόμενοι*, (Acts ii, 37,) those already in process of salvation. The members of the Churches are designated as "called of Jesus Christ," "called saints," (Rom. i, 6,) "sanctified in Christ," (1 Cor. i, 2,) "saints and believers in Christ Jesus," (Eph. i, 1. Πιστοῖς is not in this connection to be translated *faithful*, but *believing*.) He who reads with candor 1 Thess. i, 1–7, and 2 Thess. i, 1–4, cannot doubt what was the basis of membership in the earliest Christian Churches. He who has a high regard for the thought and wish of Christ as expressed in these apostolic Churches will be loath, indeed, either to take from or add to those conditions of membership upon which they were founded.*

The New Testament teaching as to the exact place of assent to creeds in the general requisitions for Church membership admits of different opinions. The best authorities concede that creeds, either verbal or written, have ever held a place in the Christian Church as aids to determine the credible proofs of true discipleship.

When Christ sent his apostles to teach all nations he enjoined upon them two things: First, "To baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" and secondly, "To teach them to observe all things whatsoever he had commanded them." Matt. xxviii, 20. And for the same reason the ancient Church never admitted any persons to baptism (which was the ordinary door of admitting proselytes, and uniting them as members of the body of Christ) without first obliging them to do these two things: First, To make profession of the primary articles of the Christian faith; and secondly, To promise, or bind themselves by a strict engagement and vow, to live in holy ordinance to the laws and institutions of Christ.†

The apostles of our Lord were zealous preachers of sound doctrine, into which those that were added daily to the Church, having once entered, steadfastly continued. Acts ii, 42. Paul feared lest, after he had departed from Ephesus, grievous wolves might enter in among the flock, or rise up from among themselves to draw away disciples after them. Acts xx, 29, 30. In numerous places in his writings the apostle furnishes unmistakable traces of a familiar, if not a written, creed. His favorable mention of the "form of doctrine," (Rom. vi, 17,) and of the "form of sound words," (2 Tim. i, 13,) is in point.

* Professor George T. Ladd's "Principles of Church Polity," p. 194.

† Bingham's "Antiquities of the Christian Church," book xvi, chap. i, sec. 1.

The apostles evidently recognized the fact that the intellectual element necessarily enters into true and steadfast discipleship. The substance of the creed which bears their name was, doubtless, used by them in developing proofs of a Christ-like mind in all new believers.

But it is claimed that the Apostles' Creed is the only one the Church is authorized to make obligatory upon young converts. And where did the Church get authority to make that obligatory? It cannot be proved that the apostles formulated this ancient creed, still less can it be shown that they enjoined its use. The only scriptural basis for the use of a creed is the fact that the apostles made doctrinal tests conducive to the discovery, defense, and promotion of Christian character and truth. We are to imitate their example. But what is it to imitate their example? This is a point upon which much fallacy exists. It deserves examination.

To follow the example of the apostles, is not necessarily to take the words of their creed, even were we sure of obtaining them, and use them under all circumstances, but rather to construct a creed on the same principles as theirs. And what were those principles? (1) A denial of all existing and active forms of fatal error. (2) The assertion of vital points of Christian truth. (3) Making prominent faith in Christ, that being, in the circumstances of the age, no less a test of piety than of orthodoxy. Let creeds be constructed on these principles, and the apostolic example will be followed in the only rational way. Possibly the reason their creed cannot be gathered up *verbatim* is that it would invariably be used under circumstances as diverse as possible from theirs.

We would not be understood as attempting to invalidate the so-called Apostles' Creed. We hold it in the highest veneration as the most ancient creed of the Church, and an admirable summary of several fundamental doctrines. All that we claim is that its use is not scripturally enjoined, and that it is not adequate to meet the demand of all ages and circumstances. The views of Wesley and the fathers as to the place of the Apostles' Creed, and other articles of faith, in the initiatory rites of Methodism, will appear in the body of this article.

If by the "Church as Mr. Wesley left it," Dr. Kelley means the societies in England which, during Mr. Wesley's life,

scarcely constituted a separate Church, but were regarded by him as special agencies for promoting the "revival of spiritual Christianity" which he believed would pervade all existing Churches, it will not be difficult to show that the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has little to boast of as a follower of our venerated founder.

The plan of this article is to show, I. Wesley's original method of receiving members; II. The condition of membership in the American Methodist Church prior to 1844; III. The condition of membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; and IV. The condition of membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church as it now stands.

I. It were folly to deny the historic fact that Mr. Wesley did not make theological opinions a condition of membership in the first organized form of Methodism. The General Rules, which were drawn up by him as a sort of bond of union among the societies, contain no dogmatic conditions of communion, and there are abundant avowals in his writings that he gloried in the doctrinal freedom of the early societies which he formed. "I still aver," he says, in his eighty-sixth year,

> I have never read or heard of, either in ancient or modern history, any other Church which builds on so broad a foundation as the Methodists do; which requires of its members no conformity, either in opinion or modes of worship, but barely this one thing—to "fear God and work righteousness."

Again:

> One circumstance is quite peculiar to the Methodists: the terms upon which any person may be admitted into their society. They do not impose, in order to their admission, any opinions whatever.

And again:

> I have no more right to object to a man for holding a different opinion from my own, than I have to differ with a man because he wears a wig and I wear my own hair, though I have a right to object if he shakes the powder about my eyes.

But these quotations from Mr. Wesley, if they prove any thing at all, prove too much for our Southern brethren as well as ourselves, for, as will appear farther on, they require more of a candidate for membership than "a desire to flee from the wrath to come," etc. The minister must be satisfied of "the

genuineness of his faith," etc. Nay, more, the candidate is brought before the congregation, and is there required to assume the obligations of Church membership.

It was natural that Mr. Wesley should boast of the freedom of his societies from dogmatic opinions, especially as contrasted with other Churches. He himself stood connected with the Established Church—a Church with doctrines and forms enough for all—and he could show that every member of that Church or any other could have entered into the work of his societies without subscribing to a new creed, or in any way compromising the old. He says of himself:

> I hold all the doctrines of the Church of England. I love her liturgy. I approve her plan of discipline, and only wish it could be put in execution. I do not knowingly vary from any rule of the Church, unless in those few instances where I judge, and as far as I judge, there is an absolute necessity.

Of the Methodists in general he says:

> But whether ye will hear or whether ye will forbear, we, by the grace of God, hold on our way; being ourselves still members of the Church of England, as we were from the beginning, but receiving all that love God, in every Church, as our brother, and sister, and mother. And in order *to their union with us we require no unity in opinions* or in modes of worship, but barely that they "fear God and work righteousness." . . . This is the glory of the Methodists, and of them alone! *They are themselves no particular sect or party;* but they receive those of all parties who "endeavor to do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly with their God." *

These extracts show conclusively that Mr. Wesley considered both himself and such of his followers as were previously members of the Church of England as yet doctrinally and liturgically Churchmen, and that their distinctive character as Methodists was for the one all-comprehensive purpose of saving souls and building each other up in holiness.

From this it will appear that Mr. Wesley's method of receiving members into the societies was special, and not designed for use as in a regularly constituted Church. It was for himself only. He had immediate jurisdiction over all the societies. He regarded himself as the superintendent of every circuit in the kingdom. The senior preacher was called an

* From Sermon on "The Ministerial Office," preached at Cork, May 4, 1789, less than two years prior to his death.

assistant, (to Mr. Wesley,) and the junior preachers, helpers. The plan worked well enough as operated by Mr. Wesley, but was crude in itself, and early underwent deserved modifications. Says Bishop Hedding:

> Mr. Wesley, as the venerable founder (under God) of the whole Methodist society, governed without any responsibility whatever; and the universal respect and veneration of both the preachers and the people for him made them cheerfully submit to this; nor was there ever, perhaps, a human being who used so much power better, or with a purer eye to the Redeemer's glory, than that blessed man of God.*

What was Mr. Wesley's formal method of receiving and excluding members? It was a method which he borrowed from the ancient Church:

> He issued printed tickets to the members, and small cards bearing a pointed text of Scripture, and often also a symbolical engraving: an anchor for hope; a guardian angel; a Bible encircled by a halo; Christ washing the feet of his disciples. The ticket was renewed quarterly, and dated, and inscribed with the name of the bearer. It admitted him to the love-feast, and was, in fine, *his certificate to membership in the society; and if he was unfaithful, he was dismissed by a refusal of the preacher to renew it.* †

How would such a system answer now for a Church whose preachers in charge number more than twelve thousand, of all grades of scholarship, of all ages, (mere boys in some cases having full charge,) and scattered as wide as the world? To ask the question is to answer it. In a great Church there must be such disciplinary regulation as shall secure to every member his rights, and to all members protection from designing intruders, irrespective of the capacity or experience of the officiating minister. Thus wrote Coke and Asbury: "It is manifestly our duty to fence in our society, and preserve it from intruders; otherwise we should soon become a desolate waste."

It is to our purpose to show something of the prerequisites regarded by Mr. Wesley as essential to full membership in the societies. He says:

> Nothing can be more simple, nothing more rational, than the Methodist Discipline: it is entirely founded on common sense,

* "Discourse on Discipline," p. 20.

† Stevens' "History of Methodism," vol. ii, p. 454.

particularly applying the general rules of Scripture. Any person determined to save his soul may be united (this is the only condition) with them. But this desire must be evidenced by three marks: avoiding all known sin; doing good after his power; and attending all the ordinances of God. He is then placed in such a class as is convenient for him, where he spends about an hour in the week. And the next quarter, if nothing is objected to him, he is admitted into the society; and therein he may continue as long as he continues to meet his brethren, and walks according to his profession.*

The above shows clearly that the candidate was required: (1) To give clear evidences of his desire for salvation. Mr. Wesley was not guilty of originating a disastrous and unscriptural policy of admitting into the Church every one who had merely good desires. His "previous requirement" meant a thorough repentance, a full and hearty consecration, to be demonstrated by certain exacting tokens. This evidence was demanded before any steps were taken toward admission. (2) The candidate was then received on probation and assigned to a class. What for? That the leader might inquire how his soul prospered; not only how he observed the outward rules, (he was now beyond that,) but how he grew in the knowledge and love of God. The original and great purpose of the class-meeting was to bring souls into the assurance of pardon. (3) The next quarter, (the period of probation was indefinite,) there being no objection, the probationer graduated into full membership. In all this there was careful religious oversight. Little danger of (spiritually) improper persons insinuating themselves into the societies. But nothing was said about doctrines! True; and it was unnecessary that any thing should be said. They had doctrines enough in the Church of England, from which they would not and did not separate.

Mr. Wesley was not opposed to creeds. He knew that in regular Churches they were essential. He preached doctrines, and defended them with the greatest earnestness. His own doings are sufficient proof of his solicitude for correct standards of faith. The English societies were not the sole objects of his care. Far across the ocean he saw other societies springing up, in circumstances quite different. Mr. Whitefield had made America a special field of labor. Souls had been melted under

* Sermon on "God's Vineyard."

his preaching like snow in thaw-time. They had run well for a time, but a "vast majority had drawn back unto perdition." And what wonder? inquires Mr. Wesley:

> It was a true saying in the ancient Church, "The soul and the body make a man; and the spirit and discipline make a Christian." But those who were more or less affected by Mr. Whitefield's preaching had no discipline at all. They had no shadow of discipline; nothing of the kind. They were formed into no societies; they had no Christian connection with each other; nor were ever taught to watch over each other's souls.*

Things were in this state when, in 1767, Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor, under Mr. Wesley's direction, set out for the American colonies. They labored in Philadelphia, New York, and many other places, organizing societies and introducing Christian discipline. Soon native helpers were raised up and a little Conference formed. At the first session, in 1773, the preachers formally recognized "the doctrine and discipline of the Methodists," as contained in the English Minutes, to be "the sole rule of their conduct." As time passed on, however, other regulations were adopted, until 1784, when the Methodists in America asked Mr. Wesley that their character as mere societies cease, and that they be organized into a Church.

What now did Mr. Wesley do? He sees the provinces in North America totally disjoined from the British empire. He sees that the Established Church, to which he and many of his followers in England belonged, has no jurisdiction. He sees the new societies widely scattered, with no ministers to baptize or to administer the holy communion. His scruples as to a separate Church are now at an end, and he resolves to organize a regular Church. How does he proceed? The societies already have his "General Rules," the same as in England. Are these enough? Not so. They will do in England, under the shadow of the Establishment, with her full array of doctrines and her magnificent form of ritual, but they will not suffice in America in the newly-organized Church. Going to the doctrines of the Church of England, all of which he held, to her ritual which he loved, and to her discipline which he approved, he prepares and prints an abridged Liturgy, and a

* Sermon on "The Work of God in North America."

collection of psalms and hymns. With the contents of this Liturgy we have now no concern, save as to its "Creed." What? Mr. Wesley prepare a creed for the Methodists! Even so. Separating twenty-four "Articles of Religion" from the Thirty-nine of the Church of England, he sends them by the hands of Dr. Coke, whom he had ordained as general superintendent, (authorizing him to set apart Francis Asbury to be joint superintendent,) and these, together with one additional Article pertaining to the rulers of the United States, are adopted by the special Conference of 1784 as the doctrinal standard (or one of the standards) of the American Methodist Church.

In 1789 the Articles of Religion, together with certain Doctrinal Tracts of Mr. Wesley's authorship, were incorporated in the Discipline, to which was prefixed an Address by the Bishops, in which they say: "Far from wishing you to be ignorant of our doctrines, or any part of our Discipline, we desire you to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest the whole." Evidently the fathers of the Church had now come to understand the necessity of indoctrinating the membership in order to their stability as adherents to the new faith. But was belief in these doctrines made obligatory? Not directly, yet the tendency was in that direction. This brings us to our second inquiry:

II. How did persons attain to membership in the early American Methodist Church?

1. By admission on trial. On application for admission, they were required to come acceptably recommended to the preacher in charge, or else to meet three or four times in class, and, in either case, evident awakening to a sense of their fallen condition was considered essential. Then the preacher who had the oversight of the circuit gave them notes of admission, and they remained on trial, prior to 1789, three months, and subsequently six months.

2. When the period of probation had expired, they received tickets, if recommended by their leader, and became full members of the society. And to prevent any complaint on the ground of ignorance of what was required of them, the rules of the society were read to them the first time they met in class.

In 1836 it was made a requisite for admission into the Church that the candidates "have been baptized." In 1840 the following was added: The candidates "shall, on examina-

tion by the minister in charge of the church, give satisfactory assurances both of the correctness of their faith and their willingness to observe and keep the rules of the Church." This important clause is still retained in the Discipline of both American Churches, but it marks a serious departure from Dr. Kelley's theory of the Wesleyan principle. It gave the administrator unquestionable authority to measure the candidate with the utmost care, both by the doctrinal standards of the Church, and the highest standard of Christian trust; and as no specific form of receiving probationers into full membership was maintained, it may safely be inferred that many of the preachers exercised their prerogative in its fullest extent.

The modification of Mr. Wesley's ticket system by the Americans is worth noting. In 1784 it was the rule to give notes to those received on trial, and quarterly tickets to those in full connection. In 1836, "Give notes to none" was changed to "Let none be admitted on trial," and "Give tickets to none" into "Let none be received into the Church." In 1784 it was the custom, in large towns, to admit new members into the bands at the quarterly love-feast following the quarterly meeting, and into the society on the Sunday following the quarterly meeting. It was required of the preacher at this time that he read the names of any who were excluded; and in 1789 he was required, also quarterly, to make public the names of members received. Thus the system which Mr. Wesley considered so quiet, simple, and rational, was gradually revolutionized.

It had always been the custom of the Methodists, as soon as there were four men or women believers in any place, to put them into a band, and appoint a leader, giving him the rules of the band; and in 1784 it was made obligatory that, in large towns, persons be admitted into the bands at the quarterly love-feast following the quarterly meeting, and into the society on the Sunday following the quarterly meeting. In 1789 the names of those who had been received or excluded were ordered to be read in public once a quarter.

In order to understand the intensely searching character of the band exercises, let us refresh our minds by looking over some of the questions proposed to every one before admission:

1. Have you the forgiveness of your sins?
2. Have you peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ?

3. Have you the witness of God's Spirit with your spirit, that you are a child of God?
4. Is the love of God shed abroad in your heart?
5. Has no sin, inward or outward, dominion over you?
6. Do you desire to be told your faults?
7. Do you desire to be told all your faults, and that plain and home?
8. Do you desire that every one of us should tell you, from time to time, whatsoever is in his heart concerning you?
9. Consider! Do you desire we should tell you whatsoever we think, whatsoever we fear, whatsoever we hear, concerning you?

These and other similar questions were to be asked at the door of admission, and as often as occasion required, so that there was little danger of heresy existing in either young or old members without early detection, and still less danger of persons, "unrenewed in the spirit of their minds," either attaining to or holding the status of full membership, without at least being "cut to the quick," and having their "hearts searched to the bottom."

Be it remembered that these Band Societies were older than organized Methodism, either in America or England. The Band Rules were drawn up by Mr. Wesley in 1738, and were printed and circulated. All who were justified by faith, who knew their sins forgiven, were urged to meet in band. It was the most strict and searching form of class-meeting ever known, and shows how careful Mr. Wesley was to devise means for knowing the religious state and sentiments of all who became identified with the "revival" movement. Had these band meetings flourished, not sixty years, but down to the present time, there would be little need of searching inquiries in our ritualistic services.

The foregoing statements show that a "desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins," was not the condition of full membership in the early American Methodist Church, but simply a prerequisite to *admission on trial.* Before the candidate could be advanced to membership, he must meet in class for a stated period, and give evidence to his leader that he was a proper person to be recommended for higher favor; in other words to receive the Wesleyan ticket.

III. How are persons constituted members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South? To avoid possible errors, let us quote from their own Discipline, and appeal to their own expositors.

Ques. How shall members be received into the Church?

Ans. 1. When persons offer themselves for Church membership, let the preacher in charge inquire into their spiritual condition, and receive them into the Church when they have given satisfactory assurances of their desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins; and, also, of the genuineness of their faith, and of their willingness to keep the rules of the Church.

2. When satisfied on these points, let the minister bring the candidates before the congregation, whenever practicable, and receive them according to the prescribed form.*

Two or three things are conspicuous here: (1) No probation. Yet it was in the "Church as Mr. Wesley left it." What has become of it? It is gone. It is not an addition to, but a subtraction from, "the Church as Mr. Wesley left it." Says the Rev. Dr. J. B. M'Ferrin, in the "Christian Advocate," Nashville, of January 21, 1882:

> The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has so modified the rule of admitting members into the Church as not to require six months' probation; but allows a person to be admitted at any time when judged worthy of a place in the Church. How? The person desiring membership is a "*candidate*," "having a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from his sins." This does not entitle him to membership. He is only an *applicant*. What more? See "Discipline," etc., (as above quoted.)

(2) No recommendation by a class-leader. Yet this was required in the early American Church. Why not now? Simply because "the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has so modified," etc. The candidate is not required to be recommended as of old. What, then, is substituted? Read above, "Let the preacher in charge *inquire into their spiritual condition*," etc. The responsibility is shifted from the class-leader, and from the candidate's own record in class during probation, as in the early Church, to the local administrator of discipline. And is the preacher in charge authorized only to inquire as to the candidate's "desire to flee from the wrath to come?" etc. Nay, more than this: "and, also, of the *genuineness of their faith*, and of their willingness to keep the rules of the Church." And, evidently, it is regarded as a serious matter by our Southern brethren. Says Dr. M'Ferrin, than whom there are none in the South better qualified to pass judgment:

* "Discipline," pp. 121, 122.

The habit of receiving persons into the full fellowship of the Church upon a mere statement of the candidate that he "desires to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from his sins," without any evidence of the fact, is anti-Methodistic and anti-scriptural. What is the Church? "The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments duly administered, according to Christ's ordinance, in all things that of necessity are requisite to the same."—Article XIII.

These faithful men are not persons merely having good desires, and a fear of the wrath to come; it may be they are skeptical and profane. For one, I do not wish to see the Methodist Church crowded with impenitent and unbelieving sinners. I would take any sincere, penitent sinner as a candidate for membership; but the rules of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, do not allow him a place in full fellowship till he comes up to the requirements of the law as found in the Discipline, and taught in God's word.

Bishop M'Tyeire makes similar observations in his "Manual of the Discipline," pp. 71, 72. "All diligence," he says, "should be used in the examination, instruction, and preparation of the candidates for the vows and relations they are to assume."

We are next concerned with the public examination of candidates for membership in the Southern Church, as it is made obligatory upon pastors to follow the "prescribed form":

Dearly beloved, you profess to have a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from your sins; you seek the fellowship of the people of God to assist you in working out your salvation; I therefore demand of you:

Do you solemnly, in the presence of God and this congregation, ratify and confirm the promise and vow of repentance, faith, and obedience, contained in the baptismal covenant?

Ans. I do, God being my helper.

Will you be subject to the discipline of the Church, attend upon its ordinances, and support its institutions?

Ans. I will endeavor so to do, by the help of God.*

There is only one phase of the above questions to which it is necessary to call special attention, and that is, the words "faith and obedience." In the corresponding question of our ritual there is no such specification, and this fact dulls the edge of Dr. Kelley's criticism, that we have added a question as to the experience of the candidate. Commenting editorially on this question of faith, the Nashville "Christian Advocate" says:

* "Discipline," pp. 237, 238.

The faith they must profess is the Apostles' Creed, all of which they are required steadfastly to believe. They must bind themselves to endeavor obediently to keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of life.

We know of no Church which requires a higher standard than this. Some denominations may demand that the candidate shall either profess, or give satisfactory evidence, that he is justified and born again; but they would consider such a desire as our Discipline requires to be satisfactory evidence.

Briefly stated, then, the qualifications for membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, are the following. We prefer to use Dr. M'Ferrin's own words:

1. The prerequisite, "a desire to flee from the wrath to come," etc.
2. Satisfying the minister having charge that his faith is genuine, and his spiritual condition such as to justify his reception.
3. His public confession of Christ, and the assumption of the vows of the Church.
4. The declaration of his faith. *He accepts the Articles of Religion*, the General Rules of the Church, and adopts the Apostles' Creed.

Being called upon to explain in what way candidates are required to adopt the Articles of Religion, Dr. M'Ferrin says, that though it is not

Stipulated as a condition of membership, it is clearly implied, that a man wishing to join a Church, any branch of the Church, accepts the creed of that Church. When a foreigner adopts our country as his home, and becomes naturalized, wishing to enjoy the rights of citizenship, he accepts the Constitution, and binds himself to support the laws of the nation; so, when a person seeks admission into the Church he, of course, accepts the discipline and adopts the creed of the Church with which he unites. So when the candidate comes before the congregation and assumes the vows of the Church, he promises "to be subject to the discipline of the Church, attend upon its ordinances, and support its institutions." It is further provided, that "if a member of our Church endeavors to sow dissension in any of our societies, by inveighing against either our doctrines or discipline, such person so offending shall be first reproved . . . ; and if he persist in such pernicious practices, he shall be dealt with as in case of immorality."

If I enter any society, or become connected with any organization, it is implied that I adopt the principles of that organization; otherwise I would be a spurious member.

From the foregoing it will be seen that not repentance alone, but faith, the promise of obedience, baptism, a public profession of Christ, and embracing the doctrines of the Church, are all involved in being admitted to membership in the Church South.

Dr. Kelley and others may in theory dissent from the views of Dr. M'Ferrin, but they would hardly care to state as matter of fact, before the eyes and ears of Christendom, that it is the practice of that branch of Methodism to receive new members regardless of their Christian experience, (penitence only being required,) and regardless of their doctrinal views, whether Calvinists or Arminians, Baptists, Presbyterians, or Methodists. If such is really the general practice among them, the sooner the world knows it the better. We think it is not. Hence the views above presented.

IV. The condition of membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church. In our "Discipline," Part I, chap. i, ¶ 31, we read:

> There is only one condition previously required of those who desire admission into these societies, "a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins."

But this desire, to become available, must be evinced in three ways: First, "By doing no harm," etc.; second, "By doing good," etc.; third, "By attending upon all the ordinances of God," etc. If the pastor knows the candidate to come up to this standard, he can admit him on trial at once. Otherwise, the rule is, "Let none be admitted on trial except they are well recommended by one you know, or until they have met twice or thrice in class."

The next step is specified in Part I, chap. ii, of Discipline:

> In order to prevent improper persons from insinuating themselves into the Church,
>
> 1. Let no one be received into the Church until such person has been at least six months on trial, and has been recommended by the Leaders and Stewards' Meeting, or, where no such meeting is held, by the leader, and has been baptized, and shall, on examination by the minister in charge before the Church, give satisfactory assurances both of the correctness of his faith and of his willingness to observe and keep the rules of the Church.

This is the essential requirement of our Discipline, yet there is nothing special in it as to "conscious pardon." The penitent

candidate is received at once into the Church, just where Mr. Wesley would have placed him: he is a member on trial; he is meeting in class; he is under the care of a leader; he is being questioned as to the prosperity of his soul; he is being searched by those whose duty it is to prevent improper persons from insinuating themselves into the Church whether he is a suitable candidate; in a word, he is enjoying all the religious privileges of the Lord's house, without any special pledges whatever. No examination is required as a condition of recommendation by the Leaders and Stewards' Meeting, the fitness of the candidate being left to the judgment of that body. Nor is there any in the baptismal covenant, that requiring only a renunciation of "the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all covetous desires of the same, and the carnal desire of the flesh, so that" the candidate "will not follow nor be led by them." True, the candidate must give assent to the Apostles' Creed, and promise to "obediently keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of" his "life;" but all these obligations might be taken by a devoted seeker who had not yet come to a full assurance of personal salvation.

In all this, then, there is nothing more exacting than is found in the Discipline of our Southern brethren. And here we might rest our case, for our Discipline does not go so far as to instruct pastors to receive candidates "according to the prescribed form." There is in the Discipline a form, first published in 1864, but its use is not obligatory. It is purely a matter of taste or judgment whether preachers in charge shall use the form of ritual or originate one of their own. The only essential requirement is that they shall examine the candidate before the Church as to correctness in faith, etc. Turning, however, to the form of service, we find something more definite than in the prescribed form of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The first question relates to a ratification of the baptismal covenant. The second is very important. It reads:

> Have you saving faith in the Lord Jesus Christ?
> *Ans.* I trust I have.

To this question Dr. Kelley objects as out of harmony with the character of the Church of the New Testament, and with

Methodism as John Wesley left it. To this it may be answered, (1) We have shown that the New Testament Church was a Church of the saved, and the door of admission into it was as carefully guarded as this question would imply. (2) The rules drawn by Mr. Wesley for the Band Societies admitted of questions just as searching and direct as this. (3) The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, seeks to cover the same ground by a different form of inquiry. They include in their question relating to the Baptismal Covenant the words "faith and obedience," which we omit, and Dr. M'Ferrin says that their examination (in the use of this question, we suppose) involves a "public profession of Christ."

Finally, the question is not designed to be asked at the threshold of admission, but only at the final point of graduation. The candidate has been six months in the full enjoyment of all the religious privileges of the Church. He has been pointed to Christ. He has testified to his brethren again and again. By this time he is not only conscious of pardon, but is prepared joyfully to testify to the fact before the Church and before the world. If he is not, and the question is likely to embarrass him, his probation can be extended, or, if thought proper, the question can be omitted. Its use, though general, is not compulsory. So we apprehend.

The next question of the ritual reads:

> Do you believe in the doctrines of Holy Scripture as set forth in the Articles of Religion of the Methodist Episcopal Church?
> *Ans.* I do.

To this question the same objection is urged, and with greater apparent force. But what is there of it? (1) Like the preceding question, it is not propounded to raw candidates for admission, but to those well along in the way. It is a simple inquiry of well-matured Wesleyans, before putting upon them the final badge of the Wesleyan character, whether they accept the doctrines, so broadly Christian, which Wesley himself designated as their creed. (2) If it be urged that Wesley designed the Articles of Religion as only an indicatory standard, it may be inquired, Why, then, in eliminating from them all traces of Calvinism, did he not substitute something of his own Arminianism? Why not also include some of his own peculiar doctrines, as the Witness of the Spirit, the Sanctification of

Believers, the Possibility of Falling from Grace, and Eternal Rewards and Punishments? As only indicatory standards, these important doctrines were clearly entitled to a place in the Wesleyan creed. The truth is, that even as an obligatory standard our Articles of Religion allow of the largest possible liberality consistent with any doctrinal obligation whatever. We do not see how the preacher in charge could more satisfactorily examine candidates as to the "correctness of their faith" than to propound this simple question. It is not whether they believe the Articles themselves, but whether they believe in the doctrines of Holy Scripture as set forth in the Articles, a form of question which could hardly offend any faith sufficiently correct to be evangelical. But, (3) Were this the only impediment to organic union between the two great branches of Methodism on this continent, it could probably be modified in the twinkling of an eye so as to be acceptable to all concerned. As now authorized, the question is only one of administrative form. Its use is not enjoined in the text of the Discipline. The end sought could be accomplished by other means. Dr. M'Ferrin affirms (see page 507) that the same obligation is practically involved in their form of examination. Whether so or not, the language of their Discipline, which makes the public examination obligatory, is substantially like our own.

We have endeavored in this paper to state facts of history, and to interpret them in the interests of a common Methodism. Certain points have, we think, been pretty clearly established:

1. Repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, were the requisites of admission into the New Testament Church, and constituted at that time a test both of religious experience and genuine faith.

2. Evident repentance, with salvation by faith as an ultimatum, was the condition of probationary membership in the original Wesleyan societies, while full membership followed a period of the most searching spiritual examination in the class and band meetings, and the class-leader was authorized to object to the admission of candidates if he found they walked not according to their profession.

3. The early American Church adopted the same rules, but subsequently defined the limits of probation, and added

baptism, and a public examination of candidates, as requisites of full membership.

4. The Methodist Episcopal Church retains all these features, and has adopted a ritualistic form for the reception of members which provides clearly for examination of candidates as to the correctness of both their religious and doctrinal faith as the American Discipline requires; and, though the interrogation as to creed is at variance with Mr. Wesley's sentiments touching theological opinions in the early societies, it is in rational accord with apostolic example, and is not more exacting than is required as a safeguard against the insinuating liberalism of the age.

5. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has modified the historic Methodist plan by utterly abolishing the prerequisites of probation and class-leader recommendation, and receiving directly into full membership (as Dr. Kelley maintains) all who "desire to flee from the wrath to come," etc., which was the original Wesleyan condition of probationary membership; or (as Dr. M'Ferrin maintains) all who immediately measure up to a standard quite equal to that of the Methodist Episcopal Church after six months' probation. Which of these views is in accordance with Southern Methodist practice we assume not to say, but both are departures from the landmarks of Wesley and the fathers.

The inevitable conclusion is that the imputation which called forth this paper must return to its author void. And for this he may not mourn, but rather rejoice, in that it clears the way for warmer sympathy and more earnest co-operation between two great Christian bodies. Both the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, have work enough to do, and responsibility enough to bear, and defects enough at home to correct, without bringing harsh accusations against each other. There may be good grounds for remaining apart, but one ground is not because either Church has a perfect polity, or has retained the whole truth, while the other has lost the traces of her New Testament and Wesleyan character.

There is one deviation from the Wesleyan plan, however, concerning which both Churches might do well to retrace their steps, and that is in the discretionary use of the proba-

tionary principle. Our Southern brethren have dispensed with probation altogether, yet Bishop M'Tyeire's Manual (pp. 71,72) indicates a felt necessity for some such provision. Dr. J. Ditzler, of that Church, has been "turning his eye within and without," and he discovers something to be done in this direction. "Let us restore vitality to class-meetings; watch lest unconverted men get into our pulpits; rectify our ritual, for it has been tampered with, instead of improved." It is no secret that the almanac rule of probation fails to give satisfaction in our own Church. Let all Methodists go back to the Wesleyan idea, use the principle as local circumstances require, and they will then have in common a safe, just, and needful law.

It is by this method of home investigation and application that substantial fraternity is to be promoted. "Go down to the sea-shore when the tide is low and you notice a great many little muddy pools. But when the tide comes up you see the little pools are lost." Forty years ago and less the tide of sympathy between Methodism North and South was at a low ebb; but about fifteen years ago it began to turn, and is still gradually rising. It is yet too soon, however, to look over each other's lines too closely for the little muddy pools. Only let us be true to our mission as pointed out by our venerable founder, "to take care of the societies, to save as many as you can, to bring as many as you can to repentance, and with all your power to build them up in that holiness without which they cannot see the Lord." Thus engaged in the practical and spiritual work of the Church, we shall discover, by the time the year 1900 is ushered in, that the "little muddy pools" of political, constitutional, and ritualistic differences will possibly have disappeared, and fraternity will not be in name and form only, but a glorious reality. Then, whether American Methodism is embraced in one, two, or ten branches, the world may look on and say, "Behold, how good and how pleasant a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity."

Art. VI.—MISSIONARY METHODS.

In a former article we gave a condensed and rapid *résumé* of the rise, growth, and present *status* of the foreign missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Very little more than the simple facts, as they appear on the surface, could be given in the space at our disposal; and yet not the facts themselves, so much as their implications, the principles they demonstrate, and the possibilities they bring into view. The practical philosophy of missions which these facts teach is, indeed, their chief value, and we accordingly resume the subject in order to consider some of these things.

Missionary work, as is often said, and as all know, is inseparable from the living Church. It has, accordingly, been in operation during all the Christian ages—modified, however, in its form and manifestations by the changes of the spirit and the methods of action prevalent in the Church at different times and among its varied conditions. Passing over unnoticed the times of the early Church and of the Middle Ages, as we come to the times of the *Renaissance*—a term that may be applied to thought and life as well as to art—we may detect signs of awakening and of quickened activity in the Church life of those times. This manifested itself among the nations of northern Europe in an unprecedented spirit of free inquiry, which brought on the Reformation, while among the Latin races it showed itself in increased zeal for the Church, and especially for the Christianization of the non-Christian world—in which movements Loyola, Ximenes, and all the Jesuits were the specially distinguished actors. While the Protestant Churches were chiefly occupied in asserting their own right to be, and the sacred privilege of private judgment, the Romish Church was pushing out its missions into some of the most distant countries, and even the Greek Church was vigorously extending itself into the remote North.

But even then there were signs of the missionary spirit in many points in Protestant Christendom, though its efforts were comparatively feeble and its field of operations narrowly circumscribed. As early as 1556 the Church at Geneva sent a company of fourteen missionaries to Brazil, but its purpose

was frustrated by the Portuguese authorities. In 1559 a mission from Sweden, under the auspices of Gustavus Vasa, was sent to Lapland, which resulted, at length, in the Christianization of that people. Early in the next century, the Dutch, having obtained a footing in Ceylon, began missionary efforts among the natives. These several efforts, though isolated and comparatively feeble, indicate the existence of the missionary spirit among the Protestant Churches, nor were their results either inconsiderable or wholly transient. But the closing years of the seventeenth century, and the beginning of the eighteenth, is the period usually recognized as the date of the beginning of modern missionary movements. In 1705 the King of Denmark established a mission in the Danish colony in Ceylon, at Tranquebar, of which Bartholomew Ziegenbalg was the apostle and sustaining spirit; and this, in respect to both the zeal with which it was prosecuted and the success that it achieved during its first half century, will not suffer by a comparison with those of later times, having had the services, after those of its founder, of both Schultze and Schwartz. The mission of Hans Egede to Greenland dates from this period, and also that of Carey, the pioneer of all the Baptist missions in India and Burmah. About 1810 Dr. Coke commenced his great work in the West Indies, whither he had been driven by stress of weather when on his way to Nova Scotia with a company of Wesleyan preachers; and a few years later he sailed on a like errand for Ceylon, and died on the voyage, but the work proceeded as he had purposed. The Christian Knowledge Society, which, though only incidentally so, was still really and effectively a missionary agency, was formed in 1698, and the missionary operations of the Moravians began about 1725. The Churches of New England—in which they were effectually aided and impelled by their kindred Churches at home—engaged actively and successfully, too, in evangelistic labors among the native Indians, and the conversion of the native Americans became a subject of no little interest, about this time, with English Churchmen, among the results of which were the visits of the Wesleys and their associates to Georgia—itself a colony founded for philanthropic and religious purposes, as well as with political and mercantile designs.

But the work of missions, during the whole of the eighteenth century, was compelled to struggle against great and formidable difficulties, and with but feeble and uncertain support. It was largely indebted for whatever of success it achieved to the devotion, energy, and self-sacrifice of those who engaged in it. The home Churches were simply indifferent to the whole matter, and, if the attention of their leaders was called to it, they often regarded the whole affair as visionary—not to say a presumptuous intermeddling with the affairs of Providence. To become a missionary, at that time, signified the acceptance of a life-long exile among savages, without any assured support, or even sympathy, from the home Church; and if brought into contact with Europeans, these would probably be their most potent antagonists in respect to their evangelistic labors. And yet this was the period and these the conditions that produced some of the most illustrious missionary heroes that have arisen since the times of the apostles. They seem to have acted under a special spiritual impulse in entering upon their work; and because of the completeness of their consecration, with the like renunciation of all earthly good, they appear to have entirely escaped from any possible temptation to look for either pleasure or emolument apart from their own special work. That they failed so largely to accomplish great and lasting results is readily accounted for when the newness of their positions and their own inexperience, together with their lack of facilities and the unfriendliness of their surroundings, are considered. And yet they accomplished not a little, and they laid the foundations upon which later missionary successes have been made possible.

The new era of missions very nearly agrees, in time, with the beginning and continuance of the century. The first years of the term were quite naturally devoted to making preparations for future action; and in this those occupied with the work "builded better than they knew." This was the period of the founding of most of the principal Missionary Societies of Protestant Christendom. Among these in this country we find the American Board, (1810;) the Baptist Union, (1814;) the Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society, (1819;) the Presbyterian Board, having before acted with the American Board, (1833;) the Protestant Episcopal Board, (1835;) American

Missionary Association, (1846.) These organizations came into existence in response to the newly-awakened religious life of the Church, and a consequent recognition of the obligation devolved upon it by the departing words of the Saviour, to make disciples of all nations, (the heathens.) The Church, in its aggregate unity, began to realize its duty in the matter, and individual believers—especially young men called to the ministry—began to feel that the words of the Master were addressed to them personally. By slow degrees, and painfully, the Church came to the conviction that this duty could not be innocently ignored; and, formally at least, though only very partially in fact, the Church now confesses her sacred obligation to give the Gospel to all men.

But, however fully the Church might have conceded her duty and sought to perform it, there were still formidable and, in many cases, impassable obstacles in the way of the work. Down to the end of the first quarter of the present century only small portions of the nations were accessible to the Gospel. China and Japan were hermetically sealed against all foreigners, and especially hostile to any thing like Christian propagandism; and India, though largely ruled by Englishmen, was carefully shut up against Christian missions. In these three great pagan empires were comprised not less than six hundred millions of souls—or more than half of the human race—all of which vast mass was, during the next half century, thrown open to the preaching of the Gospel. At the earlier date the attitude of nearly all Roman Catholic governments toward Protestantism, and especially toward Protestant missions, was intensely hostile and intolerant, while to-day the Gospel may be preached in its purity in all these countries with comparatively little interruption from their governments. Formerly it was the law—and it was sternly enforced in Turkey and other Mohammedan countries—that a Mussulman becoming a Christian should be put to death; but all that is changed, and the Moslem convert is now secure against all legal interference in his new profession. These changes are so great, and indeed wonderful—so far beyond what could have been dreamed of by the most hopeful before they came to pass—that the most active imagination can scarcely keep pace with the actual facts, so as to adequately appreciate this wide-spread

and thorough revolution which has taken place in the political and diplomatic, as well as the social and industrial, relations of the nations of the world; and in all this wonderful transformation of affairs the Protestant governments have been the principal agents, and their civilization has effectually fashioned this newly inaugurated international policy, so securing every-where the inestimably valuable privileges of religious liberty, which is to the missionary his passport and license to prosecute his evangelistic calling. That this has not been accomplished without the special and potent agency of the Divine Providence is quite manifest, so indicating that the prophetic period—the set time to favor Zion—has indeed come.

And all this appears the more wonderful when the character of the agents and agencies by which it was wrought out is considered. A more utterly godless power than was the East India Company probably the sun never shone upon, which, for the promotion of trade, became the protector and patron of the abominations of Indian idolatry; but while so engaged it was also laying the foundation for the British empire in India, with its guarantees of religious liberty to all men. A more iniquitous transaction has seldom been known than that of the British Government by which the opium of India was forced upon the Chinese in opposition to the protests of the rulers of that empire; but, as an incidental result of that diabolical proceeding, China was opened to the world, so giving access to the Bible and the Christian missionary. In like manner the slave-trade, justly characterized as "the sum of all villainies," is now seen to have been overruled by the hand of God for the furtherance of the Gospel among the millions of Africa. It was not in the spirit of Christ that the ports of Japan were opened, or Italy emancipated, or the Crimean War entered upon, or our own war of rebellion inaugurated, and yet each of these is seen to have been the forerunner of the Gospel, the preparing of the way of the Lord. It has been reserved for the present generation of men personally to witness the most manifest accomplishment of the prophecies concerning the kingdom of the Son of David, the Messiah: "He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth. They that dwell in the wilderness shall bow before him; and his enemies shall lick the dust. The kings of Tarshish and of

the isles shall bring presents: the kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts. Yea, all kings shall fall down before him: all nations shall serve him. Psa. lxxii, 8–11. Science, the arts, commerce, war, diplomacy, are among the mighty agencies by which the Almighty Father is fulfilling his promise to give to his Son the heathen for an inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for a possession. This has been actually done in our day; and in respect to the outward bestowment, the work is well-nigh complete. It now remains only for the spiritual Israel, the sacramental hosts, to go up and possess the land. Such is the opportunity which God has given to the missionary agencies of his Church, and in the presence of these comes the command to *go forward.*

The practical methods for prosecuting foreign missionary work, now almost universally used, while they have their advantages, and the home Churches are mostly shut up to them, often fail to bring out and utilize some of the loftiest inspirations of the missionary spirit in individuals. It has, indeed, come to be the fashion to depreciate the "romance" of this work; and yet the history of missions shows clearly that some of the best work ever done in that field has been accomplished under the influence of that specific inspiration. The visions of Loyola, of Fénelon, and of Zinzendorf were elements of real power. It was under such an impulse that Wesley crossed the Atlantic, and driven by it, as his normal condition, Coke literally gave his life to the work of converting the heathen. Carey, Judson, Marshman, Livingstone, and Henry Martin are all examples of this kind of missionary romance, to which list, also, belong our own Cox and Jason Lee, and last, but not least, William Taylor. This, however, must belong chiefly to individuals, and work out its results in personal experiences and activities; though the Church will do well to give heed to this spirit among those who devote themselves to this work, and to be careful, while restraining its excesses and regulating its impulses, not to suppress its outgoings. There is, indeed, the perpetual danger of falling into a merely perfunctory performance of routine duties in the work of missions, and to the extent that this becomes realized the secret of its power is lost. It is not every practically useful minister of the Gospel that is prepared to become a foreign missionary; for the zeal that

might avail under the favoring conditions of a pastorate among a Christian people would often prove quite insufficient in the severer exigences of missionary life. The Churches and Missionary Societies must, of course, follow out their methods of selecting and sending forth chosen young men to perform the work assigned to them, and to draw their support from those under whose auspices they are employed; and no doubt many of these have rendered valuable services, and will continue to do so. But for the highest efficiency in the work, and for the power that shall sustain the heart among the discouragements that are sure to come, other and higher inspirations are required. The Missionary Societies are doing a great and glorious work; and yet it is quite safe to affirm, that very much beyond the utmost of their doings will be needed for the conversion of the world. A higher consecration—much of specifically *soul-saving* power—a more complete self-abnegation—a deeper baptism into the spirit of Christ, than are usually found among Christian ministers, are essential to the assured success of the Gospel with the heathen.

The actual doing of missionary work among a heathen people requires a fair share of practical common sense, tact, and discretion; and because of the wholly different state of things in the new field, from those with which the missionary may be presumed to have been before acquainted, he must find or form other rules of prosecuting his work. A new and strange language is to be learned; diverse and often distasteful manners and customs must be studied; adjustments of one's self to the new conditions and environments are to be made; in short, a complete domiciliation of the man, or family, in the new position, is to be effected. It is not strange that some fail to pass early through this process of *quasi* naturalization, and find their whole stock of zeal for Christ and souls exhausted before they really enter upon their work; and, on account of the manner in which missionaries are selected, it is neither strange, nor indeed to be regretted, that this process of decimation should begin thus early, since it results in the "survival of the fittest" by a kind of "natural selection." It may possibly happen, too, that it will be assumed that until this work of preparation shall become fairly well forwarded, the intended missionary must be only a student. That this is the view actually

accepted in some cases seems to be proved by the fact that, in several recorded instances, ten or more years have elapsed before a single convert was made; while in other cases numerous conversions have been made by simply telling of Christ and his salvation through the lips of unskillful and unsympathizing interpreters. As the sole business of the missionary is to bring souls to Christ, the sooner he becomes occupied with that specific work the better will it be both for himself or for those whom he desires to benefit. Too long delaying in getting ready to begin cannot fail to be damaging to both parties —to the missionary himself by diverting his mind from his chief business, and to those to whom he comes to preach Christ by reason of their familiarity with him apart from his proper character and function. The chief and almost the exclusive business of the missionary is to persuade men to be saved; and to accomplish this by the shortest and most direct processes should be his unceasing effort and unchanging purpose. And although for this many agencies and means may be useful, the one all-important and always effective means is the contact of a warm heart with that of the half-awakened heathen.

What are the relations of the work of civilization and that of Christianization? is a question of very great interest, and one respecting which there has been much diversity of opinion, though experience has brought most minds to a lower estimate of the value of the former in promoting the latter than once prevailed. Keeping in mind the fact, that to make men Christians is the great end of missions; and accepting the further fact, now abundantly demonstrated, that not much of civilization is required in advance in order to a genuine conversion, it is readily inferred that the value of all educational and civilizing work is at best incidental and secondary, both in time and importance. The process of conversion is itself in some sense civilizing, and yet it is certainly possible that, as the Christian life may be superinduced upon an almost absolutely uncultured soul, so that life may be continued and developed into a blessed fullness with but very little aid from either learning or culture. For some of its purposes schools may be a necessity in a foreign mission; yet it may be doubted whether our missionaries, going forth from the advanced civilization of their native land, have not carried with them an undue and incorrect

estimate of the value of learning and culture as a Christianizing agency. It is well that men converted from heathenism should be told of the better modes of outward life to which their new religion tends to brings them, and aided in coming into them; but it is more than simply a doubtful policy for missionaries to bestow their labor and money simply for the better education of heathen boys and girls. After conversion, learning, judiciously imparted, may tend to Christian stability, but to the unsaved its results will in most cases be quite otherwise.

This, at least, should be true of all mission schools, that their first and foremost purpose is always to teach the simple truths of religion, with constant exhortations to personal obedience to its requirements—and especially its demands for the "new birth"—making all forms of secular learning entirely secondary and subsidiary. With a community of converts in the midst of heathenism, schools so conducted may no doubt be made to contribute to the interests of religion; but to simply educate a young heathen out of his hereditary heathenism, without his having been brought to experimentally accept Christ, is a work of very doubtful expediency. To have such schools conducted, wholly or in part, by unconverted persons, would seem to be alike absurd and pernicious—a misapplication of missionary funds and labors.

In harmony with this purely spiritual idea of the work of missions is the theory that the conversion of heathen peoples should in no proper sense be made to denationalize them. The promise respecting the extension of Christ's kingdom is that the "nations" shall be given to Christ, and this not simply in the conversion of individuals, however many, but also the nations themselves, each in its aggregate unity. At the beginning the Gospel preached among heathen peoples will naturally seem to be a foreign and alien religion, and that fact is not the least formidable of the difficulties to be overcome. But that idea should be just as rapidly as possible eliminated from the popular conception of its nature and design. The missionaries themselves should not insist too exactingly on continuing every notion and practice demanded by their home civilization, provided nothing morally excellent is required to be laid aside, and nothing at all partaking of heathenish notions or practices

is to be substituted. Probably it is found that, in fact, nearly all those social customs have a close relationship to the national idolatry, and so thoroughly are these permeated by their false and debasing systems of religion, that the Christian convert necessarily becomes widely separated from those about him, and for his spiritual safety it may seem desirable to increase rather than narrow the breach. But to this there must be a limit in respect to the things that involve nothing either moral or religious—dress, language, domestic and social life, patriotism, and purely sectional usages. When, however, any of these are clearly repugnant to Christianity, they must be openly condemned and vigorously proscribed. Accordingly no place must be allowed for *caste*, both because of its positive iniquity and its incompatibility with the exercise of Christian charity; so, too, of polygamy, and of the observance of properly idolatrous rites. It has also been deemed agreeable to the highest Christian expediency to forbid Chinese Christians to compress the feet of their female children, and Hindu parents to contract marriages for their infant children. But in all these cases it should be clearly shown that the prohibition is not in favor of the social laws of England and America, but because it is required by the spirit and the letter of the Gospel. It is, however, more than allowable that the Chinese, or Japanese, or Hindu Christians should continue to be of the people and nation of their nativity. The "world" from which they are called to separate themselves is inward and spiritual, while the best outlook for the Gospel requires the consecration, and not the cultivation, of national life.

The idea of effectually naturalizing the Gospel in non-Christian lands under missionary auspices involves the whole question of a native ministry raised up and duly instituted from among the converts themselves. It seems to have been the practice of the Apostolic Church, in whatever place a company of believers was raised up, to constitute them a church, with a proper set of office-bearers chosen from among themselves, and this was done not only in the cultivated cities of Asia and Greece, but also in semi-barbarous Crete and rude Galatia. The ruling idea, accepted apparently without debate, was that each church should order its own affairs, subject only to the advisory oversight of the apostles, and

also pay its own charges. The consolidation of the churches of whole provinces into dioceses, subject to a metropolitan superintendent, was a growth of later times, for diocesan episcopacy was unknown in the primitive Church. The practice of supporting such churches in their temporalities by some central body is wholly a modern device. Modern missionaries, who have usually been educated in colleges and theological schools, and have carried their ideas with them into foreign fields, have been very slow to believe that recently-made converts from heathenism could be safely intrusted with the high and sacred functions of the ministry. The American Board's missionaries were in India gathering their converts and multiplying churches for forty years before they ordained any of their native preachers, and at last it was done only upon the strong solicitation of a deputation from America; and in the Sandwich Islands the same reluctance was shown, though nearly the whole population had become Christian. In Tahiti the London Missionary Society's labors achieved marvels in the conversion and Christian culture of the natives, and the whole group of islands had become a Christian nation, when, in 1842, nearly fifty years after the beginning of the work, the French seized the island of Tahiti, and expelled the English missionaries. Thirty years had passed since the rulers and people had formally accepted the Christian faith, but not one native pastor had been ordained. But on the eve of their departure the missionaries ordained a number of their ablest native preachers, and committed the churches, under God, to their care. Forty years have since passed, and despite the unfriendliness of the French rulers and the intrigues of the Jesuit priests, not only has the work been maintained, but its progress has been greater than ever before. The case of Madagascar is nearly a duplicate of the preceding, with the additional considerations that the work was not so far advanced when the missionaries were expelled, and the native government itself undertook to stamp out every thing pertaining to Christianity; and yet, during the whole period of a quarter of a century of relentless and bloody persecution, the Church, under its improvised native pastors, not only survived, but multiplied its converts tenfold. These are, no doubt, extreme cases, as to both the reluctance of the missionaries to intrust to their native assistants the complete

functions of the ministry, and to constitute them pastors of the native churches, and also the marvelous success that followed the adoption of the more liberal economy. It may now be accepted as the settled policy of nearly all evangelical missions, based upon abundant evidence drawn from experience, that the early preparation and installation of a native pastorate is among the essential conditions of the largest and most enduring success.

Taught by such examples, as well as following out the genius of their own Church polity, the missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church have given special care and attention to the development of a native ministry. In the Protestant countries of northern Europe all their laborers are natives. The same is true of Italy, except only that the Superintendent is an American; and in Mexico, though the mission is of quite a recent date, native converts are becoming each year a larger element in its working force. In South America, for nearly fifty years no native ministry was instituted, and comparatively little success has been achieved among the native population. But in this particular a change of policy has recently been made, with the promise of better results. In India and China the policy of employing native helpers prevailed from the beginning, and, as fast as men could be properly tested, they have been advanced to some of the more responsible positions in the work, and in nearly every case with the most satisfactory results. Such examples as are afforded in the cases of Sia Sek Ong in China, and of Zahur-ul-Huqq in India, sufficiently justify the policy of placing some of the highest responsibilities of the missionary work in native hands; and in older missions to properly heathen peoples; and, as the practical outcome of this policy, the ministry is becoming a native rather than a foreign body. All this has been brought about, not by pursuing a preconceived theory, but rather by following the plain lessons of experience and providential indications. The genius of Methodism favors the free expression of religious thoughts and feelings, and also permits all who can do so to speak freely for the edification of believers and the conviction of unbelievers, and without envying allows all the Lord's people to be prophets. Thus, from the earliest lispings of newly-made converts; telling, in halting words, but from warm

hearts, of what they had themselves experienced, some have grown to be able ministers of the New Testament, and especially mighty to exhort and persuade their fellow countrymen to receive Christ, while others in humbler positions have rendered valuable and effective service. In the matter of developing an effective native ministry among the heathen our missionaries appear to be doing a most excellent work, guarded at both extremities—here against excessive conservatism, and there against a lack of attention to personal religious character and intellectual furniture. The original economy of the Methodist itinerancy is peculiarly adapted to missionary work among non-Christian peoples. It provides for the use of all grades of available talents in Christian propagandism, beginning with the class-leader and exhorter, and advancing to the local preacher, the assistant minister, and the minister in charge of a circuit comprising many local churches, societies, and classes, by which means a central point or principal church may reach out its influence and impart its benefits to all the adjacent places, so giving them the advantage of the experience and directing wisdom of the best minds and hearts in the whole mission; and the oversight of the presiding elder of the district, made up of several contiguous churches, with their outlying circuits, brings the whole system into a compact and harmonious effectiveness of operations. If indeed the tendencies toward congregational isolation in the home churches is threatening the efficiency, if not the very existence, of the itinerancy among them, it may be hoped that the mission fields may long enjoy its inestimable benefits.

The policy of developing the organic mission Church by means of its own spiritual growth, is bringing the missionary directories face to face with the questions of autonomy and self-support. The inherent right of every church—"congregation of faithful men"—to order its own affairs, subject to the word and Spirit, and to choose their own Church relations, will not be called in question, but experience has shown that mission churches more frequently prefer a state of dependent pupilage than prematurely to ask to be left to care for themselves; and, at the same time, there is often seen a reluctance and distrust as to the ability of such churches to care for themselves. There is, however, but little room to doubt that the best interests of

all parties call for the gradual and not too tardy loosening of the cords which bind the churches in foreign lands to those from which they had received the Gospel; while, as soon as the former can stand alone, an entire governmental separation is desirable; and in respect to the pecuniary assistance given and received, it is quite as likely to be overdone as to be unduly limited. So long as foreign missionaries are kept in the field, charged with a supervisory authority, it would seem only right that they should derive their maintenance from those whom they represent, and these should be an ever-diminishing, rather than increasing, company; but native preachers and pastors should chiefly draw their support from those whom they serve. There are, no doubt, advantages that can be gained only by supplies of men and money from the home Church; but there are also disadvantages arising out of this policy, especially in its tendency to lower the moral stamina of the recipients, and to diminish the manhood and hinder the growth of the best forms of Christian heroism. When to give, and when to withhold, and in what manner in either case, are questions not always easy to be answered, since they are qualified by numerous conditions which cannot, in some cases, be fully understood. It may, however, be accepted, that other reasons than lack of ability in the giver may properly limit the amounts bestowed. The sums of money appropriated from the home treasury are not a just measure of the probable productiveness of any foreign mission; and the examples of Madagascar, and of Tahiti and others of the South Sea Islands, show that a mission, once firmly established, will continue to live and grow without foreign aid, even under the iron heel of persecution. While there is no evidence to justify the intimations, sometimes heard, that missionaries have an easy life of it, and are more careful for themselves than for those whom they profess to care for; nor yet of the still viler charges, that professed converts become such chiefly from mercenary motives; it nevertheless may be that the opposite virtues would be better promoted by a less intimate connection of the foreign and the home Churches.

That it may not be advisable to slavishly follow out any theory in the government and work of foreign missions, but instead, to accept the lessons of experience, is among the plainest dictates of practical wisdom; and these lessons we have, in all needed

fullness and clearness, in respect to some particulars of the highest importance and the widest application. Among these may be named, as tested principles, always to be aimed at—decentralization, autonomy, and self-dependence. Each of these are, indeed, a form of manifestation of the same principle—the development and localization of the Christian life, with all its essential conditions, among the churches formed in heathendom. The adaptability of Methodism, as to both its spirit and its forms, to such churches is also clearly attested, and the maintenance and perpetuation among them of all the essentials of Methodism should be carefully looked after; and to do this effectively, and to the best interests of those chiefly concerned, their local Methodism must be permitted to adapt itself, in its accidents, to the laws, institutions, and the social and domestic life of the people in each country. An ecumenical Methodism is, happily, an impossibility, and any attempt toward its realization could only work harm; and, as its alternative, a national Methodism for each nationality, among which our form of Christianity shall be naturalized, is a necessity in order to its proper and successful development. National manners and customs, as such, and where they involve no sinful complicity with any false religion, instead of being antagonized, should be respected, and the institutions of the Gospel interwoven among them. Each people has its own modes of thought and specific conceptions of spiritual truths, into which the sublime ideas of the Gospel must enter in order to become a life-giving power; and these forms of thought and modes of life will modify the expressions and formal developments of the Christian life, and of these differences there should be a due recognition in all the outward arrangements of the national Methodism. The Bible goes in its completeness to all nations as the sole and sufficient rule of faith and duty, and because it is in its very nature a universal book; but our Church creeds and rituals, and even our methods of conceiving of and stating Christian doctrines, and of coming at Christian experience, are not in their details identical with the same things as they would be developed and crystallized in the spiritual consciousness of men of other nationalities; and these considerations suggest the propriety of allowing and, indeed, of forming, those national differences, and, as far as it may be well and

wisely done, of molding the ecclesiastical polity and institutions of each nationality in harmony with the instincts of the people, and especially of embodying the great truths of revelation into their mental conceptions and religious consciousness. The spirit and life of our theology must be preserved in all its fullness and power, but in order to that end its accidents and local peculiarities should not be too tenaciously adhered to. We have our twenty-five "Articles of Religion," but scarcely half of them are properly theological, and some of these are expressed in apologetical or polemical forms, growing out of their historical development, which could not be appreciated by those who are not familiar with the conditions through which they came into their present shapes. Why, then, should these forms be imposed upon our Christian converts from heathenism? Our "General Rules" have many confessed excellences, but they are only a very small part of a system of practical morality, often descending to local and accidental details, which among ourselves have become antiquated, and which must sound very strangely among the antipodes. Let us, therefore, give them, then, a local, and not a foreign, Methodism.

The probable future of evangelical missions is among the most deeply interesting problems of the age, having also the most tremendous bearings upon questions of theology and biblical interpretation of sociology, and the commonwealth of nations; and, indeed, of the destiny of the race. In the light of the experience of the current century, the progress actually made from very small beginnings, the awakening of evangelical Christendom to a sense of its duty in the matter and of the vastness of the opportunity, the clear indications of the divine will made by the workings of the Spirit, and the orderings of providences, we may see clear indications of possibilities and prospects of the most glowing and assuring character. The Messianic Psalms read in the light of these things appear to be transformed into the records of our times, and some of the grandest visions of the Apocalypse seem to be realized in our sight. Computing the progress of the future, with its enlarged facilities, by that of the past, one may readily reckon up the years that will be required to literally accomplish the divine command to "preach the Gospel to every creature,"

and even the most sober and thoughtful cannot fail to detect in the events of the age most remarkable indications of the coming of great and far-reaching changes in the affairs of the world. The colossal proportions attained by British commerce and diplomacy, the proximate universality of free thought and of its best vehicle—the English language—the appliances in use for the world-wide diffusion of the Gospel by railroads, steam-ships, and telegraphs, and the polyglottal printing-press, all unite to raise the highest hopes for the speedy Christianization of the whole world. The duty of obedience to Christ's parting commandment to "go, teach all nations," remains the same whether in darkness or in light; but to those who have toiled long and wearily in darkness the coming of the dawn cannot but be cheering; and since God is so strangely opening the way for the spread of the Gospel among all nations, the Church is called upon, not only to rejoice in the promises given, but to go forward in assured expectation that the promised day of triumph draws near.

To sober our too sanguine hopes, it may be told us that the Roman Catholic missions of the seventeenth century presented very high promises of success, and in fact showed an inventory of successes actually achieved even greater than any that can be shown by the Protestant missions of the nineteenth. It is known that they baptized tens of thousands of nominal converts in India; that the proselytes made in China and Japan were counted by hundreds of thousands, and that large portions of what is now our own national territory was originally occupied by the Jesuits from Montreal; and yet all these great and promising beginnings were followed by disaster and almost entire failure. At the beginning of the present century nearly the whole of these results had disappeared. Does a similar fate await our Protestant missions? and if not, why not? The Roman Catholic faith has not, in any modern instance, succeeded among any heathen people, except as it has been sustained, and indeed forced upon the people, by the civil power. Their work of conversion stops short of any real transformation of character, and the baptized heathen remained a heathen still, with only an additional fetich and another idol in his pantheon. Without the power of the sword there was no power over the heathen rulers who, jealous of their authority,

maintained their ancestral customs, and resented and punished with expulsion or death those who were attempting to supersede them in their authority. The decay and final failure of those Roman Catholic missions were clearly owing to these two causes, both of which Protestant missionaries have been especially careful to guard against. Their converts were Christians only in name and form, for Xavier himself confessed that there was no improvement in the lives of the converts of the Portuguese missions in Ceylon, and that he had but little hopes of the salvation of any of them, except those who died before they had lost the sanctity received in their baptism; whereas the chief dependence of Protestants for the perpetuation of their work is in the transformation of the characters of their converts. It is often said that in some of our foreign fields whole villages or tribes come to the missionaries and profess their desire to become Christians, and ask for baptism, which, of course, is not granted without proper evidence of a real and spiritual conversion. To become a Christian on such conditions in any heathen community is therefore a very serious matter, which will be undertaken and persevered in only under deep convictions, and, when so undertaken, with the accompaniment of a newly-begotten religious life, the work may be expected to abide, even should it be tried in the fires of persecution. That it can do so has been proved in the cases before referred to in Tahiti and Madagascar.

The genius and spirit of Protestant missions, by forbidding them to become complicated in any political intrigues, and by teaching them to inculcate peaceful subjection to the established political authority, is the best possible guarantee against political proscription. As political rulers come to understand that Christianity is not a revolutionary power, in respect to politics and dynasties, but that it every-where inculcates due subjection to authority, it will secure the favor and protection of the civil rulers. That fact, together with the influence of commerce and diplomacy in favor of religious liberty, and greater still, the liberalizing influence of the spirit of the age, seem to afford a sufficient assurance that the Protestant Churches that have been or may be planted in heathen lands will not be ruthlessly crushed out by the hand of persecution.

It would lead us beyond our limits should we attempt to

discuss the special and distinctive character of the Christian Church as it may be developed by missions among the heathen; and yet a few passing remarks may be ventured. There is ground to believe that the Church so formed will possess some conditions of advantage over most of the Churches of Protestant Christendom. Nearly seventy years ago that wonderful preacher of the Gospel, Rev. Robert Hall, in delivering the charge to a young minister about to go forth as a missionary to India, used language that has lost none of its fitness or adaptation by the lapse of time. He exhorted the prospective missionary to seek to have his mind and heart in the closest sympathy with the spirit and substance of Christian truth, without very closely insisting upon any of its specifical forms as taught in the schools of doctrine. His words are: "Among the indirect benefits which may be expected to arise from missions, we may be allowed to anticipate a more pure, simple, apostolical mode of presenting the Gospel, which it may be doubted whether any of the various denominations under which the followers of Christ have been classed have exhibited precisely as he and his apostles taught. In consequence of the collisions, of disputes, and the hostile aspects which rival sects bear to each other, they are scarcely in a situation to investigate truth with perfect impartiality. Few or none of them have derived their sentiment purely from the sacred oracles as the result of independent inquiry; but almost universally from some distinguished leader who, at the commencement of the Reformation, formed his faith and planned his discipline amid the heat and fury of theological combat. Terms have been invented for the purpose of excluding error, or more accurately defining the truth, to which the New Testament is a stranger, and on those terms associations and impressions are ingrafted which, in some instances, perhaps, little correspond to the divine simplicity of the Gospel."

These words, uttered at first in warning, have since become prophetic of a better day, which is already in part fulfilled. The implied censure of the theological thinking of Protestant Christendom has come to have less cause for its use than formerly, but still it is not wholly uncalled for, but the theology of the more fully developed foreign missions is evidently an improvement by reason of its nearer conformity to scriptural

statements, and its greater breadth and simplicity, its spirituality and catholicity. And as the artificial landmarks that at home divide the various schools of theological thought sink out of sight when Christians of different family names stand together in the presence of the overshadowing forms of falsehood and unbelief, so in that position ecclesiastical lines of demarkation lose very much of their value and significance. It is scarcely to be hoped—perhaps it is not desirable—that all denominational differences should be ignored, and the several missions fused into a common mass; but surely it is not wise to reproduce in foreign lands all the petty feuds or historical divisions that have given rise to many of our denominations, most of which are represented in the mission fields. It would not be edifying to converts from heathenism to be confronted at their coming into the fellowship of the Church with the sixteen kinds of Presbyterians, or the half as many of Methodists. In this matter something of the fusing power of true religion, directed by a fair share of common sense, might be practically useful. When the Methodisms of our foreign mission fields shall become locally individualized, it may be hoped that they will also be consolidated into a common mass.

Art. VII.—POPULAR AND PERILOUS DRIFTINGS.

Could some influence appear potent and persuasive enough to draw the half of all young people into thorough acquaintance, by actual labor, with different branches of agriculture, (whatever business or profession they might follow in after life,) and lead the other moiety of our sons and daughters to become, after full apprenticeship, skilled artisans, such influence would grandly restore to the land physical soundness, moral integrity, and prosperities richer and wider than can be well imagined. Nor would such lives of early discipline and every-day work at all prevent (in my opinion) the noblest achievements by every generation in science, literature, and art.

Unhappily, the prevailing sentiment of society, and the average training in excellent families, tend in very different directions. Insomuch that the popular currents are drifting

widely away from lives of frugal industry, from the labor of producers, from vigorous health,* and from the virtuous simplicity and solid home-content of other days. These downward driftings not only result in enormous material wastes and mischief, but are, as I judge, undermining public morality and the safety of the State.

Note 1. *Driftings of Population from rural districts to crowded centers.* It is stated, on what appears to be good authority, that in 1850 the population of cities and large towns throughout the Republic was but 23 per cent. of the whole; that is, 3,131,675. In 1870 these large centers contained 34 per cent., or 7,841,950; and in the national census, just completing, our three hundred cities will probably number 40 per cent. of the entire people of the Union. New York State census gives as the increase of rural population from 1865 to 1875, 28,082; increase in cities and villages during the same decade, 843,000—thirty times as many.

Not to overlook the fact that cities contain many noble, princely philanthropists, and very many devoted Christian men and women, still, the best thing we can say is, "Cities contain much that we love, and all that we hate." They are vast mission fields. They are centers of expensive luxury; the restless and the dissatisfied naturally drift there. The daringly ambitious, those who live by excitements and would dwell in a crowd, seek such homes. Cities are always chief nurseries of sensualism, and hiding-places of every crime.

A broader view of this drifting of populations is seen by taking census reports of *cities* in six States, as compared with the *rural* districts in those States, for the twenty years ending with 1870:

In Massachusetts,	City population increased	82	per cent.	Country, 29	per cent.
New York,	"	108	"	15	"
Pennsylvania,	"	120	"	10	"
Ohio,	"	108	"	11	"
Indiana,	"	540	"	58	"
Illinois,	"	579	"	166	"

Among the results of this drifting, through large portions of New England and New York are: Gradual disappearance of

* The last State census instructs us that births in native-born families, as compared with births in foreign-born, are as *nine* to *eleven*. That the death-rate yearly of native-born Americans is 1 in 88; while the death-rate of our people born in Canada, Scotland, Germany, is only 1 in 125.

moderate farmers, the best strength and surest reliance of a free State, the gathering of large masses of land into one holding,* and the multiplying all about us into controlling power a foreign-born tenantry, seldom friendly to Christian Sabbaths, free schools, temperance, and Protestant freedom.

It is but a few years since that great British commoner, John Bright, sought to awaken his countrymen to the mistake and danger of crowding into cities, instead of spreading among the rural districts, and to the neglect of agriculture. His advice was, "Go back to the land." And the time has fully come when voices in high places of our country, giving the same earnest advice, should be heard. For if these driftings continue the twenty years to come, as during the twenty years past, (certainly, unless there shall be wide and thorough cure of drinking habits and suppression of liquor traffic,) the gathered masses of incurable poverty, lawlessness, and desperate crime in our cities will be beyond control of any civil power in the land.

Note 2. *Driftings away from Productive Industries to genteel employments and well-paid sinecures.* The great body of young people, including those of prudent families, even, grow up with utter aversion to the most ancient and honored employment of tilling the soil, or to making themselves proficient in the essential handicrafts. Very few children of American parents are apprenticed to become skilled mechanics, as they were fifty years ago. While the numbers who devote themselves for a living to speculations, wandering agencies, and scurvy politics, are legion. As a consequence, society is every-where pressed beyond measure with a host of

* The greed for land is like the greed for gold; and schemes of the rich to monopolize all desirable localities, choicest sections of the soil every-where, (which Congress ought long ago to have forbidden as to public lands, and measurably prevented,) have already become a serious evil, even with our vast and thinly-settled territories; more so in the new States, of course, than in the older. Hundreds and thousands of immense farms are being caught up, of 500, 1,000, 10,000, 20,000, and even 50,000 acres, notwithstanding legislators can be hardly supposed ignorant of the truth, that mischief to the Republic, and grave injuries to the people, come soon or later through the ownership of large masses of land in the hands of a few families. The Roman historian, Pliny, does not hesitate to declare that great estates had ruined his country: "*Latifundia perdidere Italiam.*"

superfluous and expensive members.* The professions of law, medicine, insurance, merchandising, are twice filled. Every position of clerk, salesman, book-keeper, common-school teacher, commercial traveler, or other opening to light and well-dressed employment is watched and waited for by scores of hopeless applicants.

The following extract from the "Scientific American" is a specimen fact of hundreds that might be gathered:

A large shoe manufacturer of this State, not long since, advertised widely for twenty-five shoe-fitters to work in his factory, offering full current rates and steady work. The advertisements brought one application. About the same time a Boston firm advertised for a book-keeper, and the next day's mails brought two hundred and thirty answers. During the same month an advertisement for a clerk in a Detroit paper brought one hundred and twenty applications, and more afterward. An advertisement for a week in the same city for a good carpenter brought only four replies.

What the country wants now is *work*men—sober, intelligent, thrifty workmen, who can do skillfully the work that waits for the doing. Men who can invent new means and better processes for developing the resources of the land, and for converting crude matter into life-sustaining and life-enriching wealth. Clerks and record-keepers are at a discount; there are too many. The professions, so called, are almost equally crowded with men who have nothing to do. There never was a time when ability to *do* something real and practical was worth so much as now. †

This extract following, addressed some years since to the men of New England, is severe, but contains weighty and wholesome truth:

* There is an admonition in Holy Scripture ending thus: "Behold this was the iniquity of thy sister Sodom, pride, fullness of bread, and abundance of idleness was in her, and in her daughters, neither did she strengthen the hands of the poor and needy." That is, the cities of the plain lived in luxurious and sensual ease, leaving many to want and suffer by the side of the very rich; neither did their rulers protect or redress the wrongs of the weak and poor.

One who loves his country can but shrink from declaring how far all this is a picture of the favored and large classes in American life.

† It is stated in the public prints that A. Oakey Hall, of New York City, (formerly a leading politician,) when rich, and there was no apparent need for his family, did the creditable thing of training his three daughters to three different mechanical trades. He is reported to have said: "If German and French princes are taught trades in case of change or misfortune, why not my children?" Mr. Hall is now understood to be poor, but his children are comfortably provided for, independent.

Young men, on entering active life, find the way to lucrative employments blocked by abuses. The conduct of trade is grown selfish to the borders of theft, and supple to the borders, if not beyond the borders, of fraud. The trail of the serpent reaches into all the lucrative professions and business practices of men. . . . Considerations of this kind have turned the attention of many philanthropists and thoughtful parents to the claims of manual labor as part of the education of every young person. If accumulated wealth is thus tainted, no matter how much of it is offered to us, we must consider if it were not the nobler part to renounce it, and put ourselves into primary relations with the soil and nature; and, abstaining from whatever is dishonest and unclean in each, take up bravely his part, with his own hands, in the manual labor of the world.

Note 3. *Driftings into Debt.* We all know that there is immense wealth, not only in New York, but throughout New England and the Middle States. No doubt there are ten men in our metropolis who could easily pay the municipal and corporate indebtedness of the whole State, should this amount to three hundred millions of dollars. And there are also ten men in each of our large cities who could, in thirty days, discharge what may be called the public debts of city and county, (running into millions,) and remain possessed of ample wealth. This opulence of the few may be substantially affirmed of very many cities and towns. Still, the great middle class—the farmers, manufacturers, mechanics, the working men and women—are resting under mountain loads of debt. Nor has the immense losses by shrinkage of values, waste through bankruptcies, and moral injuries, that came upon the land from 1870 to 1877, cured its extravagance, wild speculations, or mania for going in debt.

The truth is, our country's financial affairs are fast drifting into Old-World conditions. A few persons of unlimited wealth monopolize the great industries of the State; are sure to gain possession of every new enterprise of profit, thus subjecting the masses to a deepening dependence on their will, (excepting, indeed, those who work their own farms;) they hold public men in such bondage as often to control the government; and have already brought affairs to a pass that half a dozen men in Wall Street and Chicago combine and go far in compelling millions to pay *their* prices for bread to eat and fuel to warm.

The State debt, proper, of New York is but a few millions

—less than eight. Our national war debt is now sixteen hundred millions of dollars. The country owes Europe (chiefly England) several hundred millions for borrowed money, merchandise, and luxuries. And it is noteworthy, that by as much as the war debt is being diminished through present large revenues, even more are the heavy importations of foreign goods increasing our debts abroad.

Municipal and bonded indebtedness of the twenty-eight cities of New York may be set down at two hundred and fifty millions of dollars. Census reports make the total bonded obligations of three hundred cities, in all the States, five hundred and forty-nine millions of dollars.

But embarrassing debts are every-where. Farming towns and small villages are in many cases heavily bonded. The higher institutions of learning and associations of benevolence are, most of them, crippled and incessantly begging for relief. Hundreds of Christian churches have been deeply dishonored by debts mainly incurred for costly edifices. And how many ten thousands of farmers there are whose homesteads are hopelessly involved, we can but guess.

It is not forgotten that during the past two years very many millions of public and private debts have been paid. But even these obligations have been, in part, only *shifted* from societies, institutions, corporations, to the shoulders of generous men, whose subscriptions and notes, in *final discharge* of debts, are yet to be paid through installments of successive years.

There are two serious facts respecting public debts and long-time bonds that do not seem to have been well considered, namely:

First, that about one third of the population do the work, pay the taxes, and provide the charities of the whole State. Allowing one third of all the people to be found in helpless and dependent childhood, with the very aged poor and other classes of incurable destitution, there remains, as what may be called *the working force* of the State of New York, three and a quarter millions. But, according to the last State census, "Persons engaged in all occupations, of both sexes and of all ages," are scarcely so many as seventeen hundred thousand, leaving above a million and a half who, it would seem, ought to support themselves, as visibly earning nothing, and owning

nothing.* This will be an improbable statement to some; but it is substantially confirmed in the "National Census Reports," just now completed, as Mr. Shackleford, of North Carolina, showed on the floor of Congress, last winter. Only one half the working force of a State, according to official data, have any occupation, or earn any thing! It will certainly be in the thought of many that schools of learning, Christian churches, and eminent civilians, ought to secure a more hopeful standard of civilization than this.

A second fact, too little thought of by taxpayers, is the amount of money required to pay bonds running many years, with annual or semi-annual interest. Such debts grow double with unthought-of rapidity. To illustrate: there are small cities in New York—and many, if we are rightly informed, at the West—heavily bonded, generally for railways. I know of one such city, bonded for half a million in thirty-year bonds, bearing seven per cent. semi-annual interest. These, at the end of ten years, will practically cost the people a million; at the end of twenty years, two millions; at maturity, or in thirty years, the bonds will have cost taxpayers four millions of dollars!

The three hundred and odd cities of the republic are reported as having bonded debts to the amount of five hundred and forty-nine millions of dollars. If these run, on an average, twenty years, with six per cent. annual interest, (which is a fair probability,) they will actually cost the people little short of two thousand millions of dollars!

* The following summary is based upon the detailed facts of official Census Reports, and is, no doubt, approximately the truth. Population of New York, 5,000,000. Children under twelve, and persons over seventy years, 30 to 35 per cent. This leaves a working population of at least 3,250,000. Of these, farmers and farm laborers are not quite 450,000; manufacturers and mechanics, nearly 600,000; in trade and transportation, 350,000; in personal service, say 250,000; the four learned professions and public-school teachers, 50,000 to 60,000. This aggregates, in round numbers, (to use the official language,) as "persons engaged in all occupations, of both sexes and all ages," 1,700,000; and, making liberal allowance for the dangerously sick, the deranged, blind, idiotic, and imprisoned felons, leaves 1,500,000 in the State who, so far as census officers can discover, have somehow a free ticket through life at the expense of others.

Another consideration, evidencing that the great middle classes support society and the government, is found in the fact that taxation is so arranged as to compel real estate to pay above 80 per cent. of the whole; while personal property, money, stocks, bonds, and other investments of hoarded wealth, pay but a fraction of what they ought.

Note 4. *Driftings into Crime.* The commission and spread of crime are far more largely traceable to want in early years of frugal, steady work, of some thorough trade-education, than has been generally understood. It is not so much ignorance in school learning that ripens depravity into theft, robbery, and murder, as many suppose; and though the influence of strong drink in exciting to the worst deeds is very great, still it is not clear but that lack of early habits of industry, and thorough acquaintance with some useful business or trade, is the ruin of as many as any other one cause.*

The following statistics from the "Christian Union" of October, 1878, are admonitory and striking:

> Of 408 convicts in the Michigan State-Prison, seventy-two per cent. are, or were, addicted to the use of liquor; but sixty-two per cent. had no trade. Of 489 prisoners in an Iowa penitentiary 305 are without any trade education. In Minnesota prison are 235 convicts; at least 130 of them never learned any business. In the large State-prison of Illinois, of 1,500 criminals, one third had no regular occupation before commitment. In the Penitentiary of Western Pennsylvania are 396 convicts, of whom 310 never learned a trade, but sixty-two per cent. of whom were addicted to liquor drinking.

In the year ending November, 1881, there were sentenced to Onondaga Penitentiary, from this and neighboring counties, 995 criminals. Of these, 120 were from twenty different mechanical trades: while of "laborers, domestics, tramps, hostlers, and boatmen," there were 674. I think this a fair representation of the convicts of all State-prisons. The New York Board of State Charities says:

> By far the greater part of convicted criminals have never been educated in any branch of useful industry. They hence enter the competitions of life at a disadvantage—inferior or incapable—and must occupy the avenues which are already filled, while there is room enough for those who, by thorough apprenticeship, possess professional or mechanical skill. In the struggles for livelihood these others are pushed empty-handed to the wall; left without employment, without money, having no alternative but to beg or steal.

* A New England pastor sought, not long since, to ascertain and to make known what kind of early training furnishes the most prosperous and honored men. To this end he carefully inquired into the early lives of *eighty-eight* prominent business men in and near Springfield, Mass. It was found that *seventy-four* of these had been brought up poor, in hard work, and most of them on farms.

The person who has no trade, thorough early acquaintance with some business that brings honest bread, lives frequently by choice in idleness. Not taught to work in youth, he will not submit to the restraints of steady labor in riper years. And where do such almost inevitably drift but into places of drink and gambling, into companionship with vagabonds and felons?

In the preceding paper I am not sure but that incidental statistical errors and partial reasonings may be found; though pains have been taken to keep quite within lines of ascertained truth. However this may be, the reader can safely conclude that there is given a substantially just outline of our present type of civilization; and it will not be doubted that this whole subject deserves the profound consideration of philanthropists and statesmen, and the very serious study of all who are intrusted with the guardianship and training of sons or daughters.

ART. VIII. — SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Reviews.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN AND ORIENTAL JOURNAL, April, 1883. (Chicago, Ill.)—1. The Hill Tribes of India; by Prof. John Avery. 2. Indian Migrations, as Evidenced by Language; by Horatio Hale. 3. Native Races of Colombia, S. A.; by E. G. Barney. 4. The Somme Implements, and Some Others; by S. F. Walker. 5. The Potlatches of Puget Sound; by M. Eells. 6. Mythology of the Dakotas; by S. R. Riggs. 7. Village Habitations; by S. D. Peet, Editor. 8. Specimen of the Chumeto Language; by A. S. Gatschet. 9. Relics in Maine; by Charles B. Wilson. 10. Editorial—Idols and Portraits.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, May, June, 1883. (Cincinnati.)—1. Some Phases of Theology in the "Paradise Lost;" by W. H. Stifler, M.D. 2. Some Impressions of Swedenborg; by W. N. Clarke, D.D. 3. Liberty and Toleration; by Rev. P. S. Evans. 4. The Correlation of Christian Doctrines; by S. F. Smith, D.D. 5. Professor Samuel S. Green, LL.D.; by Reuben A. Guild, LL.D. 6. A Study in the Atonement; by S. Graves, D.D. 7. Modified Calvinism; or, Remainders of Freedom in Man; by Augustus H. Strong, D.D.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, April, 1883. (Andover.)—1. Certain Legal Analogies; by Rev. Francis Wharton, LL.D. 2. The Proposed Reconstruction of the Pentateuch, by Prof. Edwin C. Bissell. 3. The Position and Character of the American Clergy; by Rev. Charles F. Thwing. 4. Positivism as a Working System; by Rev. F. H. Johnson. 5. The Preaching to the Spirits in Prison; by Rev. S. C. Bartlett, D.D., LL.D.

JOURNAL OF CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY, April, 1883. (New York.)—1. Inspiration; by Prof. George T. Ladd. 2. The Recent Scientific Philosophy of Society; by Prof. Benjamin N. Martin. 3. Miracles and Their Place in Christian Evidence;

by Prof. George P. Fisher. 4. The Genesis of the Idea of God; by Prof. Francis L. Patton. 5. The Lamp of the Body; by Jesse B. Thomas, D.D. 6. The Antiquity of Man Historically Considered; by Prof. George Rawlinson. 7. The True Mount Lebanon—the Name an Index to the Place; by the Editor. 8. Proceedings of the American Institute of Christian Philosophy.

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, April, 1883. (Gettysburg.)—1. The Liturgical Question; by F. W. Conrad, D.D. 2. The Ultimate Ground of Knowing and Being; by Pres. David J. Hill. 3. The Lutheran Doctrine of the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper; by J. G. Morris, D.D. 4. Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament and the Textus Receptus; by Rev. Prof. J. W. Richard, A.M. 5. Biographical Sketch of Rev. A. D. Rowe, A.M., the First Children's Missionary to India; by Rev. Jacob A. Clutz, A.M.

NEW ENGLANDER, May, 1883. (New Haven.)—1. Three Eras of Religious Life in America; by Rev. J. W. Backus. 2. The New England Meeting-House; by President Noah Porter. 3. The "Dr. Grimshawe" MSS.; by John Addison Porter. 4. Recent Theories of Wages; by Professor J. B. Clark. 5. Bacon's Promus; by Charles H. Owen, Esq. 6. Rothe on the Atonement: translated by Rev. George B. Stevens. 7. Is Death an Accident? A Metaphysical Inquiry; by Rev. H. A. Stimson. 8. The Conscience; by Rev. John M. Williams.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, April, 1883. (Boston.)—1. William Coggswell, D.D.; by Rev. Increase N. Tarbox, D.D. 2. Address of the Hon. Marshall P. Wilder. 3. Bristol Records; communicated by Rev. James P. Lane. 4. Patterson Family; by Hon. John R. Rollins. 5. Edward Randolph; communicated by G. D. Scull. Esq. 6. The Forgery in the Adams Pedigree. 7. Will of James Haines or Hindes, of Southold, Long Island, N. Y., 1652; communicated by A. M. Haines, Esq. 8. Passengers and Vessels that have Arrived in America. 9. Braintree Records: communicated by Samuel A. Bates, Esq. 10. Soldiers in King Philip's War; communicated by Rev. George M. Bodge. 11. The Bacons of Virginia and their English Ancestry; by Charles Hervey Townshend, Esq. 12. Names of Captives at Lancaster, 1676; communicated by Henry S. Nourse, Esq.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, June, 1883. (New York.)—1. American Manufacturing Interests; by Joseph Nimmo, Jr. 2. Present Aspects of College Training; by President D. C. Gilman. 3. The Abuse of Citizenship; by Edward Self. 4. Herbert Spencer's Facts and Inferences; by Prof. Isaac. L. Rice. 5. A Few Words about Public Singing; by Christine Nilsson. 6. Incidental Taxation; by William M. Springer, M.C. 8. The Moral Influence of the Drama; by Rev. Dr. J. M. Buckley, John Gilbert, A. M. Palmer, and William Winter.

PRINCETON REVIEW, September, 1883. (New York.)—1. Can Americans Compete in the Ocean Carrying Trade; by George F. Seward. 2. The Future of Turkey; by Canon George Rawlinson. 3. The Doctrine of the Trinity in the Light of Recent Psychology; by Henry N. Day, D.D. 4. Personality and Law—The Duke of Argyle; by Mark Hopkins. 5. Co-operation in the United States; by R. Heber Newton. 6. The Dawn of the English Reformation; by James E. Thorold Rogers, M.P.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, April, 1883. (Macon, Georgia.)—1. Horace Bushnell; by J. H. Carlisle, LL.D. 2. Matter and its Phenomena; by President George T. Gould, D.D. 3. Prohibition and Temperance; by Walter B. Hill, Esq. 4. Methodism Positive Christianity; by Rev. John B. Robins. 5. Ancient Greek Education; by Professor O. H. P. Corprew, A.M. 6. The Bible Epic: Messiad; by Rev. R. J. Bowman. 7. Dr. David Livingston; by A. S. Andrews, D.D. 8. Jesuitism; by Rev. F. M. Edwards. 9. Bishop J. O. Andrew; by Rev. W. J. Scott.

In the hands of the new editor, Dr. Hinton, our Quarterly, South, attains a new and, we trust, better era. We have no longer in the editorship the politico-ecclesiastical bitterness of

Dr. Bledsoe, nor the intense pro-slavery sectionalism of Dr. Summers. The editor, though flinging in an occasional sectional and obstructive utterance, reveals a sympathy with the Young South. In this Quarterly the names of the authors are fairly given; but as they are not, we are sorry to say, given in the table of contents, they may often fail to appear in our Synopsis.

We specially note in the present number the admirable article on "Bushnell," by President Carlisle; "Prohibition and Temperance," by Walter B. Hill, Esq.; and "Bishop Andrew," by Rev. W. J. Scott. Mr. Hill's article is a powerful document, and indicates that our Southern brethren are marshaling rapidly and bravely in the temperance cause.

The blemish of the number is the article on the venerated Bishop. Its denunciations of the Abolitionists are precisely parallel to the ravings of the rumsellers at the temperance men. We give a specimen or so of its howls. The first is the following historic untruth regarding the Northern delegates in the General Conference of 1844: "These men, whose sires had waxed fat on the traffic in human flesh, were now in hot pursuit of Bishop Andrew for the sin of slaveholding, not by purchase, but by inheritance. To this deep-mouthed baying of the Boston kennel there was added the shrill cry of Tray, Blanche, and Sweetheart from the other hostile Conferences."—P. 332. There was not, we may safely say, ever a New England Methodist, or a New England Methodist's father or "sire," who bought, held, or sold a slave. If there were men in New England who did hold slaves, how were the antislavery men of New England responsible for their crime any more than Mr. Scott is responsible for the rumsellers in his State? The first war of the New England antislavery men was against slavery and slave-trade in their own States, and they abolished both. If any of the slave-dealers or holders sold their slaves when emancipation was accomplished, how were the Abolitionists responsible for that? Surely Mr. Hill's mouth is not closed from denouncing drunkenness in this Quarterly because there are rumsellers and drunkards in his native section? Mr. Hill probably imagines that that is the very reason why his mouth should be wide open. And just so thought Northern abolitionists upon the slavery question. Howl the second sounds as follows: "The

Moloch of antislavery fanaticism must be appeased at the expense of justice and every other cardinal virtue of heathen and Christian morality. It was done by the tyranny of a *mob*, or else by the ruling of a star-chamber tribunal."—P. 332. Rumsellers would say, "the Moloch of total-abstinence fanaticism." Why was antislaveryism a "Moloch?" Did it raise an auction block on which human beings, sometimes handsome young mulatto girls, were sacrificed to the highest bidder? Did it forbid education of its victims in order that they might be brutalized into total subjection to their oppressors? Did it ever keep a bloodhound to chase the footsteps of the helpless fugitive? Did it ever subject its kidnapped victims and their offspring to the driver's whip, lashing them to toil, and then appropriating the income? O no! It simply proclaimed liberty to the captive, asserted the rights of humanity, maintained the truth of the first sentence of our Declaration of Independence, and demanded the peaceful emancipation of four millions of native-born Americans from that despotic system that "spared not man in its cruelty nor woman in its lust." No; it was that system, the slave-power, which was the true Moloch, the Moloch of which Mr. Scott is the imbecile worshiper and infamous apologist. As for "mob," the mobs were all on the other side. The so-called "abolition mobs" were really pro-slavery mobs, raised to crush the abolitionists. With the exception of abolition rallies, made to rescue the innocent fugitive from Southern slave-catchers and kidnappers, there were no real "abolition mobs." Howl third is as follows: "In the course of a memorable debate on the American Crisis, he [Edmund Burke] stated that the Southern Colonies were more ardently and stubbornly attached to liberty than those to the northward. Furthermore, let it be proclaimed in Boston and published in the streets of Philadelphia, that Burke attributed this to the fact that, like Greece and Rome, they were slave-holding communities." Very well. Let it be proclaimed the world round that the slave-holders were earnest maintainers of freedom—*for themselves*, and the still more earnest maintainers of slavery for others. They were enthusiastic champions for the freedom to bind the fetter and flourish the whip upon their kidnapped victims. Howl fourth (too prolix for our quotation) parallels the secession of the Southern delegates from the Gen-

eral Conference of 1844 with the secession of the Free Church of Scotland. The two unquestionably are parallelisms in that both were secessions, but they were contrasts in the causes for which the secession took place. The former was for religious freedom; the latter was for secular slavery; and the latter, as some would say, finds a more suitable parallel in the secession of the angels that kept not their first estate. Next to the cruelty of Mr. Scott's onslaught on abolitionism is that of his eulogy on the good Bishop; and it is agonizing to see that venerable man slavered over with such an overflowing gush of relentless bombast. We trust that this Quarterly will live long decades, and its bound volumes be deposited in many a library; and our worst wish for Mr. Scott is, that he may live to re-read his tirade with shame and ingenuous repentance. Nevertheless, in most cases Bourbonism can only die with the Bourbon, and in such event the disburdened world has good reason to ejaculate a hearty "good riddance" to both. It is right to say, that in the several pages added on the same subject by the editor we find a very different spirit, with the main of which we agree, and see no demand for making an issue where we differ. And here we note that so long as fierce pro-slavery leaders like Scott issue their manifestoes in the highest periodicals of the South the Methodist Episcopal Church is needed there. And it is not only a Negro Church we need there, but a body of white churches who will be a pillar of moral support for the advocates of the New South.

This Quarterly contains a full critical notice of *Dr. Miley's valuable volume on the Atonement,* a volume which, we are pleased to see, attracts a decided interest among our Southern theologians. The critic speaks of Christ's "punishment," and holds it to be defensible from its voluntary undergoing. He does not seem to recognize that the real objection is not merely to the justice of such "punishment," but to its *possibility.* The punishment of the guiltless is a solecism, in thought and word and thing; as axiomatically absurd as a *round triangle.* You can no more transfer one being's guilt or moral character to another than you can his personal identity. I can be no more guilty of another man's sin than I can suffer his headache. The making Christ literally guilty, a sinner, in order that he can be said to be punished, is an appalling fiction. An

innocent man can indeed voluntarily endure *suffering* in order to prevent by substitution a guilty man's punishment; but the *suffering* of the innocent is not *punishment.* If Damon die for Pythias' crime, Damon is not thereby a criminal, a rebel; neither is he guilty, nor is he punished. But we are sometimes told there are two meanings to the words *guilt* and *punishment;* one where they are *real,* and the other where they are *imputed.* Undoubtedly, if you import into your words an esoteric theological meaning, unknown elsewhere in language, you can say the innocent is guilty, and the sufferer is punished. By special definition any thing can be truly affirmed, even a *round triangle.* You can have an innocent guilt and a guilty guilt, just as you can have a white black and a black black. But what is the use of introducing such an elaborate bungle into our theological language? When you say that guilt is not real, but only imputed, you actually deny that there is any genuine guilt. What do we gain by such verbal quirks and quirligigs but the power of uttering to the public ear statements that are offensive to the moral sense and common sense of mankind? And the final gains are disgust, skepticism, and hatred of the Gospel of Christ. Away with such paltering equivocations in our theology, remembering that by its very etymology our *ortho*doxy is a *straight* doxy.

HEBREW STUDENT, May, 1883. (Chicago.)—1. The Authorship of the Fifty-First Psalm; by Rev. P. A. Nordell. 2. The Little Book of the Covenant; by Prof. C. A. Briggs. 4. Notes from Abroad: by Rev. John P. Peters. 4. General Notes: The Relationship of Christianity to Judaism. 5. Prepositions of the Verbs Meaning to Believe or Trust; by Prof. F. B. Denio.

The "Hebrew Student" is the organ of a very interesting movement in Old Testament scholarship. It is in connection with an Institute of Hebrew, the purpose of which is to rouse an interest in Hebrew studies through organized action; to furnish instruction in Hebrew, both by a correspondence system and a Summer Hebrew School; to make provision for furnishing Hebrew books at cheapest rates; and to sustain a periodical, ten numbers a year for one dollar, devoted to the publication of articles from able pens, both American and foreign, in the department of Hebrew literature. The whole movement is worthy the highest encouragement. It furnishes valuable aids for all who wish to commence, or to perfect themselves in, the language of Moses and the prophets. The articles of the peri-

odical are delightful reading for enthusiasts in the sacred tongue. Our ministers generally who take our Quarterly may be safely advised that their one dollar will be a paying investment.

In the present number the first article, on the Authorship of the Fifty-first Psalm, maintains very conclusively its Davidic source. This psalm undergoes a vigorous assault from the Robertson Smith school, who find its Levitical character too clear to be allowed so early a date as David, and so maintain it to be, of course, "post-exilic." The second article aims to show that Moses' Little Book of the Covenant has a parallelism with the Decalogue. Next, Dr. Peters' Notes from Abroad put us in very interesting communication with the biblical scholarship of Germany.

Whatever future effects may result from the theories of Wellshausen and followers, their present influence is to awaken a deep interest in Old Testament investigation. There is no dozing just now over the ancient records. The editor is confident, as we are, that the outcome will be auspicious.

From the editorial department we give the following reminder to investigators of the value of the "traditional" opinions, both Jewish and Christian:

CRITICISM AND THE CANON.—Has Biblical Science the right to re-examine the historic foundations of Christianity and re-test the Canon of Scripture? Without a doubt. But in this process of re-examining and re-testing, has it also the right to reject entirely the traditional testimony of the Church to the Sacred Books? To *this* question the arrogant spirit of the extreme modern Criticism gives an affirmative answer. Happily there are those who deny this right. *Van Oosterzee* says, "As concerns the Canon of the *Old* Testament Scriptures, the Christian Church received from the Jews, *yet not without critical investigation.* Melito of Sardis and Origen made accurate investigations among the Palestinian Jews as to what writings belonged to the Canon, although, along with these, a certain value was attached to the Apocrypha of the Old Testament. To the question (then raised) whether it was wise, generally speaking, *to rely on the Jewish Tradition, an affirmative answer seemed justified,* for this Tradition itself was the fruit of a critical examination made at the time of the close of the Old Testament Canon, and assuredly not without earnestness and conscientiousness. As to particular details, the accuracy of this critical judgment of antiquity is, perhaps, not to be defended against every possible objection. But well may it, with grateful appreciation of the help of a thorough Isagogics, regard

the Scriptures of the Old Testament, as a whole, as authentic sources of our knowledge of *Divine Revelation given by Moses and Prophets.* The position which Christian Theologians, in the spirit of the Reformation have, therefore, to occupy in relation to the tradition which gave to the Church its Canon, is already defined, in principle, by what has been said. It is not that of *blind dogmatism* which, at once, begins to submit, unreservedly, to the authority of tradition; and just as little is it that *lofty criticism* which attaches to the utterances of tradition no essential importance, but that of a truly independent, impartial, and patiently conducted investigation." To the same purpose are the profound observations of *Martensen:* "As Holy Scripture is the Canon for the *Church* only, it is manifest that a necessary reciprocity must continually subsist between it and ecclesiastical tradition. By the transmission of the Church, Scripture has been handed down to us, and the Church it was that collected the Books of the Canon, as they are in living use at the present day. We cannot, indeed, look upon our traditional Canon as a work of inspiration, yet we cannot but recognize the fact that the ancient Church had a special call to this work, and that this collection of books—which has obtained unanimous recognition in the most contrasted quarters of the Church, and thus has received ecumenical ratification, has been determined under the guidance of the Spirit who was to lead the Church, according to her Lord's promise, into all truth. To deny that the early Church performed this task, is to deny that the Scriptures, given by God, have the power to claim for themselves admission and recognition in the Church."

What is worthy of note is, that, notwithstanding doubts expressed here and there, by a few individuals, the uniform result of all critical sifting of the Canon leaves it practically untouched. It was the result of the Jewish search, the result of the early Christian search, by men who knew the use of language, the result of the Reformation search, the "*Quinque libri Mosis*" being a part of the Word of God, and the result of the Westminster search, as is shown by the writings of their divines. Whatever liberty is accorded to the later criticism, it does not yet appear that this foundation of the past, laid by such giant intellects, ceaseless toil, and careful investigation, can be essentially affected. While asserting, therefore, the right of Biblical Science to a free, untrammeled, and reverential criticism of the historic grounds of the Canon, we may approve the remarks cited above. There is an inseparable relation between the Canon and the true tradition. It will not do, in determining the Canonicity of a given book, to employ a single rule, viz., the Testimony of the Spirit and subjective application of saving truth, nor to rest solely upon tradition. Does the book claim for itself authority? Is the claim well supported by the composition itself? Has the book generally been so regarded? Has it the sanction of Christ or of one of the New Testament writers? All these questions must be answered.

Criticism, which has to do chiefly with the second, has no right to announce as infallible a decision which has been reached without an impartial consideration of all sides of the question. — Pp. 279, 280.

The following extract, also from the editorial, furnishes a very compact survey of the whole field of discussion. By reading the parts of the Old Testament in the order of the "scheme" here given, the student will see what kind of an Old Testament Canon the new reconstructors would give us:

THE ORDER, PROPHETS, LAW, PSALMS; INSTEAD OF LAW, PSALMS, PROPHETS.—There are those who would have us believe that the traditional arrangement of the literature and history of the Old Testament must be entirely reconstructed. Supposing the Pentateuch to have been written by Moses, they are perplexed to find his legislation "followed by a period of about five centuries of comparative barbarism, during which a highly organized nation has fallen into a loose federation of clans, an elaborate ritual with a jealously exclusive official clergy has been superseded by a crude and uncouth cultus presided over by an irregular and personal priesthood, and the trained strength of a disciplined army coextensive with a victorious nation has disappeared, leaving the oppressed Israelites dependent upon flashes of individual and undisciplined valor for even temporary relief from their sufferings." It is equally difficult for them to comprehend the sudden change from the "wild and barbaric virtues and vices of the period of the Judges to the marvelous spiritual depth and maturity of the Psalms," it being impossible, as they view the matter, for the hero "who stood with one foot in the period of Gideon and Jephthah (to say nothing of his own doings and beliefs) to have composed those portions of the Old Testament which stand nearer than any other to the feelings and aspirations of Christianity." And then, after two or three centuries, during which not even the "faintest after-vibrations of David's harp are to be heard, they are startled by the apparition of the prophets—true sons of the earth, in the freshness and verve of their appeal, speaking like men whom a sudden sense of what should be has startled and horrified by its own contrast with what is, and who turn in all the passion of new-born conviction to force the truth upon a heedless or astonished world." Nor, finally, are they willing that Israel should be without a history during the five hundred years from Malachi to Christ. To be relieved of these difficulties a new scheme is suggested. Instead of "Law, Psalms, Prophets," they propose "Prophets, Law, Psalms." According to this reconstruction the arrangement of Hebrew literature will be briefly as follows:

1. *The Prophetic Narrators*, by whom were written those portions of Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, and Joshua, which may be described as most graphic, pathetic, and picturesque; e. g., Gen. ii, 5–iv, 26; vi, 1–8, etc.; the legislation of these Narrators is to be found in Exod. xxi–xxiii, 19, known as the *Book of the Covenant;* about the end of the..... *9th cent.*
2. *Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah* (i–xxxix.)..... *8th cent.*
3. *Deuteronomist*, in whose writings is to be found a marked advance upon the legislation of the Narrators. This includes among other fragments, Gen. xv, xxvi, 2–5; Exodus xiii, 3–16; xx, 2–17; all of Deut. except a part of chaps. xxii and xxxiv, and some portions of Joshua. This code was introduced by King Josiah in the revival which followed the idolatrous reigns of Manasseh and Ammon..... *7th cent.*
4. *Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Second Isaiah* (xl–lxvi)..... *6th cent.*
5. *Book of Origins, or Priestly Code*, partly narrative, chiefly legislative, marked by two characteristics, love of system, and devotion to ceremonial observances. This includes, together with large portions of Gen., Exod., Num., and Deut., all of *Leviticus*..... *5th cent.*
6. *Psalms;* a few perhaps go back to the 7th, but the most of them must be assigned to the..... *5th–2d cent.*

And now, we may well ask, upon what ground this reconstruction is based? The answer is, *internal evidence.* There is no external *for* it, while it may be said emphatically that there is external evidence *against* it. This point is touched by Dr. Peters in the "Notes from Abroad" of the present number. He says truly that "internal criticism is proverbially unreliable when without all external corroboration." Two important items, therefore, viz., the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch, militate against any theory assigning so late a date to the Pentateuch and to some of the Psalms. Another serious question is found in the attitude of the New Testament writers. We cannot deny that the traditional view is attended with difficulties which in some cases seem inexplicable; but we believe that this proposed reconstruction involves far greater difficulties. If, however, we were prepared to rule out the supernatural, to deny the existence of prophecy, to count as of no weight the words of the Saviour, there is so much in this theory of the plausible, that we might be tempted to adopt it.—Pp. 280–282.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1883. (Philadelphia.)—1. A Limit to Evolution; by Prof. St. George Mivart, F.R.S. 2. Socialism; by Rt. Rev. James O'Connor, D.D. 3. The Chapelle Des Martyrs, and the September Massacre; A Relic of the Revolution. 4. The Catholic Church and Popular Education; by William J. Onahan. 5. How Church History is Written; by Very Rev. James A. Corcoran, D. D. 6. The American Hierarchy in Its Threefold Source: Three Representative Bishops; by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. 7. Jasper in the Apocalypse the Symbol of the Primacy; by Rev. Walter D. Strappini, S.J. 8. Lawlessness and Law in Ireland; by Bryan J. Clinche. 9. Mr. Mozley's Reminiscences of the Oxford Movement; by John Charles Earle, B.A. Oxon.

No writer has better shown the reconcilability of a modified evolutionism with biblicism than Dr. Mivart, the author of the first article in this able Quarterly. His book, "The Genesis of

Species," published soon after Darwin's "Origin of Species," checked the extravagances of "Natural Selection," and obliged Darwin himself to retract. Excellent works have since appeared; but even now we should probably recommend that volume as still the best statement of a tenable middle ground.

In the present article Dr. Mivart maintains, in an extended psychological argument, that the mental difference between animals and man is not of mere degree, but of kind, and so great as to forbid the conclusion that the former could evolve the latter. Brute thought is mere perception of the object without power of abstraction or classification; and the individual perception or sensation is followed as a mechanism by the action. Hence the brute does not intellectively infer, and does not reason. But man is capable of abstraction and classification, and so can reason. He thereby attains the idea of *Being*. It is this that constitutes man. And whatever the *shape* of the animal possessing such power, he would be truly human.

This is, perhaps, a satisfactory argument. And yet the materialist might say that all mind or thought is the same in kind, and that he does not feel called upon to concede that higher organization of brain may not unfold from brute instinct to human reason. The argument is only good for the biblicist himself, as furnishing justification for assumption that man comes into existence by a special pulsation of divine power. And thereby the following statement is justified: "But if rational beings may have arisen in the world thus unobtrusively, it may well be, on the other hand, that the Miocene chippers of flints, however well endowed with sense perceptions and practical imaginations of means adapted to ends, were destitute of the idea of 'Being,' of the powers of analysis and synthesis, and of the power of recognizing classes as such—in a word, may have been but brutes. Their chipping actions need have been nothing more than a further extension of those sensitive faculties by which brutes pursue an escaping prey, jump on mounds, or climb to reach what is out of reach, prepare stakes for their dam, as does the beaver, or employ a stone to crack a hard nut, as does that common ring-tailed monkey, the sapajou—actions such as those before described as being performed to complete a harmony which the imagination craves."—Pp. 219, 220.

Mr. Dawkins seemed involved in dilemma by the French

affirmation of the existence of Miocene flint-chippers. On the one hand they were as Miocene earlier than the high mammal age, and on the other hand the admission of their production by higher apes invalidated the derivation of any chipped flints from human hands. Why, then, might not all the palæolithic flints be chipped by apes as well as the Miocene?

Allowing some force to Dr. Mivart's psychological argument above, we still prefer, at least, to add the solution derived from the old Church view of the threefoldness of man's nature, which he has himself so well illustrated in former publications. Sharing with other animals a body derived from earth, and a *psyche* derived from divinely animated nature, his *pneuma* is inbreathed from above, and constitutes both his immortality and his capacity for the conception of the infinite, and so of his immortality. For the conception of infinity, as seen in duration, becomes immortality; as seen in space, becomes immensity; as seen in being, becomes God. And this whether the materialist allows it or not. And then we comprehend the reality of the tradition of the transcendent Edenic origin of man, attested by both the Bible and the consensus of ethnic antiquity, which Evolutionism is bound to respect.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, April, 1883. (London.)—1. Dr. W. Robertson Smith on the Prophets of Israel; by Prof. W. H. Green. 2. The Marbles of Ancient Rome; by Rev. Hugh Macmillan, D.D. 3. Co-Ordination of Grace and Duty. 4. Moravian Missions; by the Rev. Charles G. M'Crie. 5. Luke, the Beloved Physician; by the Rev. Robert M'Cheyne Edgar, M.A. 6. The New Hebrides Mission and the Polynesian Labor Traffic; by the Rev. John Inglis.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1883. (London.)—1. James Clerk Maxwell. 2. The Development of River Conservancy. 3. The Letters of Synesius. 4. Justin Martyr and the Fourth Gospel. 5. The Antiquity of Man. 6. John Fletcher. 7. The Holy Spirit between the Resurrection and Pentecost.

This is a superior number of this excellent Quarterly, unsurpassed by any Review of the quarter.

James Clerk Maxwell, the subject of the first article, was the equal in science and the superior in varied abilities and acquirements of Faraday, Tyndall, Agassiz, or Huxley. He was born in Edinburgh, 1831, and died, "alas! for us too soon," in 1879. He was a devout Christian and a model man. Elected

to a Professorship at Cambridge, his presence and work created an impulse in that ancient University. Some of his utterances in defense of divine truth have a permanent value at the present day. Especially pertinent in the theistic discussion is the following affirmation of the "manufactured" character of molecules:

> In the heavens we discover by their light, and by their light alone, stars so distant from each other that no material thing can ever have passed from one to another; and yet this light, which is to us the sole evidence of the existence of these distant worlds, tells us also that each of them is built up of molecules of the same kind as those which we find on earth. A molecule of hydrogen, for example, whether in Sirius or in Arcturus, executes its vibrations in precisely the same time. . . . No theory of evolution can be formed to account for the similarity of molecules, for evolution necessarily implies continuous change, and the molecule is incapable of growth or decay, of generation or destruction. None of the processes of nature, since the time when nature began, have produced the slightest difference in the properties of any molecule. We are therefore unable to ascribe either the existence of the molecules or the identity of their properties to any of the causes which we call natural. On the other hand, the exact equality of each molecule to all others of the same kind gives it, as Sir John Herschell has well said, the essential character of a manufactured article, and precludes the idea of its being eternal and self-existent. Though in the course of ages catastrophes have occurred, and may yet occur, in the heavens, though ancient systems may be dissolved and new systems evolved out of their ruins, the molecules out of which these systems are built—the foundation stones of the material universe—remain unbroken and unworn. They continue this day as they were created, perfect in number and measure and weight; and from the ineffaceable characters impressed on them we may learn that those aspirations after accuracy in measurement and justice in action, which we reckon among our noblest attributes as men, are ours because they are essential constituents of the image of Him who, in the beginning, created not only the heavens and the earth, but the materials of which heaven and earth consist."—P. 16.

If the authority of Herschell and Maxwell, then, are sufficient to establish the "manufactured" quality of molecules, we seem to have a refutation of the ancient dogma of the eternity of matter, and a demonstration of both its creation and its adaptation to the purposes of a created system. Have the maintainers of theism sufficiently appropriated this primordial fact? Do they not too carelessly allow the atheist to assume the eternity of the "laws" of matter, and thence deduce the

formation of the cosmic system by laws without a law-maker? And so Chalmers conceded that the argument for God must be based, not upon the existence of laws, but upon "the collocations of matter" into an intellective system. And, before him, Kant maintained that the design argument proved, not a Creator, but only a Formator. But, one by one, theistic defenders seem coming without conscious concert to the more basal ground. Professor Winchell, as we noted in a former Quarterly, argues Deity fundamentally from the nature of force, showing him to be the originator of matter. Professor Cooke, of Harvard, in his *Religion of Chemistry*, argues divine Design from the laws of chemical action, finding God to be the founder of an intellective system of primordial laws, by which the intellective system of the universe assumes form. Dr. Hill, as noticed in our last Quarterly, finds mathematical laws selectively and discriminatively imposed upon nature. Herschell and Clerk Maxwell find the very shape of the molecule imposed upon it, rendering it, as it were, a manufactured *brick* in order to the building of the great edifice of creation. Here, then, we have the chapters for one treatise of Primordial Theism, combining Winchell, Cooke, Hill, and Maxwell, proving God to be not only a Formator, giving shapes to masses of pre-existent matter with its eternal laws, but a Creator of matter, and an Imposer of its laws, *in order to* the production of the intellective system of creation. The atheist is thus deprived of his capital at start. He cannot assume matter and its laws to make his world. The design argument lies back of both.

The article on "The Antiquity of Man" is honorably distinguished by its acknowledgment of American facts and authors on the subject. It admits that Southall and Dawson have effectually rolled back the tide of Sir Charles Lyell's *uniformitarianism.* America has not, indeed, affirmed any difference in the intrinsic nature of physical force; but she has shown overwhelmingly that physical forces have at various periods acted with most stupendous *catastrophic* violence. The calculations based on uniform rates of action are terribly demolished. And then the antiquities based on stalagmite and peats are invalidated. The following questioning of the human origin of the flint implements threatens another blow: "No one can distinguish man's work from those which are the result of

accident. Blake's patent stone-breaker, for instance, gives flint flakes just like the 'prehistoric' ones. Mr. Callard clearly inclines to the notion that the flints are not artificial; Professor Gaudry, on the contrary, followed by Mr. Boyd Dawkins, suggests that they may have been the work of some anthropoid ape, though (as has been shrewdly remarked) no existing apes, not even one of those who use stones for cracking fruits, has ever been seen to make or use a flint flake."—P. 115. And on a further page it is said: "Concerning the Abbé Bourgeois' flints from the mid-miocene strata at Thenay, which were shown with so much confidence at the last Paris Exhibition, Professor Gaudry (*Les Enchainements*, p. 241) suggests, as we said above, that they may have been the work of the great anthropoid ape (*dryopithecus*) then living in France; and, in answer to the sneer that apes nowadays do not make stone implements, Mr. Dawkins remarks: 'It does not follow that the extinct apes did not do so, for some extinct animals are known to have been more highly organized than any of the living members of their class. The secondary reptiles possessed attributes not shared by their degenerate tertiary successors. The *deinosaurs* and *theriodonts* had structural peculiarities now only met with in the birds and the mammalia. In the same way some of the extinct higher apes may have possessed qualities not now found in any living species.'"—Pp. 121, 122. The pre-Adamic man seems to be a somewhat vanishing quantity. Nevertheless, Sir John Lubbock (witness his late Presidential Address) is as tall and undismayed as ever. He never heard, apparently, of Southall and the western hemisphere. And we may here add that the failure of the flint implements would demolish Mr. Abbot's New Jersey pre-Adamite, as well as George Frederic Wright's argument based upon him.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1883. (London.)—1. The True Character of the Pilgrim Fathers. 2. Welsh Education and the Established Church in Wales. 3. Notes on the Reign of Charles II. 4. The Late Bishop Wilberforce. 5. Shakespeare's Immortals. 6. Muratori. 7. Thought and Speech. 8. The Future of English Politics. 9. The Political Survey of the Quarter. 10. Contemporary Literature.

In the Article on "Thought and Speech" we have the following passage on the problem of the formation of the complex forms of inflection and syntax by the early human races:

Among the most remarkable phenomena which are presented by language we must count the inflections and grammatical forms. These follow laws constructed often with great skill, by virtue of which laws the language obtains immense facilities for recording changes of thought. Language is by no means a series of isolated sounds proclaiming isolated notions: it is a system of speech wonderfully provided with instruments, whereby the various relationships which these notions bear to one another can be shown. We thought just now of the words *dico*, *dixi*, *dicere*, etc., only as a group of sounds which contained within them a common idea. But when we look closer at the members of the group, we see that each contains, in addition to the common root sound, the inflection which is full of meaning also. Only in this it is not a meaning of the same kind as that expressed by the root; it is not an idea, but the relationship of an idea to others. The terminations *-o*, *-si*, (in *dixi=dicsi*,) *-ere* contain within them notions at once the most intangible which we can conceive, and the most necessary, if speech is to be a language of reason and not a mere expression of outward sensation. For reason only begins when we can bring things into relationship with one another: grammatical forms and syntax have been the means which all languages employed for expressing the relationship of things. And again, in much the same way that (as Kant has shown) our ideas of things, though infinite in number, so soon as they are considered by reason and in relationship to one another, can be brought within a certain limited number of categories; so in language, however many words there may be, these are all found to be brought under a limited number of grammatical forms. Now what human foresight could have pre-arranged all this wonderful machinery for assisting the reason and almost for demonstrating to the reason how limited the number of its judgments could be despite the infinite diversity of human sensations? The greatest intellect the world has ever produced would be, it may safely be said, incapable of devising a grammar, were no such thing in existence. How, then, does grammar come into being? How do we find grammar not among the cultivated races only, but among quite rude savages, such as some of the African tribes? and find here not an elementary grammar only, but a complex and scientific one. Nothing can be imagined more elaborate than the grammar of our far-away Aryan ancestors, who, if they had learnt the art of plowing, had not learnt it long. Which would be the easier to build, a grammar such as that, or a house with four stories? And yet it would seem that they had the first and had not yet achieved the second. How can such a discrepancy be explained? The closer we look into the real significance of grammatical forms, the more do we see that to appreciate the fact that they all express identical relationships would require a degree of intelligence far beyond the capacities of any ordinary man. In fact, the growth of grammar is simply a mystery which we cannot account for if we limit the intellectual

agency in the world to the intellectual activity of men. Here, if anywhere, is the evidence of an intelligent design in nature.—Pp. 420–422.

The Spinozan explanation is, that language grows or crystallizes out of man as leaves from a tree by natural spontaneity. And nearly that seems the Mosaic view, by which man develops into a speaking linguist as the objects pass before him. Shall we explain the clean-cut differences between different systems of language by their being cleft asunder at Babel?

INDIAN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, April, 1883. (Calcutta.)—1. Mission Work among Lepers in India; by Wellesley C. Bailey, Esq. 2. Brahmoism: The Adi Somaj; by Ram Chandra Bose, Esq. 3. Self-support in the Native Church; by Rev. J. E. Scott. 4. A Question of the Future—Christian Organization in India; by C. E. G. Crawford, Esq. 5. Union of Christians in India; by Rev. J. S. Chandler. 6. Review of the General Decennial Missionary Conference, Calcutta, 1882-83; by Rev. J. P. Ashton, M.A. 7. Hinduism in Opposition to Christianity, as seen at Benares; by Rev. John Hewlett, M.A. 8. The Existing Marriage Laws as they Affect Europeans and Native Christians; by Rev. W. T. Satthianadhan. 9. What is Holy Matrimony? by the Editor.

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN, (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1883. Third Number.—*Essays:* 1. BACMEISTER, The Question of the Moral Order of the Universe. 2. WENDT, Use of the words ἀλήθεια, ἀληθής, and ἀληθινός, in the New Testament. 3. BLEIBTREN, Romans iii, 21–26, etc. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. WEISS, The Question of the Gospels. 2. BEYSCHLAG, On the Preceding Article on the Gospels. 3. KOLDE, Order of the First Evangelical Service of Nüremberg. 4. USTERI, Supplement to the History of Baptism in the Reformed Church. 5. WETZEL, Alpheus and Klopas. 6. NESTLE, On Usteri's "Original of the Marburg Articles." *Review:* HARTMANN, The Religious Consciousness of Humanity in the Order of its Development; review by Dorner of Wittenberg.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE, (Journal for Church History.) Vol. IV, No. 1. — *Investigations and Essays:* 1. DRÄSEKE, Double Conception of the Pseudo-Justinian words, Ἔχθεσις πίστεως ἤτοι περὶ τριάδος. 2. UHLHORN, The Beginnings of the Order of St. John. *Analecta:* 1. LÖWENFELD, The Homilies of Saint Cesarius. 2. MÜLLER, Documents and Manuscripts Concerning the History of the Conflicts among the Minorites in the first half of the Fourteenth Century. 3. SCHNEIDER, A Document of Gregor's von Heimburg. 4. Miscellanea and Book Notices.

In "The Journal for Church History," Uhlhorn gives us a good deal of interesting information in the article on the early history of the Knights of the Order of St. John, which acquires much of its significance, and, doubtless, its publication at the present period, because of the late revival of that famous Order

of the days of the Crusades. The controversies about the beginnings of the Order are now of less import than the prospects of a future, and to these we will devote a few words. After many good and some bad deeds, the Order was finally dissolved in 1811 while in the hands of a Prussian commander. For a long time it had lost its significance, and ceased to pay attention to the sick and needy. The remaining members of the Order found their own personal pleasure in the enjoyment of the livings from possessions of the guild. These latter were finally confiscated by the State, and the Order indefinitely dissolved. King Frederick William IV. was greatly interested in the Holy Land, and found pleasure in reviving whatever might tend to its development in the future. As these knights in the earlier times had done valiant work in the hospitals, and even on the field, in Palestine, this king saw an opportunity of resuming it with the view of regenerating the land. Accordingly, in 1853, he re-established the German Chapter, and made the recently deceased Prince Carl, brother of the present emperor, Grand Master of the Order. This noble gentleman took up the matter of reorganization with great zeal, and closely devoted his entire energies to the good cause. The rich possessions of the Order had been scattered to the winds, and he began with 548 thalers, collected at the assemblage gathered to witness the installation of the new Grand Master. This petty sum showed no enthusiasm in the crowd, and the whispered words pronounced the affair a farce, and out of time and place. But the enthusiastic Prince Carl has made it a grand success in its best spirit. When he was laid away to his rest a few months ago he left behind him an Order numbering 2,087 members, of various grades, and in various parts of Germany no less than 34 hospitals and pest-houses, containing in all 1,397 beds. The Order had also established a hospital at Beirut, with 63 beds, and one in Jerusalem in the old hospice on the Via Dolorosa. Much of this work was done with his own means, and most of the relief afforded to strangers was given voluntarily, asking money only from those who were able to give.

These modern Knights of St. John the Baptist are in this way extending their good work over the Orient, and are acting in most instances as curators of the institutions which they

found, employing the deaconesses as nurses and dispensers of charity to the communities around them. They are peculiarly devoted to the work of relieving that portion of the poor outcasts of the East who else are left to suffer and die alone and unattended, namely, the epileptic and idiotic, and the lepers. They were particularly active in Syria during the persecutions of the native Christians in 1861, and have left permanent hospitals in Beirut and Sidon. In the German wars in 1864, '66, and then with France in 1870, '71, they founded a sort of Christian Commission, and their little mustard-tree grew to great proportions.

In all this work the now-deceased prince was at the front, and despised not the most menial offices to the sick and wounded soldiers, and during the last famous war his brother, the emperor, noticed and favored his work right loyally. In March, 1878, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the restoration of the Order, his majesty addressed to his brother an autograph letter closing with these words: "The review of this period presents to me a gratifying picture of noble and humanitarian effort. It is, indeed, a work of beautiful Christian love, whether amid the misery and sufferings of war, or in times of peace among the many poor and needy without distinction of nation or creed." On this same occasion the members of the Order addressed very affectionate words to the Commander, thanking him for the fidelity displayed in this Christian charity, so largely owing to his energy and Christian zeal. And the very last lines written by the prince himself was a letter addressed to the Crown Prince and Princess on the occasion of their silver wedding, telling them that his contribution was the founding of a new hospital bearing their name. When it reached them he had departed, having finished his work on earth as a veteran brother of the hospital, and a servant of the weary and heavy-laden.

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review.) February, 1883.—1. BOEGNER, Godet's Commentary. 2. Leliévre, The Huguenot Psalter, (continued.) 3. NAVILLE, The Liberty of Religious Associations, (continued.) 4. PUAX, Travels in Scandinavia. Literature of the Period, and Monthly Review, by Pressensé.

March, 1883.—1. NAVILLE, The Liberty of Religious Associations, (continued.) 2. SECRÉTAN, The Relations of Art and Morals. 3. DECOPPET, Literary Notices. 4. E. DE PRESSENSÉ, Review of the Month.

April, 1883.—1. E. DE PRESSENSÉ, Gambetta. 2. X., In Africa. 3. SABATIER, Literary Chronicle. 4. BEAUSSIRE, Report to the Academy of Sciences. 5. NYEGAARD, English Chronicle, Literary Notices by X. Monthly Review by Pressensé.

As will be seen from the above programmes, Naville returns again and again to the subject of liberty of religious associations and possessions, showing how deep is the feeling on the part of the French Protestants in regard to the interference of the state in matters of religion. They are daily becoming more decided in their convictions that the liberal or atheistical authorities of France and Paris have overshot the mark in their dealings with the various religious orders. Naville does not hesitate to condemn in the most decided terms the seventh article of the so-called "Ferry Laws" aimed at the Jesuits; the law that was rejected by the Chambers of the period, at least by the Senate, and then put into execution by the zealous minister on the basis of a law of the revolutionary period of 1790, which had never been repealed. We can do no better than to give Naville's own treatment of this subject in order to show the earnestness and directness with which he proceeds:

"In March, 1880, Minister Ferry issued two decrees, one of which suppressed the Jesuits, and the other ordered all the Congregations to demand the authorization, which would be granted or refused as the government should judge fitting. As there is here no question of the right of property, it is the religious life in common which is submitted to the good pleasure of the government. We may remark here that in France, as in Switzerland, the Jesuits have been the occasion, and in part the pretext, of measures taken against religious communities. It is easy to perceive in the polemics that have taken place in these matters, that the attacks have been habitually directed against the disciples of Loyola, so as to cause a great part of the religious population to forget that all religious orders were attacked indiscriminately. If the Jesuits have to

account, not only for their own faults, but also for all the misdeeds of their adversaries, and of which they have been the occasion, their task will be heavy. They are accused of teaching the maxim that the end justifies the means; it would seem, almost, that the political chiefs who declare themselves their enemies would wish to expel them in order to retain a monopoly of this procedure.

"As to the attacks relative to the moral character of the teaching of the Jesuits, attacks which, in certain cases, and for a few, are unfortunately but too well justified, one listens to them with respect from the mouth of Pascal and the recluses of Port-Royal. But these attacks, coming from the disciples of Voltaire, who are supposed to be acquainted with the writings of their teacher, would excite a smile if one were permitted to smile about so grave a matter. The hatred toward the Order of Jesuits, often genuine and serious, seems also, especially in the case of certain political leaders, a shield which conceals designs more vast than those which are confessed. The Jesuits teach an adulterated religion, but they do teach a religion; and in many cases it would seem that they are attacked more because of the religious element which they preserve and propagate than because of the adulterations which they have introduced. Such, at least, is the opinion of one of my countrymen, a man of heart and mind, who, though a Protestant, does not admit that all means are legitimate as soon as the task is to fight the Church of Rome."

Now to us these are very sad words, coming as they do from the pen of one of the purest and most zealous of the Protestant champions in the present crisis in France, and they do but voice the common sentiment of masses of people in France, namely, that the atheistical leaders have indeed stolen the livery of heaven with which to serve the devil. But, we feel bound to say that Naville has greatly magnified his office, and becomes, in some passages of his articles, which, by the way, would make a fair-size volume, the veritable defender of the Jesuits and the religious orders in his great desire to get even with his antagonists, who, in throwing hot shot at the guilty, have injured many who are innocent.

The national sentiment in France is one great obstacle to the establishment of full religious liberty. At the close of the

conflicts of the sixteenth century the nations of Europe were separated by the diversity of the faiths which they had officially adopted. France and Austria became Catholic countries, while England and some parts of Germany became Protestant states. Religion thus came to form an essential element of nationalities which was not the case in the Middle Ages. Many Frenchmen find it difficult to admit that France can cease to be officially Catholic, as there are not a few Englishmen who will not admit that a Catholic can be a true Briton.

The April number of the Review contains a very fine article on Gambetta, that has found its way to translation and general circulation in this country. It is a little unusual to look for this defense of the fast-and-loose statesman from Pressensé, and this vigorous and bold fighter has had to defend himself for it both at home and abroad. The German religious periodicals are particularly severe on him for much that he says of his hero in his relations to the Fatherland; and he returns with interest the hard blows that he receives. We would enjoy the controversy better if we could divest ourselves of the conviction that Pressensé defends Gambetta in his "religion of revenge" from national prejudice more than from solid and unbiased judgment. We are quite inclined to lay down the proposition that no Frenchman can be just to Germany in the matter of the late war. Contrary to the plainest proofs of history, the French, and all Frenchmen, persist in maintaining that the war was forced upon them, and the country ruthlessly invaded by savage hordes whose main delight, after murdering innocent non-combatants, was to steal all the clocks and bric-a-brac that came in their way.

But the weakness of Pressensé is that of his nation in this regard, and he does not hesitate to beard the lion in his den in the persons of all his countrymen who are now waging war against religion and good morals in their insane attacks on all religious and social organizations. He has recently done a noble thing in Paris in offering to meet all atheists and religious or anti-religious cranks of all shades, and discuss with them in open assembly of their own followers the respective merits of the Christian religion in comparison with their soulless doctrines. He went, therefore, unattended to a noisy assemblage of several thousand of the most stormy of the Parisian

demagogues, collected in a common ball-room adorned with red flags and cockades, and statues of the goddess of liberty adorned with the Phrygian cap. His account of his adventures in this turbid and boiling sea is highly interesting.

The assembly was in a stormy mood, but with rare exceptions the authority of the platform was respected. It was on the whole strangely susceptible, for it applauded the most opposite opinions. To-day it is in favor of extreme "free thought," although it is easy to perceive that atheistic materialism has not yet taken very deep roots, for it vibrates to every generous word of an opposite sense. After some heated accusations against the Sermon on the Mount, as recommending idleness, to which was given in reply the text of Saint Paul that "he who does not work should not eat," Pressensé ascends the platform, and is welcomed by the crowd, who admire his courage in appearing among them on such a bootless errand. His discourse is not entirely free from interruptions, and some of his assertions call forth violent clamor, but he is permitted to go on until the end, and even receives applause for some passages of broad Christian doctrine. He reminds the assembly that the most illustrious representatives of independent science declare that matter is one of the most obscure mysteries, and as no natural force can explain the production of life, he insists on the moral proof furnished by the conscience of the existence of a divine God. A voice exclaims: "Have you ever seen God?" "No, because he is invisible; but I have felt him, and heard all the voice of my conscience reproach me in his name for any evil deed that I have done. I pity those who do not hear this voice; you will hear it some day." These words were received in silence, and the speaker closed by showing them the destiny of the Republic and liberty if they did not obey the God of conscience, who is also the God of the Gospel; and left to the meditation of the assembly the words of Mazzini to the Italian working-men: "Apart from God, whence will you derive the law of right? Without God, whatever may be the system on which you lean, you will be obliged to acknowledge that there is naught else than blind force." Such words, to so wild and turbulent a crowd, were heroism; and the fact that they were quietly received was a genuine victory for a Christian hero.

ART. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE BELGIAN CLERGY AND THE SCHOOLS.

THE most bitter conflict now being waged in all Europe is that between the Belgian clergy and the state in the matter of the primary schools. A few years ago the state determined to make elementary instruction secular and universal, as far as possible, and especially to put the schools into an acceptable condition by means of new and practical modes of teaching that could only be obtained through secular and professional teachers. From the very first step in this direction the priests have opposed the movement with all their influence, even to the extent of establishing every-where schools of their own, and forcing with all the authority of the Church the parents to send their children to the parochial schools to the detriment of the state primary schools. In this they have succeeded so well that they claim now that they have many more children in their schools than are to be found in those supported by the state; and an article to that effect has been going the rounds of the general press.

A few months ago the Belgian Chambers felt it necessary to do something to stem the tide of this baneful and obnoxious opposition to the endeavors of the authorities for the public good, and finally appointed a Commission of Inquiry to make an exhaustive examination into the whole affair and report to the Chambers. Said commission commenced their labors with the Province of Brabant, and thus far they recently reported. And this report shows conclusively the pressing necessity of the work undertaken. The facts brought to light seem simply incredible, and have appalled and exasperated the liberal portion of the nation. The commission accuses the priests of the most downright falsehood in word and deed in relation to all their movements, and declares that they have gotten possession of the local press in all the rural districts, and by means of it and the authority of the Church have introduced a veritable reign of terror among their ignorant and superstitious flocks. And never since the Church and the State have been in conflict in this country has such an annihilating blow been dealt out to priestly power as in this "*Enquete Scolaire*" presented by the commission.

The result, therefore, of this first inquiry proves its necessity and appropriateness. And the Ultramontanes in the Chambers saw so well their defeat beforehand that they absented themselves from the session, and made no effort to defend themselves from testimony that would certainly bring the blush to their cheeks. Their policy has been from the first to protest and deny; this they still continue. We will endeavor in a few words to give the substance of the proceedings, from which, even for us, many lessons are to be learned. The chairman of the commission reported the testimony of ear-and-eye witnesses from

about seventy cantons. About five thousand witnesses were examined under oath, and though the Ultramontanes made the universal plea of denial, they had no success in proving it, and indeed did not even try so to do. So bad were many of the cases brought up that the local priests would feel quite as uncomfortable in having the matter brought to Rome as to Brussels. And the chairman of the commission, in his eloquent speech, summoned the party of the Ultramontanes and the priests before the house and the nation to answer for the spirit of rebellion and discord which they had sown broadcast in the land. "You have broken family ties as well as long-standing friendships and business relations. And as we have traveled over the country, and closely observed the sorrow and sufferings brought upon the people by the priests, we here publicly declare that not only individuals, but the entire Belgian clergy, have violated all their patriotic, moral, and Christian duties, and we appeal to the Ultramontane party for a speedy end to this unholy effort. The facts that we present cannot be gainsaid; will, therefore, the party of the Center identify itself with the clergy? Or will it not rather take upon itself the responsibility of making such representations to the Episcopacy that this body will put an end to these persecutions of the people? This party must now take position for or against the state and the people."

"METHODISM IN GERMANY."

This is the heading of an article in one of the recent issues of the leading organ of the Evangelical Alliance in Germany, and it will, doubtless, be of interest to our readers to know at least the substance of it in order to see the way in which this important question is treated by the more liberal Christians of the Fatherland—premising the remark that we cannot, of course, expect the "Lutheran Churchmen" of the land to notice the movement with any thing else than disgust.

"At the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in Basel the Methodist missionary work in Germany was discussed, mainly by members from Wurtemberg, Baden, the Rhine, and North Germany. In view of the complaints made by the state clergy, which were contested by the Methodists present, a request was presented to the Anglo-American Committee that the Methodists active in Germany might regard the parochial arrangements, and refrain from establishing congregations in Evangelical Church territory. The same subject has been discussed in several publications, mainly by Dr. Christlieb, in his monogram on the 'The Methodist Question in Germany,' and the reply to it by Professor J. P. Lange, of Bonn. Dr. Lange denies the right of Methodists to prosecute their work within the limits of the State Church parishes, and complains that modern Methodism contains much that is unsound and foreign to the German style of Church order and Christian life. Dr. Christlieb, for his part, exposes the defects of our Church life, the weakness of our large parishes, and the shady side of our ecclesiastical processes in the State Churches, on the one hand, and on the other presents the light

side of Methodism, and its influence and successful activity in England and America and the foreign missions; while he at the same time defends the Methodist missionaries against the complaints raised concerning them with testimonies of their peaceful and ecumenical disposition from the mouths of the Methodists themselves. Dr. J. G. Pfleiderer speaks in the same sense in his 'Pictures of American Travel.'

"'The Evangelist,' the organ of the Episcopal Methodists in Bremen, discourses in regard to the two last-named publications as follows: 'We are glad to perceive that the opinion of our activity in Germany within the parish territory of the State Churches is growing more calm, and assuming a less passionate form. And in the same paragraph the assertion is made that the Methodists come among us with no special message as to baptism, etc.,' to the members of other congregations, but preach only the central truths of Christianity, and make no effort to proselytize the members of other Churches. A full defense of Methodist methods may be found in a little work from the pen of the Methodist Episcopal pastor, Mr. C. Weiss; and here we emphasize the fact that the missionaries in Germany are not Americans, but native Germans. Now it is doubtful whether the actual practice may always be in accord with these announced principles. For it seems to us impossible for Methodists to work in our midst without in some measure loosening the bonds of our own members. But we are not, therefore, inclined to think that their presence is prejudicial, though we would prefer that they should work merely as evangelists, and not endeavor to found new and independent Methodist churches among us."

A NEW EGYPTIAN "FIND."

The indefatigable Professor Maspero, Director of the famous Museum for Egyptian Antiquities near Cairo, is again before the scientific world with some new treasures of great importance to the Christian scholar. He has just made a new "find" near Thebes. He has unearthed one of those so-called grotto or cave temples, mentioned sometimes in the annals of the older Coptic Church history, as being built into the old mummy graves. While digging out a sarcophagus in the interior of said cave, a few Coptic inscriptions drew his attention to the remnants of a buried church, the center of which he reached after three days of hard work. Some very interesting inscriptions were now found; among them evidently the closing passage of a sermon directed against the Monophysitic heresy, written in Theban dialect with red ink on a white limestone ground. Also on fragments of tablets of similar material certain sentences from Cyrillus, of Alexandria, concerning the two natures of Christ, together with passages of sermons on the Trinity. The walls of the church were also covered with all kinds of devotional phrases in the Greek, Coptic, and Syriac tongues.

The well-known French scholar, Naville, is now leading the excavations for the Egyptian Exploration Fund with great success in Tel-el-Mashuta, on the Suez Canal; and he has just made several "finds" of

considerable importance to the study of biblical antiquities. Among these are two statuettes containing inscriptions, from which it appears that the biblical Pithom, mentioned in Exodus i, 11, is identical with the first station of the Israelites on leaving Egypt, given as Succoth in Exodus xiii, 20. The full name of this place seems to have been Pithom-Succoth, the former being its religious, and the latter its civil, appellation. And going still further, Naville declares this same spot to be identical with the Heroopolis of the Greeks, meaning a magazine or store-house. One of the statues seems to prove this in bearing the title of a priest as the protector of the store-house of the Temple of Tum. Naville also thinks that he has found the ruins of one of these store-houses in a brick wall surrounding chambers closely walled in. He is firmly convinced of the identity of these uncovered remains with the treasure-cities of Pharaoh mentioned in Exodus i, 11, and he has, therefore, sent several specimens of these excavated bricks to parties in France and Switzerland as venerable relics of the days of the period of oppression of the children of Israel.

Art. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The famous Berlin Assyriologist, Professor Eberhard Schrader, has again gratified all the friends and students of Old Testament history with a new and much enlarged edition of his well-known work, "The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament;" with a supplement by Professor Paul Haupt, now making himself favorably known in this country in the line of Oriental Philology. The present issue is about twice the size of the first edition, and the enlargement is largely in the line of Semitic Philology, which has so greatly grown within the last ten years. The extensive glossary makes it a species of Assyriological Commentary to the historical and prophetical books of the Old Testament. This arrangement makes the work a convenient one of reference for theologians even out of the line of special Assyriological study, and will insure to it a large circulation among biblical scholars.

The latest work of the French *savant*, De Pressensé, "The Origins: the Problem of Knowledge, the Cosmological Problem, the Anthropological Problem, and the Origin of Morality and Religion," is receiving a good deal of attention in France and Germany. The previous labors of Pressensé belonged especially to theological controversy and political discussion. In applying now to pure philosophy his eminent talents as thinker and author, he does not open to them a field entirely new; he only acknowledges the newly-revealed wants on the double arena where he has hitherto exerted his efforts. The questions of origin, which positivism pretended to interdict to the human mind, have now taken the first place in the researches and polemics and passions of our own epoch among the Positivists themselves. The theologian, Protestant or Cath-

olic, would be behind his era were he to confine himself to the dogmas which divide the Christian communions, or which distinguish faith from reason. He would be lingering in the rear did he feel no other work before him than that of combating the negations or the doubts which confront him in the name of science. He meets bold affirmations, and haughty and absolute solutions of these same problems which were to disappear with ancient theology and metaphysics, and which are now revived under the name of positive, experimental, and scientific theories of the origin of things. This rash philosophy and pretended science, the liberal politician, the Christian firmly attached to the principles and traditions of free investigation, now combats as philosopher and scholar, and the Christian and the scientific world will stop and listen to him.

In reply to the insolent device of the Parisian Socialists, "*Ni Dieu ni Maitre*"—Neither God nor Master—the well-known French author and statesman, Jules Simon, has issued an appeal to the more sober-minded of his countrymen, bearing the significant title, "*Dieu, Liberté, Patrie.*" This distinguished patriot appeals to his countrymen in the most persuasive tones to stop a moment in their thoughtless onslaught on every thing that pertains to religion, and to look again before they decide to banish God from the family and the school, and to wage a war against all religion, thinking that they are thus fighting political tyranny. The book is mainly directed against the notorious *seventh article* of Minister Ferry's programme, and is skillful in argument as it is perspicuous and persuasive in its rhetoric. It is poignant in the way in which it puts the pressure on the sore places in recent French policy. Simon greatly regrets that so much of the policy of the day is founded on that of the Revolution and the legislation of 1789, and he appeals for a new policy based on what may be learned from the many errors in the legislation of that period, instead of being a mere renewal of it. Simon was once the idol of the French radical reformers; but they have gone far beyond him, too far, we fear, to hear his sententious and significant words.

A queer theological quidnunc has unearthed some old laws proclaimed by the Prince of Wied to his irreligious subjects in 1761. They seemed to need the rod of discipline, and he applied it with a sternness and severity that remind us of the fabulous Blue Laws falsely attributed to New England: "1. Every Sunday and religious holiday all the able-bodied members of a household must go to church, except one to take care of the house, under a penalty of one florin. 2. One florin fine for keeping on one's hat during prayer or sermon. 3. All babbling or other noise in the church will be visited with the same fine. 4. Every Friday and fast-day at least one member from each household must attend church, under penalty. 5. The elders of the churches must hand to the pastor a list of all persons who violate these regulations, under a penalty of ten florins fine for neglecting this duty. 6. The pastor must make a monthly report of these delinquents to the authorities, and the following Sunday this report must be publicly read in all the pulpits of the land."

ART. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

A Critique of Design-Arguments. A Historical Review and Free Examination of the Methods of Reasoning in Natural Theology. By L. E. HICKS, Professor of Geology in Denison University, Granville, Ohio. 12mo, pp. 417. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

The special leading purpose of Professor Hicks' Critique is to draw a separation in natural theology between the argument from *Order* and the argument from *Design*, leaving to the latter alone the term *Teleology*, and for the former coining the new and euphonious term *Eutaxiology*. And the writer's main position is that *order* is a mark of *intelligence*, proved to be such by induction, distinctly and independently of all thought of purpose or *end*. The theistic argument, then, is properly divided into two great co-ordinate departments, Eutaxiology and Teleology. He then draws out a full-length and interesting history of Natural Theology, characterizing each leading author in succession in a style of concise, lucid, and trenchant criticism, but bringing each one to the test of having clearly distinguished the *order* argument from the *end* argument. If the author boggles or falters in making this distinction, he is in the end summarily executed. And as the Professor at the first announces himself as primal originator of this true distinction, of course the summary execution aforesaid becomes nearly a total massacre.

It is pleasant and usually profitable to see a scientist come down from his high chair in the domain of science into our humbler arena, with the profession, and as in the present case with the reality, of being well read in a department of theology, and being for the time an actual theologian. The converse has usually been the real fact; the theologian has, like Buckland, Hitchcock, and Dawson, more usually become a scientist. Our present instance plays a trenchant part. His style is clear, concise, trenchant, often sarcastic, and always readable. His sentences speak for themselves immediately and upon a single reading. His logic is vigorous if not always conclusive. And if he now and then, as a live scientist, feels it becoming to snub the theologians as an inferior class of intellects, it is simply the fashion of his guild. Without a due degree of superciliousness he would be an inadequate representative of his class.

But has he made out his thesis that eutaxiology is co-ordinate with teleology? We think that his new term is worthy of

acceptance by theists, and that his argument is valuable in drawing a fuller attention of theistic writers to the importance and value of the order argument. But we fail to cognize that eutaxiology is any thing more than a subordinate of teleology. An eutaxy is not seen to be objectively impregnated with intelligence as with a subtile element. Intelligence is seen in eutaxy only as it is seen to be *wrought by an intellective power*, and so it seems to be teleological in its inferences. Order is no otherwise a proof of intelligence than as being established by an intelligent being; and so being a designed *end* is purely teleologic. Even our author seems to say this much, abundantly. Thus, in a fine passage on page 17, he says: "What, then, is this impressive fact of celestial harmony —this majestic and orderly movement of vast bodies through boundless space—what is it but a divine thought *impressed* upon the Cosmos? Chemical combinations obey the law of definite and multiple proportions; can nature count them? Crystals present, some simple and complete, others modified and complex, geometrical forms; is nature a *geometrician?* Plants and inferior animals are built upon the radiate plan, the higher animals, having, on the contrary, distinct right and left sides, dorsal and ventral aspects; is there any thought of symmetry in this? or any thought of symmetry and number both in the parts of flowers and the fractional series in phyllotaxy? Men, then, are the 'types of structure' in zoology—a definite pattern or fashion running through whole classes and sub-kingdoms; a *plan* it would seem, and so the comparative anatomists call it." Here in every instance the eutaxy is traced to a designing formative agency. Thought is said to be "*impressed* upon the Cosmos;" "chemical combinations *obey*," etc.; that is, are designedly overruled. And so the terms *built, pattern, plan*, are all the expression of teleology. And again he says: "The fundamental proposition of eutaxiology is, that order and harmony are marks of intelligence. They imply that there has been *a preconceived plan* to which the phenomena in question have been made to conform." What can be more teleological than a *plan preconceived* to which the phenomena have been *made to conform?* It supposes an *end* predetermined and accomplished.

The Professor, somewhat untenably we think, satirizes the old teleologists for affirming the maxim that all things were made for man. And he rejects indignantly the claim that adverse things in the world are explicable on the theory that a mixed condition of things is a condition of human development and

probation. He does this without deigning an argument, with a somewhat lofty flounce.

And yet there appears a grand truth in the maxim of these "old teleologists," that *all things were made for man.* It is luminously written, however invisible to our dear Professor's keen eyes, not only on the records of Genesis and the moral consciousness of man, but on the monuments of science. By this it is not meant that in being made for man in the great scheme they are not made for themselves, and for each other, also. We recollect that Pressensé once very acutely analyzed the profound system by which the Pope made it the highest interest for the Romanistic priesthood to sustain the highest claims of the Pope's supremacy; so that the priests existed not only for their own dear selves, and for each other, subordinately, but for the successor of St. Peter supremely. They magnified themselves and each other most by clothing him with infallibility and arming him with omnipotence; so, in the system of our creation, it is every animal for himself and for each other, and all for man. The best scientists of our own day have found, in the very anatomical make of the lower species, types and prophecies pointing to man as the final aim of all. All were constructively and predictively for man. And if we rightly contemplate the great fact, referred to on another page, that new-species creation ceased when man appeared, we may not only see that all were so estopped for man's sake, but we may realize how the structure of the earth was constructed to furnish a theater for man's great probationary drama. And if man be, as we suppose Professor Hicks believes, an immortal being, and especially if a probationary being with eternal alternatives before him, then he is more valuable, not only than the entire globe of dead matter, but of the entire mass of perishable animal forms that preceded him. Subordinately the earth existed for itself and for those transient landholders; subordinately they existed for themselves; but supremely they existed as an introductory predictive and tributary prelude to the probationary drama of Immortals. Hence we stand unflinchingly before Professor Hicks' peremptory irony: "In his [Henslow's] view all the physical evils which affect the brute creation, and have harassed *them* [*sic*] with pain and suffering, and done them to death [*sic*] by millions during long ages before man appeared upon the scene, all this was for the sake of surrounding man with inideal [unideal, realistic] circumstances. This may be very orthodox theology, but it is derived from some other source than nature."

Yes, sir, it is "very orthodox theology;" and it is based upon "nature," moral consciousness, and Holy Writ. It is the adamantine rock of truth, and the Professor might as well attempt to storm Gibraltar with a battery of green peas as to disturb its foundations. For is not this mixed scene of woe and weal the necessary condition for the battle of Immortality? Can immortal man's character of heroic excellence be attained without hard battle and sublime conquest? And if Darwin was right, in an imaginative moment, in descrying "something sublime" in a vast pile of mere successive animal generations, how much more sublime to find them an epic of long-ascending progress, winding off in the glorious triumph-field of millions of immortal victors! Mr. Beecher lately said, suggestively, "that pain is an educator." Struggle is a gymnasium that forms robust and exalted being. Physical difficulties train the body, the basis of the whole personality, to hardness and power; stratagem and adventurous problem develop the brain and enlarge the intellect; temptations and trials, both of an adverse and of a seductive quality, form the moral character, and prepare it for the reception of the inbreathed personal *spirit*, by which man enters on his probationary training for an immortal survivorship. If Prof. Hicks thinks the prelude is a very long one for a short after-piece, we reply, that God is slow and patient because God is eternal. He is no way nervous or fretful with this long preparatory lapse of time. And how short or long the after-piece—that is, of our probationary time—will be, no one knows; but this we may know, that the trilogy goes in its part third into eternity and has no end.

After Haeckel our Professor denounces the "absurdity" of supposing "sin, disease, crime, despair, and death" are "the means" of "probation for man." Our answer is that the misery and despair of the animal ages preluding man are exaggerated. Let us see.

Animal life has been in all ages an enjoyment. This fact in behalf of the Creator is universally proclaimed by the unanimous suffrage of all animal beings. Do they not flee from death as the highest evil just because *life is the highest blessing?* Do they not defend the life that God has given them with their highest bravery and their utmost strength? And animal annihilation is in itself, apart from pain in dying, no suffering, for the nonexistent does not suffer after death any more than before birth or being. Prof. Clifford, an eminent disbeliever in immortality, prescribed to be written on his tombstone that cessation in

nothingness is no evil to be regretted, for the non-existent cannot regret. And slight, probably, is the pain of dying. A physiologist in a late "Popular Science Monthly" maintained that even for man death is painless. Dr. Livingstone, who was once nearly shaken to death by a lion, declares that there was a pleasure in the sensation. It is quite possible that the mouse, when dandled by the paws of the playful cat, enjoys the fun nearly as well as pussy herself. Once, in Florida, we saw a winged limpkin in the hands of a ruthless sportsman, who was breaking the poor bird's limbs for relics, slowly fading away with its beautiful eyes into death, as if soothed into a sweet slumber, and we doubt not it suffered less pain than the pitying beholder. And what is that "despair" but the hopelessness of retaining an earnestly loved existence? And yet what is that so much dreaded "death" but a mere cessation? The insect and the animal, then, are organisms animated with a glimpse of life, briefly enjoyed, and then ceasing. We do suppose that, with their inferior nervous systems, they enjoy less and suffer less than man. No animal below man, not even the scorpion, commits suicide. Schelling said that nature sleeps in vegetables, dreams in animals, and lives in man. God gives the animal a dreamy glimpse of life, and death is nothing but its stopping. And we do suppose that the lower natures of animals, like the natures of lower men, find their highest happiness in the raptures of the fight. Intellectual and moral beings, like professors of geology and students in theology, look upon peace as the condition of happiness; but lower natures, like pugilists, duelists, and many soldiers and heroes, as well as lions, wild cats, serpents, and wasps, despise such monotony, and think no life worth living which is not rife with excitement, battle, danger, and death. With mere animals there is no immorality in all this, for they are no more moral beings than the cliffs that break in avalanches or the cyclones that sweep the prairie. As the brave soldier prefers death in battle by sword, by bayonet, or by artillery, to death by disease, so the lower animal, if he could choose, would prefer to die by the shark's tooth, the serpent's venom, or the sportsman's shot, rather than by slow starvation. And when we remember that life is basally an enjoyment, we may recognize all the glad-like motions and voices of animals as showing a superstructure of happiness overlying that base. Do not all the voices from lower nature denounce the heresy of Pessimism? In spite of the Professor's taunt, we recognize with Paley proof of enjoyment "in the gambols of the shrimp," in the riotous

song of the mocking-bird, in the magnificent soar of the eagle. Take the sum total of pleasant existence, and it stands a grand majority over the sum of suffering. The whole animal world is in virtual contract with the Creator to endure all the pain for the sake of the vast amount of gratification. And the man does not well understand God and nature who does not read in the palæontological ages scenes of enjoyment, humble and homely, dreamy and yet excited, predicting the unfolding in the future of the kingdom of God on earth to be inaugurated by the advent of Man.

Nor do we quite concur with the Professor in satirizing "the old teleologists" for finding design in minute adaptations and uses. Sir Isaac Newton said: "It seems probable to me that God, in the beginning, formed matter in solid, massy, hard, impenetrable, movable particles, of such size and figures, and with such other properties, and in such proportions to space, as most conduced to the end for which he formed them!" This conception he applies specially to the astronomical bodies, but why not also to all the other relations between nature and the living beings on the globe, and supremely man? God has so formed matter as to be malleable and pliable to all the uses of a creature framed like man with wonderful prehensile and manipulating limbs and formative intellect; and he has so adjusted the body, limbs, intellect, and propensities of man that between man and varied nature there arises a correlation rife with a history of infinitely numerous minute correlations all foreknown to the divine Mind, and all comprehended in the divine Plan. Thence we may say, loosely, Every thing is made for the uses, good and possibly bad, of man. And the number of minute designs and uses is infinite. Was the goose-quill meant for man to write with? Yes; for it was endowed with the definite properties; and man was so framed as to be developed to a period when that would be needed and suitable; and the divine Author of human history truly foreknew that combination. We therefore take no stock in Prof. Hicks' disgust at such a countless number of petty instances of designed utility as are found in the books of "the old teleologists." We do believe, for instance, that the mouth was made to bite a piece of food fairly proportioned to the capacity of the stomach. Nor are we at all defeated when a particular teleology is found to be based on a mistake as to scientific fact, or even three successive mistaken facts, (as adduced by the "Westminster Review,") for in each case, however

mistaken as to fact, the reasoning was right, and the supposed correlation would be a fair and true case of design.

Mr. Hicks assumes the chair professorial, and gives a lecture magisterial, to the Theologians, in the style of his guild, on their dealings with Darwinism. He assumes the truth of the current error that they have abused Darwin personally; that they have opposed his *ism* bigotedly; and he advises, as a prudent course, that theologians never take issue with new scientific theories. His facts are mistakes and his advice is rigmarole. The record will show, we think, that the first grand onset made on Darwinism was made by the great secular Quarterlies, from scientists, and on scientific grounds. And then our Professor ought to know that all startling new science must, of necessity and right, be subjected to crucial scrutiny by the old science. All new announcements of truth are bound to stand trial and demonstrate their right to exist. This is the law, and a rightful law. Science obeys it, and fights the new-comer just as truly as Theology. In fact, it may with great truth be said, that the old exploded interpretations of the Bible were simply but old science concreted around the text, so that the original blunder was imported from old science. The concretion was so perfect that it seemed an identification with the text itself, and to remove it seemed to be a laceration of the records. Such being the case, the advice given either to scientists or theologians to drop at the first shot from the pretended new science, though it be but a blank cartridge, is about as wise as "the Pope's bull against the comet." Both Scientists and Theologians will rightfully challenge the new claimants, require exhibition of the credentials, demand their subjection to the most critical tests, and finally accept them as science when duly and conclusively verified. And this is the rightful course Theologians have pursued.

Our author furnishes a genial review of Janet's "Final Causes," in which he passes some condemnatory criticisms upon the use of the *word* "cause" as a designation of the *intended results* or so-called *ends* of an agent's action, which we consider entirely just. To say that the *end* at which an agent aims, teleologically, is a *cause* of the aim, in the sense of necessitating as all positively efficient cause does, is making two really efficient causes, and is contradictory to volitional freedom. And we may add that the word *end* as now used in teleology is not much better. The ordinary use of the word *end*, which ever obtrudes itself upon the thought, even in teleological discourse, is *termination beyond which there is no*

subsequent, as the *end* of a chain; whereas the teleological *end* is often only a middle link. Nor does the word *end* in teleology suggest a previous process of which it is the special conclusion, as the word *result* does. The form *intended-result* precisely designates the thing. And the best single term is that used by Dr. Winchell, *intentionality*. But while indorsing and, perhaps, even extending the Professor's criticisms thus far, we dissent from his statement, for which he quotes Lesage and Janet, that "the final cause is the *motive* that determines an intelligent being to will an end." Certainly not. The end is that *result*, or object, which the agent intends to accomplish; the motive is the *inducement* on account of which he intends the *end*. For instance, be the *end* or intended-result the killing of a man, the *motive* for such an end may be revenge, or robbery, or the removal of a rival or obstacle. And if by a change of the status you make either of these motives the *end*, you will find some other point coming into view as *motive* for that *end*.

Methodism and Literature. A Series of Articles from several writers on the Literary Enterprise and Achievements of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Edited by F. A. ARCHIBALD, D.D. With a Catalogue of Select Books for the Home, the Church, and the Sunday-School. 12mo, pp. 427. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1883.

This volume contains twenty-five essays written upon our Church literature by leading pens among us; an extended catalogue of books, by authors not all Methodists, for the guidance of all who inquire what to read; a catalogue of books of missionary literature specially; the whole being supplemented with an index of authors specified. It is an interesting survey of our literary past, and some of the articles are vigorous and inspiring.

We have croakers among us whose *animus* is to depreciate all that comes from our own press. And, to the croaker's eye, all commendation of our literature from our own press is set down as perfunctory buncombe. They may indeed feel a little startled when an outside authority speaks in eulogistic terms. To them it comes like an unexpected thought when the *Evangelist* says, frankly: "No religious body in this country can present, we believe, so various and extensive a collection of denominational literature as the Methodist Church."

Among the writers, Dr. Hunt appropriately gives a succinct history of our Book Concern. It increases our denominational self-respect to realize that the inauguration of a literature was

one of the earliest enterprises on which our founders entered. And we think, too, how much was lost when the twice-burning of Cokesbury College so discouraged our fathers that they gave up collegiate work as disapproved by Providence, and then, as if in self-defense, fell to depreciating college education and "college-made preachers."

Dr. Walden, in an article on Circulation of our Literature, rich with factual and statistical arguments, shows *what has been done*, what we *have failed to do*, and what we *must do*. As to the first point, he says:

> The books and periodicals, as compared with those of other denominations, have been relatively cheap, and, a large proportion of them having been sold by the Book Concerns and Depositories at a discount from the retail or published price, the margin of profit has not been large, and yet the sales have been so great, as to yield an aggregate profit of about three million dollars since the New York Book Concern was destroyed by fire in 1836. During this forty-five years (notwithstanding the loss by fire in Chicago, in 1871, and the losses on non-paying periodicals and depositories established by General Conference, aggregating about four hundred thousand dollars) there has been an increase of $1,136,196 54 in the net capital of the two Book Concerns; and there has been paid out by order of General Conference, during the same period, above fifteen hundred thousand dollars for the benefit of the worn-out preachers, for the support of the Bishops, and for other connectional purposes, including $366,909 62 to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, under adjustment of the suit brought in the United States Supreme Court. The amount received for the books actually put into circulation in 1881 was $874,191, and for the periodicals, $494,334; total, $1,368,525. During the past thirty years, (since 1851,) the sales of books and periodicals by the New York Book Concern and its Depositories have amounted to $16,997,331 28; of Western Book Concern and its Depositories, $15,194,931 02; total in thirty years, $32,192,262 30.

But while our *periodicals* have, as time passes, increased immensely, our books, even Sunday-school books, are circulated fewer, in proportion to our people, than formerly. Our ministry are professedly too busy, perhaps really too proud, to engage in the poor old Wesleyan business of circulating books. As one remedy, Dr. Walden enlarges upon the value of church libraries; and these will be established, and our Church become a reading Church, just in proportion to the interest the pastor takes in the enterprise. Our impression is that herein we need a great "revival" among our ministry.

Dr. Arthur Edwards next gives us a stirring answer to the query why Methodism prints. Whitefield said that the devil should not have all the good tunes, and Dr. Edwards thinks ditto of the effective machinery. "In the olden time, as well as now," he says, "our power and influence were, apparently, more in the pulpit and on the platform, but we believe the paramount influence was in the tract, leaflet, biography, hymn book, and Scripture,

which came from the Methodist presses, and were read and read again when the itinerant was absent or asleep. We make this point coolly and confidently."

Next comes what we may call a trilogy on the right and the wrong sort of reading. First, Dr. James M. Freeman gives a scathing condemnation of pernicious literature, especially of the "dime novel" class. Rev. N. B. C. Love furnishes a neat essay on what we do read, and what we should read. Next, Dr. Ross Houghton closes the triad with a full and eloquent portraiture of the *evils of indiscriminate novel-reading.* This trilogy is a pealing alarm which our ministry should hear. We asked a young minister, Did you ever preach a sermon on *Reading?* Answer, No. Did you ever hear one preached? No. Did you ever hear of one being preached by any body? No. Do you not think that one ought to be preached annually by every minister? Yes. It is reading, now, that forms the public character. It is bad reading, both immoral and irreligious, that is fearfully threatening to form it to a debased and ruined model. And yet so momentous a topic, so full of thrilling and ominous interest, is left untouched almost unanimously by our pulpit. A moral *Index Expurgatorius* ought to be established by the strong moral sense of the Christian Church.

Five essays next unfold the character of our literature in its varied departments. Our biographical literature is exhibited richly by Dr. Watkins; our historical by Dr. Hoyt, of the Western Advocate; hymnological by Dr. Hemenway; biblical, theological, and doctrinal ably set forth in two essays by the editor, Dr. Archibald. Among the contributors of the remaining essays of the volume we find Dr. Fowler, Bishop Warren, Dr. Alabaster, and Dr. Wise. Of particular practical value are two by Dr. Wise on the ideal of a Sunday-school library, and a plan for organizing a church library.

In the survey of our literature, of course, absolute completeness could not be expected. The five essays could be expanded into a volume. The editor has well performed his task, both in his selections and his original contributions. Several fine *brochures* have been overlooked. One of the finest essays that ever proceeded from a Methodist pen is young Randolph Mercein's book on Natural Goodness. Our belief has ever been that had his life been spared to us he would have been about the brightest star in our intellectual firmament. But we are most surprised to look in vain for any characterization of the mind and writings of that

pure son of genius, Bishop Edward Thomson. Had this volume been issued from our New York house, free as our East and West are from sectional jealousy—we wish our North and South were equally free—it might be thought that we neglected him from our want of due appreciation. But when his own West, where his name still wakens its rich enthusiasm, forgets, we Easterners just venture respectfully to ask the reason why.

One of the advantages of our Book Concern to young Methodist authors has not been sufficiently realized. A manuscript is offered to the publishers, and the editor finds it meritorious but not remunerative with our special market. The author is then told to go to a leading publisher, and offer his book with the assurance to the publisher that our house will take a small edition. Under that inducement more than one work has already been published.

Elements of Methodism. A Series of Short Lectures addressed to one Beginning a Life of Godliness. By D. STEVENSON, D.D. Small 12mo, pp. 183. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1883. Price, 75 cents.

Dr. Stevenson was "at a loss to know what book to select" for the use of young converts and probationers, and so made one himself. He has made a good one. It is on much the same plan as Dr. Bostwick Hawley's "Manual" and Binney's "Theological Compend," which have for some time stood as predecessors in the same field, but have not rendered successors and coadjutors like Dr. Stevenson superfluous. His purpose is to transmute the solid meat of the Articles, the Ritual, and the Discipline into milk for babes. Avoiding the technicalities of the theological expert and the profundities of theology itself, he clothes the simpler lines of our theology in popular style, easy of comprehension, while correct in statement and worthy of all circulation broadcast.

But there is one thing wanting in this work and in its predecessors. Though in the form of lectures, we have not discovered one instance of direct address to the dear young convert trusting in a glorious salvation and aspiring for the full enjoyment of communion with saints on earth. There is no use, we believe, of the second person, singular or plural. There is no emotion, no unction, no tenderness, no joy. We know no model in this respect like the old Heidelberg Catechism. There, for instance, the catechized is not treated to merely an abstract statement of the doctrine of the atonement, but he is most tenderly taught, with strict doctrinal truth, how the blessed Saviour died on

account of his sins to bring him into holiness and heaven. It is possible to state every article of our faith with direct address in winning, emotional language. We need not divide the emotional from the didactic, having one part for the dogma and another part for the "application," one part for the head and another part for the heart, but both should be identified into one. We have done this in our preaching, and so the people have loved our Methodism, and have taken in our theology without knowing that it was theology, just as Moliere's man had been speaking "prose" all his life without knowing that it was "prose." But when we come to our catechisms—what petrifactions! Not one of them, we fear, is fit to win a child's heart. And our "popular compendiums" and probationers' manuals, though better, are not very much better.

Suggested Modifications of the Revised Version of the New Testament. By ELIAS RIGGS, D.D., LL.D., Missionary of the A. B. C. F. M. at Constantinople. 12mo, pp. 94. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1883.

Dr. Riggs published some years ago a volume of suggested emendations of the Authorized Version of the Old Testament, which, as published by anticipation, is available for the use of the Revisers beforehand. His *suggestions* for the New Testament are available only for a retouching the revision already made, which he intimates that a majority of the Revisers themselves are convinced to be necessary in order to public acceptance; an ultimate acceptance which he thinks desirable.

From his long residence in the East, and his rare familiarity with oriental dialects, as well as his sound judgment, any *suggestions* from him are entitled to and will receive very respectful attention. Of the New Version he says: "It would take far more space than these suggestions occupy to mention the places in which, in my judgment, they have greatly improved the common version, removing many inaccuracies, infelicities, and inconsistencies." The method he suggests for the retouching indicates the prime causes that have produced the defects which are the obstacles to the adoption of the new work. "The Revision Committees should put the general care of the work into the hands of a sub-committee of at least three men, who should devote their whole time to it as long as it is in progress. Such a committee would be able to render available all the aid offered from without, to watch over the thorough consistency and harmony of the different parts of the version, and to report to the general

committees the changes needed to secure these objects. Devoting their whole time and energy to it, they would be far more likely to keep in mind the great variety of points, often minute, which demand attention in the progress of such a work, than ten times as many men of equal ability who are earnestly devoting six sevenths of their time to other duties." Such a comprehensive revision of the whole work, bringing it into unity, inviting suggestions, both written and printed, from all quarters of Christian scholarship, and availing itself of the plentiful discussions that have taken place, would, we trust, secure a version which the public would finally accept.

God's Timepiece for Man's Eternity. By GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D.D. 12mo, pp. 445. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1883.

Dr. Cheever is a stalwart Protestant Evangelical. The Bible is to him, in thought and word, the word of God. Like Wesley, he holds that "God hath written a book," and above all other authorship and all other literature he would say, "Give me that Book." He believed in what Gilbert Haven called "a whole Bible."

And he places the argument on the true ground—Christ. The Old Testament is Christ foreshadowed; the New Testament is Christ narrated. Such special pleadings as Professor Browne's slender attempt in the Independent at showing Christ's non-acknowledgment of Moses' authorship of the Pentateuch would reach him as a volley of small shot would an iron-clad. And this is the true, firm, unwavering position maintained by him with a healthful spirit; not because he is impervious to valid argument, but because there is no valid argument to be encountered. The Bible of the ancient Jewish Church, of the Samaritan and the Septuagint Versions, of Christ and his apostles, of the early and later Christian Church, is, essentially and as a whole, whatever special passages may have been interpolated as admitted by a duly wise conservatism, is the CANON which no assault can invalidate or bring into patient debate, except as with actual infidels alone.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

The Theories of Darwin, and their Relation to Philosophy, Religion, and Morality. By RUDOLF SCHMID. President of the Theological Seminary at Schönthal, Würtemberg. Translated from the German by G. A. Zimmermann, Ph.D. With an introduction by the Duke of Argyll. 12mo. pp. 410. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg, & Co. 1883.

An important contribution to the discussion of the question of the Antiquity of Man awakened by the genius of Darwin. It is especially valuable to us as giving a historical view of the predecessors of Darwin, of his successors and exaggerators, and of the position of the present public mind of Germany on the subject. He refers also to England, but seems uninformed of any American writers, mentioning no scientists but Leidy and Marsh slightly, and entirely silent of Dawson, Southall, Winchell, and Le Conte.

Very properly, though not happily, in his selection of technics he distinguishes the theory of Origins into three questions, namely, of Descent, of Evolution, and of Natural Selection. The doctrine of *Descent* signifies the genetic origin of all species by births from one primeval ancestry, and is what we would call *genetic derivationism*. *Evolution* implies that such descent has always been without sudden leaps or transmutations, and is opposed to what Le Conte styles "paroxysmal generation," but admits only of the normal variation. This we consider a narrowing of the generic comprehension of this term productive of ambiguity. *Natural Selection* implies that all the varieties of species arise from merely normal variations most favorable to existence, thus producing the survival of the forms most adapted to persist. Our author believes that the scientific mind at the present time increasingly maintains the doctrine of *Descent* or *Derivationism*. *Evolution* in its stringent form seems declining, and *Natural Selection* still more so. The *fourth* view, what he calls *heterogenic generation*, that is, transmutation by leaps, sudden transformism; and a *fifth* view, called by him "primitive generation," (but which, being parentless, is no "generation" at all,) that is, original species-creation, he believes may ultimately obtain acceptance by the public mind of the future. But he concludes that at the present time neither of these views is demonstrated, all being as yet in a state of "hypothetic" uncertainty.

This historical and scientific survey forms Part First of the volume. Part Second discusses the relations of Darwinian Theo-

ries in Reference to Religion—that is. to Theism and Biblicism —and to Morality. The general view maintained is that, limited to its true significance and modesty, (with raving Hæckelism eliminated,) Derivationism is hostile to neither Theism, Religion, nor the Bible.

The style is full, flowing, and animated. The spirit of the author is frank and candid. But the translator should have brought him into briefer sentences and a more easy and lucid English. His diction is sometimes circumlocutory, his periods are often long and involved, requiring the rapid reader often to stop, and re-peruse both single sentences and extended paragraphs and chapters. The compensation is that, if interested in the subject, you are amply rewarded for both the perusal and the study of a very symmetrical and complete exposition.

To our view Dr. Schmid concedes too much to the argument for the antiquity of man from the fossil remains. He marshals out the old and well-refuted instances of the Neandersthal skull, the Engis skull, and also two human skulls from Coblentz in 1873, in which were "eight marks of lower formation." The Neandersthal skull was really superior to the average Malay skull; the Engis was, as Mr. Huxley said, "a fair average human skull." The scarcity of questionable skulls is a great disproof of their being members of a great past race. As to the skull with its "eight marks," Southall furnishes the following exemplar caution against mistaking modern idiots for ancient fossils.

> The Anthropological Society of Berlin [M. Virchow remarked] had recently received two skulls, one belonging to a man, the other to a woman, obtained in some excavations at Athens, and contemporary with the Macedonian epoch. These crania had a capacity, said M. Virchow, "which was at the present day regarded as insufficient to give a normal physical development. That of the female had the capacity of the cranium of a savage of New Holland: the other was a little larger. One might regard that of the woman as Mongolian by its anatomical characters, and if it had been found at Foorfoos it would certainly have been considered *as coming from a very inferior and very primitive race.*"

Nevertheless, it belonged to a woman named Glykera, and her rank was indicated by the precious relics found in her tomb.

Highest in authority on the origin of man, our author ranks Von Baer, "the pioneer in the region of the history of individual development;" and some of the views attributed to him are very noteworthy. Von Baer "is by no means disinclined to the idea of the origin of species through descent, whether in gradual development or in leaps;" but he confesses "with a modesty worthy of acknowledgment his *total ignorance concerning the*

manner in which certain forms of life, especially the higher ones, originated. The origin of higher species without the supposition of a descent is to him unexplainable, because the individuals of these species are, in their first development of life, *so dependent on their mother.* Furthermore, he points out the fact that in early periods of the earth the organic forming power which ruled *must have been a higher one than it is at the present;* in like manner as the first period of life in the embryonic development of individuals is to-day the most productive. This higher power of organization, he says, could consist in a higher power of *changing organisms into new species,* as well as a higher power of *producing a new species* through primitive generation, [that is, parentless origination of new forms;] or it could consist in both. In general, there is no reason to suppose that primitive generations which took place at the first origination of life on earth, could not have been repeated later and oftener. The nearer a generation was to these individuals originated through primitive generation, the greater was undoubtedly its flexibility and changeableness; the farther, the greater the fixity of type."

Here are utterances that seem almost to put us back to the Mosaic evolution and parentless creation of man.

1. The highest science here confesses, after all the boasts of having explained every thing, a "total ignorance" as to the origination of the highest forms. Science therefore vacates the field, and leaves it to (not "*special* creation" as it has been absurdly called, but to) organic and law-ruled general creation.

2. This scientific "total ignorance" of the origin of the highest forms may well be confessed. For how can an important limb half formed be put forth without being an incumbrance destructive in the race of life; without being atrophied by disuse; without being absorbed by repeated cross generations? And how can the definite specialization of such limb, its completion and adaptation to a variety of complex special uses, be imagined unteleologically? And this argument applies more forcibly to the higher species than to the lower. And when we notice Schmid's further statement, that no new species has appeared during the human period, and so no origination of species has ever been *seen* by man, what ground is there for the denial of parentless origination of new species of even the highest order?

3. The impossibility of a new form arising and maintaining existence, independently of a mother, can be solved only by a miraculous supposition, or a supernature above the plane of our present

nature. More than fifty years ago, Dr. Olin, in an eloquent passage in a published sermon, forcibly argued the truth of the Mosaic accounts of the creation of man from the long helplessness of the human infant. The argument seems to stand good to-day. Says the rationalistic philosopher, Fichte: "Who, then, educated the first human pair? A spirit bestowed its care upon them, as is laid down down in an ancient and venerable original record, which, taken altogether, contains the profoundest and the loftiest wisdom, and presents those results to which all philosophy must at last return."—*Kitto*, article *Adam*.

4. This requirement of a greater primitive plasticity, and even of species-creation in earlier ages, has, we may suggest, an apparent accordance with the linguist's requirement, noticed on another page, of a primitive power of word-forming by original creation, now lost, leaving nothing but word-formation by derivation.

Schmid justly and effectively emphasizes the fact that *no new species has appeared on the earth since the creation of man*. The variant forms of species are of too low and equivocal a character to form any exception to the universality of this statement. And this is a very significant view. We know thence what constitutes the sabbatic rest of the Creator, when with man's formation He closed the evolutions of new forms of life. And we see how we are now in the cosmical sabbath of God; and how the creative days of Moses were therefore cosmic days. This view spreads the surface of the earth before us as the area of a definite period, an æon, a dispensation, or (as Tayler Lewis invented the term) a "time-world." It is man's day, in which he is ruler over the earlier races that waited his advent. And man is not merely, in our author's phrase, "a somatic-psychical" being, but a somatic-psychic-pneumatic being. He is endowed with capacities and intuitions, correlating him with supernal existence. Room is here found for all the conditions of responsibility and eschatology. The kingdom of nature opens full space for the kingdom of probation.

If we rightly understand Dr. Schmid, on page 62, he objects to the sudden creation of parentless man from the fact that "our imagination refuses to accept it." And on page 219, quoting Darwin's crude metaphor rejecting the idea "that in innumerable periods in the earth's history certain elemental atoms have been commanded suddenly to flash into living tissues," our author promptly adds, "and he is no doubt right in rejecting it." And similarly scientific men exclaim: "Can we suppose that a full-grown man should start up all at once into existence?" We

call Darwin's metaphor *crude* because we see no demand for a "flash" in a process where no combustion is needed or supposable. And we query whether our "imagination" can be any decisive authority against a process taking place before the period of man's existence or perception. The "imagination" which so "refuses" is an imagination fastened to the conception of processes taking place during the present order of formations; that is, during the above-mentioned human period in which no new species has appeared. Our imagination as really refuses to picture how the huge limbs of the great mammals pushed themselves forth. It refuses to picture how the frost concretes on a tree's limbs and leaves, or how it forms trees and varied shapes upon the morning window-glass. Least of all can we imagine the rapid spontaneities that shape man's limbs in the womb. So far as picturability is concerned, we can as easily conceive how the elements may condense from the atmosphere into the form and substance of a human body, as how the clouds condense into the form of a hay-cock. And surely a Christian author can hardly claim that "our imagination refuses to accept" or picture the sudden emergence from vacant space of "the two men in white apparel" figured to our vision in Acts i, 10.

In his important chapter on the relation of Darwinism to the Genesis history he adopts essentially the theory of periodic days. He subjects the cosmogonic narrative to the Decalogue, (as we have heretofore done, "Commentary," vol. iv, page 315,) holding that the creative week is a conception adopted as typical of the human week. The creative days are "days of God" just as the days of our human week are days of man. Yet the order of the days of the cosmogonic week has a basis in the geologic order. If you take the successive great days at their zenith, their noonday, you can trace, he thinks, but does not emphasize the thought, a coincidence with the scientific order. We should not hesitate to add the obvious hymnic character of the Mosaic chapter. And so doing *we* find no difficulty in the reconciliation. We believe the true view of the chapter to be attained.

On the Creation of Man and the Edenic history our author is, we think, too concessive. He adopts the untenable assumption that the creative statements in Genesis i and ii contradict each other! We hold that they are so complementary to each other as to prove them to be correspondent parts of a single design. Genesis i to ii, 3, gives the narrative in historic order down to the creation of man. Genesis ii, 4, then begins with man, and

traces his surroundings in the order preparatory to the fall. As the first of these documents relates how Adam arose, so the second narrates how he fell. They are therefore correspondent to each other, a twofold one.

Next Schmid furnishes no conception of the probable nature of man's creation. He spends his pages in professing how he will not take positions adverse to the reconciliation of Moses and Darwin. They are pages of diffuse weakness and submissiveness to a dubious scientism. His book has, however, aided our own thought to positive positions which he surrenders. What forbids our stalwartly maintaining the divine, parentless origination of man? Von Baer, the highest authority, affirms the total ignorance of science how the higher species came into existence. That clears the space. We then reject the notion that "our imagination refuses" the conception of the concretion of elements into a perfect human person. Is there one valid reason that logically compels the denial of man's origination by direct divine power, in accordance with laws of creation previous to the human period? The whole professedly scientific argument seems based on the fact that these pre-human originations have never been seen by man.

Our author quotes as expressive of "a right feeling," forsooth, Darwin's sentence, "For my own part, I would as soon be descended from that heroic little monkey . . . or from that old baboon . . . as from a savage," etc. "Right feeling" or not, it is not the biblical "feeling;" for that marks man off from the lower races by a direct creative interposition of God, a supernal breath, and a divine "image." Adam, before the fall, is in Schmid's handling a man that happened, a respectable ordinary gardener. He has no transcendency, no immortalization antithetic to the incarnation, no inauguration. To him there indeed "belonged the possibility of having a sinless development," "the possibility of obtaining an exemption from death and all evils by way of a self-controlling submission to God." That seems to be a "conditional immortality."

What makes this surrender more unfortunate is its ignoring the grand tradition recorded on the memory of all the great races of a golden age, an Edenic origin, and a primal fall, so vividly set forth by Lenormant, as insurance of a historic reality. We said in a former Quarterly, and we repeat, that Evolution has no right to forget that historicity, but must adjust its scheme to its positive reality. How much more should biblical defense

insist on that adjustment, and firmly maintain the truth of our Edenic history! The Psalm of the Creation which commences Genesis is poetically true; the paradise narrative that follows is historically true. Woe be to the pseudo-Christian biblicism that surrenders either.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Gesta Christi; or, A History of Human Progress Under Christianity. By CHARLES LORING BRACE. Third Edition. 8vo, pp. 496. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1883.

There is a great *geographical argument* in favor of Christianity. Spread the map of the world before you. Take your pencil and draw a boundary line around the lands that are eminently the civilized, and you have nearly defined the boundaries of Christianity. Withdraw from all other lands the enlightenment derived directly from Christian lands, and you leave them in a darkness that enhances the significant contrast. Take again your pencil, and draw a line around those Christian lands in which there is the open Bible read and taught without restraint, and you have mainly defined the lands of *pre-eminent* civilization. And so powerful is this Christian civilization that it cannot be conquered. Ages there were in which, in the contest with barbarism, civilization was often weak, and became terribly overwhelmed and suppressed. That time has passed. At this day our scientific civilization has to be checked and reined in by our Christian civilization, or it would sweep, as with an annihilating dynamite, all barbarism from the face of the earth. And it is hourly increasing in power and progress. If the strength of the Christian element can continue to duly balance the scientific element—if it can prevent the sensual vices from enervating as well as the forceful vices from destroying—there appears no end to the advancement, no limit to the magnitude of the ultimate attainment. Never, therefore, was an intense and effective Christianity more important than at this crisis.

It is here that the great value of Mr. Brace's volume appears. It shows by a well-directed historic analysis what share the Christian religious element has had in evolving our present civilization; and, assuming that it is the purpose and plan of the divine Founder to work out his results by ages of progress, he shows that the fullness of Christian power is just beginning, and

promises a career of progress in the future which the mind is now unable to measure. It is, therefore, a book of evidencial value, as well as a Christian directory for the world's future. It deserves especially study by the teachers and defenders of Christian truth, and a permanent place in every scholarly library.

The work is divided chronologically into three Periods: the Roman, the Mediæval, and the Modern Period. In the Roman Period our author, giving great honor to the system of Roman law, as a grand product of human intellect and conscience under the influence of the Stoic philosophy, portrays, nevertheless, with unflinching pen the degrading and destructive vices of imperial paganism. Parental despotism, the degradation of woman, sexual depravities, slavery, exposure of children, bloody sports, licentious shows, gladiatorial fights—all these gave a brutalism and a savagism to the garish civilization of the age. And these vices existed, not as some of them now do, lurking under cover and outlawed under the pressure of a purer public opinion, but supported by public opinion, and sometimes exhibited in open display under the imperial patronage. With the exception of the occasional reprobation of the Stoic philosophers, the entire society was permeated with these atrocities. Mr. Brace traces the gradual and growing influence of Christianity on the public mind in attacking these vices, and in bringing the age to purity, humanity, and peace. Christianity aimed to create the virtues that were necessary to public safety, to orderly society, to mental steadiness, and so to both moral and intellectual advancement. The force of the argument consists very much in its volume of details and the fullness of its historical pictures. No general phrases, however energetic, can convey the full and true impression.

Coming to the Mediæval Period, the eye is obliged at once to survey a scene of pagan barbarism to be slowly permeated with Christian ideas. It is in very deed a crucial experiment. Hordes of barbarians had poured in from Asia to Central Europe, and rushed down upon the civilization and Christianity of ancient Italy. Christianity's problem now is to regenerate those hordes and create our modern Europe. It is a vigorous and sublime, but not a very pure or perfect, Christianity. It sometimes takes the barbarian vices and gives them a Christian impregnation, and so produces a hybrid Christian institution. So we have a series of organic evils established, some of them appalling in their character, which shed dishonor on the mediæval age. Such evils were the tutelage of woman, the feud, the private war, the wager of

battle, and the ordeal. But between these mediæval vices and those of the Roman period there seems to us to be an important difference, which neither Mr. Brace nor, we think, any other author notices. The Roman vices, namely, despotic parentage, sexual baseness, gladiatorships, etc., were pure *crimes*, springing from the cruelty and sensuality of our depraved nature; the mediæval vices, wager of battle, ordeal, and even torture and persecution, were largely moral *mistakes*, the action of an unenlightened *conscience* and an erring aim at justice. The battle wager assumed that God was specially present in the result; the ordeal was also an appeal to a special providence. The institution of torture, strangely enough, aimed at truth and justice. Even persecution was intentionally right. The persecutor wished to rescue the heretic or his follower from hell. Perhaps no more stupendously cruel man, objectively, ever existed than Philip II. of Spain. Yet it seems certain that his bloody persecutions were thoroughly conscientious. Their purpose was to preserve religion and save the souls of men at any cost. Philip believed himself not only supremely pious but supremely humane. Mr. Lecky charges the existence of persecution to the doctrine of hell. And no doubt there is some truth in his statement. To save from hell was often *largely* the inquisitors' purpose. But two things there are that Mr. Lecky should have also noted. *First*, the doctrine of hell—the most impressive image of divine justice—was the great deterrent of a barbarous age from wickedness. It was a powerfully reformatory thought. And, *second*, the Church, in adopting persecution, wickedly abandoned its original ground, that physical force had no right to interfere in moral probation. All we can say, then, in palliation of this enormity is, that it had a high moral pretext, and often real purpose, as the Roman cruelties and sensualities had not. But that is saying a great deal for the new spirit that Christianity had brought into the world. It was the ascent of a whole age from the brutal and devilish to a spiritual plane. But our readers must carefully mark our use of the word *largely* in the above statements. Man's motives, like his nature, are mixed. In the wager of battle, for instance, the purely conscientious class saw an appeal to God for the right, while the practical class saw a proper survival of the fittest, and the muscular class saw a solution of the exciting question which could whip. And how strangely even now this last motive can enter into the heart of a most accomplished Christian gentleman we can illustrate by a very modern instance. At the opening of our

late civil war we were amazed to hear our beloved friend, Dr. Dashiell, say that he did not want a war, but he would like to see a dozen Northerners and a dozen Southerners selected to fight it out, and see which could beat! We fully agree with Mr. Brace that there is a great work yet for Christianity to do in the world.

Although showing abundantly how beneficent was the Church in reforming the European tribes, our author makes a careful distinction between the religion and the Church. To this the agnostic critic in the Evening Post objects, inasmuch as the Church is "the only exponent of Christianity." But the distinction is right and just. No pure principles are purely and perfectly concreted in any human "exponent." We once heard Dr. Olin wisely say that "it would be a poor preacher whose preaching was not above his practice." Even Gibbon could say that in appreciation of Christianity we must remember not only by whom it was given, but to whom it was given. The principles of rational liberty are none the less rational from the fact that they have never had a perfect "exponent" in any human republic. Agnosticism endeavored to concrete them in the French Revolution, and failed so completely in the work as to compel its illustrious victim, Madame Roland, to exclaim on the scaffold, "O Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!" Happy would it be for the world if rational liberty could be perfectly embodied in a State and perfect Christianity embodied in a Church. We agree with Mr. Brace in looking to the very far future for such a combination. Yet even for the politico-ecclesiastical Church of the Middle Ages, with the pope at its head, Mr. Brace justly claims that it was prime leader in the advance of civilization. In spite of the fact that the popedom stirred up many a war, it flung a controlling, peace-making influence over the internal feuds of society. It effected a public tranquillity which was the basal condition of all improvement. Nay, the very political ambition of the papacy to extend its power to the utmost limits, however antichristic in its spirit and methods, tended to effect the unity of the European tribes, and thereby to construct our modern Christendom. And here, if we mistake not, Mr. Brace omits to give due honor to the schoolmen, the great Christian thinkers, who created a new world of thought unknown to antiquity, and taught Europe the art of subtile reason. And it was a truly congenial work which the spiritual power performed in establishing scholastic monasteries, schools, universities, and palestric exhibitions

of intellectual strength. The very art of printing was a Christian art, devoting its first work to the printing of Bibles and books of devotion. Modern civilization is so truly the work of these times that we may well speak with less disrespect of the Mediæval Ages.

Coming to the Modern Period, our author is hopeful, and, some will say, optimistic. And in these days, when an atheistic pessimism increasingly lowers upon our horizon, chilling the hopes and degrading the aims of public thought, we may well rejoice at being presented with the brighter and more inspiring Christian view. Our secular press, including such leading papers as the Tribune and the Sun, are pouring doubt into the public mind, prognosticating the decline and disappearance of our evangelical Christianity. Writers like Buckle deny the influence of moral causes in improving the moral condition of mankind. And the brief article in our present Quarterly on "Perilous Driftings" suggests that a chapter of warnings, pointing out the dangerous elements of our own system, would have well found a place in this survey. Nevertheless, Mr. Brace's "History" and Dr. Dorchester's "Problem of Religious Progress" are twin works, deserving the study of every Christian thinker, and especially every religious teacher.

Hugh Montgomery; or, Experiences of an Irish Minister and Temperance Reformer. With Sermons and Addresses. 12mo, pp. 416. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1883.

Mr. Montgomery is a minister in the New England Southern Conference, well known from the Canada line to Long Island Sound, but best in New Hampshire and Connecticut, and is now in his prime. His life has been an earnest and varied one, in some respects reminding us of the marvelous stories of our old Methodist pioneers, who, by God's good help, would not know defeat and always expected victory. For years his friends who have been familiar with the stirring incidents of his ministry have importuned him to publish them, and he has at length caused them to be embodied in the biographical sketch which makes three hundred pages of this volume. Much of it is his own self-told story, in language frank and simple. And his story ought to be a rousing stimulus to the multitudes of young men in the Church who must make themselves what they are to become.

Turning over the pages of the book, we find that "Hugh," as New Hampshire people name him, is an Irishman by birth, a Canadian by emigration, and an American by choice. Converted at sixteen, he connected himself with the Wesleyans of Canada. At twenty-one, with his earthly goods in a little bundle in his hand, he came into New Hampshire seeking work as a farm-hand, that he might earn money to procure an education preparatory to the ministry, if it should please God to open the way. Whether on a farm or at school, he was eager for the salvation of souls; and he was instrumental in the conversion of hundreds before he became a minister. Breaking down by the privation of poverty and excessive labor, and, as was believed, doomed to an early death, he abandoned school, proposing to do what good he could in his brief earthly stay. But he lived to become a most stalwart workman in the ministry of the Church. His fields of labor have been where hard work was to be done, and he has done it. Revivals have always followed him, in some of which hundreds were saved. He is a man of the people and knows men. His convictions are deep, and his courage in uttering them never falters. A genuine Irishman, he rather delights in a "scrimmage," and is never happier than when, with singular tact, he has his adversary in a corner. Numerous anecdotes in the volume illustrate this trait.

Mr. Montgomery's naturally deep sympathies, together with a vivid remembrance of his own early struggles, have led him into abundant contact with the poor and suffering, and it was thus that in his young manhood he was brought into his first contest with intemperance. Under his ministry numbers of reformed drunkards have been brought into the Church. While all Methodist ministers are supposed to be active advocates of temperance, few are called to the line of action into which Mr. Montgomery has been led, or possess the requisite qualifications for it. His activity and success in the punishment of illegal dealers in strong drink are described in the volume, and show him to be possessed of endowments which might excite the envy of a professional detective. In the terrible hand-to-hand struggle with the rum traffic, such men as he are needed. In the portion of the narrative given to temperance work, the chapters entitled "Testimonies of Reformed Men" and "Prohibition Enforced," the latter showing that prohibition does actually prohibit, are of particular interest. Some of the incidents recited are exceedingly mirth-provoking, while others start the tear. The bold search for the "meanest and most

abandoned drunkard" in the city, upon whom to test the power of the Gospel, ought to be a rebuke to our want of faith and courage as respects this large class among us.

A series of brief, popular "Discourses on Romanism," called forth by circumstances in Norwich, Conn., where their author resides, and listened to by many Roman Catholics, is in the "Appendix." These are followed by a few "Sermons" and "Addresses," short, direct, practical, on religious and moral topics, among them temperance having a place. They cannot fail to do good. The narrative is the most attractive portion of the volume, but the whole book is for the masses and ought to have a wide circulation.

A Short History of the Kingdom of Ireland, from the Earliest Times to the Union with Great Britain. With Five Maps and Appendices. By CHARLES GEORGE WALPOLE, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, Author of "A Rubric of the Common Law." 12mo, pp. 423. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The author of this work frankly disclaims all credit for original research in its composition; but, judging from his list of more than one hundred authorities cited as the sources from which his materials were derived, his knowledge of its subject was sufficiently broad to furnish him with all the facts needed to such a compendium of the events of Irish history as this volume claims to be. He aimed at nothing higher than "an outline of the leading features of the history of Ireland down to its union with Great Britain." Hence, he has produced a volume, not for scholars learned in history, but for intelligent readers who are content with facts condensed into as brief spaces as may be consistent with clear statements of important events. Viewed simply as a popular hand-book, not of the history of the Irish people, but of their government, it may be pronounced a very readable work. Its writer is evidently master of the art of condensation. He often packs important connecting thoughts into brief, luminous sentences. He is sparing of rhetoric, yet atones for its absence by force of expression and uncommon brevity of statement. Hence, though every page is crowded with incidents, he never wearies the reader with dullness, is never monotonous, but every-where vigorous and lively.

As to the fairness of the light in which events are placed, opinions will differ. There is, to be sure, a vein of apparent candor running through its composition; nevertheless its facts are not always given without betraying the secret bias of the

writer. His sympathies are evidently more with the Irish people than with the English government. Perhaps he is partly right in this, seeing that Ireland in the past has been sadly misgoverned. But, to cite one case only, he is not right in such overstatements of the severity of Cromwell as we find in his account of the settlement of Irish affairs by the great Protector after his memorable, and no doubt cruel, campaign in that distracted country. Any one who will compare our author's account with the "Declaration" of Cromwell in reply to the "Manifesto" of the Irish prelates, which may be found in Carlyle's "Cromwell," will not fail to see that, while he softens and palliates the massacres and rebellion which led to the Protector's campaign, he on the other hand greatly exaggerates the severity of the terms imposed on the Irish by the victor. Other portions of his work are open to similar exceptions. It is not, of course, to be expected that in such a brief historic sketch a writer can reason much upon the facts it contains; but, in the necessary absence of such reasoning, it is scarcely fair to so place events as to give a wrong historical bias to the reader's mind. While, therefore, we commend the literary execution of this volume, and the general correctness of its information, we advise the reader not to wholly abandon his judgment to its guidance, but to compare it with such other authorities on Irish history as may be within his reach.

James Nasmyth, Engineer. An Autobiography. Edited by SAMUEL SMILES, LL.D., author of "Lives of the Engineers," "Self-Help," "Character," etc. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 461.

This is a live book. It contains the record of a man of real genius inherited from his ancestors, but developed into actual power by dint of persistent activity, steady application, careful study, keen observation, and close adhesion to the maxims of common sense. Despite a few unimportant incidents in its opening chapters, there is a magnetism in its pages which keeps curiosity awake, begets a constantly deepening interest in the career of its subject, and excites warm admiration of his mental and moral qualities. In good strong Saxon it describes his limited early education, the first humble, yet really remarkable, developments of his inventive genius and mechanical skill, and so wins the sympathy of its reader that he follows him from Edinburgh to London, where he seeks admission to Maudsley's great engineering establishment, with a genuine desire for his success

and a feeling of participation in his triumph when Mr. Maudsley recognized his abilities, and installed him, not as a mere workman, but as his personal assistant in his private workshop. Equally interesting is the story of Nasmyth's entrance into business with an extremely small capital and a few machines, made chiefly by himself; of his speedy success, of the rapid growth of his establishment, of his numerous and valuable mechanical inventions, of his friendly relations with men of distinction in the scientific world, and of his acquisition of a fortune sufficient to justify his retirement from active business at the early age of forty-eight.

While there is sufficient in this book to win the charmed attention of the general reader, it has an especial value for manufacturers, draughtsmen, engineers, and mechanics, particularly to working mechanics. To the latter class it is remarkably adapted. Its common-sense apothegms, its philosophy of success in life, its illustration of the relation of thrift, industry, and earnestness to the respectability, the elevation, the happiness of the working man, and its observations on the false principles which lie at the base of most trades-unions, strikes, etc., are invaluable. Manufacturers, not of metallic goods alone, but of all kinds, could scarcely do a wiser thing in the line of enlightenment or their operatives, than to place a sufficient number of copies of this excellent volume within reach of all their *employés;* albeit, as Bancroft observes, "it is difficult for pride to put its ear to the ground, and listen to the teachings of a lowly humanity." And that pride is as rife among the lowly as it is among the more prosperous classes. Nevertheless the voice of a man once lowly as themselves may win the attention and give direction to the lives of some who are now deluded by unsound opinions with respect to labor and its relation to capital and to the real prosperity of the laborer.

Spanish Vistas. By GEORGE PARSONS LATHROP. Illustrated by Charles S. Reinhart. 8vo, red and gilt, pp. 210. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

A book of beauty. Almost every page is illustrated with pictorial sketches presenting some unique aspect of the present Spain. The pen descriptions and narratives connect them with the present Spanish life. While her sister peninsula, Italy, has been plentifully illustrated by modern description and history, Spain is still very much a land of mystery. Her remains are relics of a romantic and gorgeous past overshadowed with present decay and ruin. Her reviviscence is yet to come, and that,

too, strangely enough, by flinging off the influences that made her mediæval glory.

Mr. Lathrop esteemed his stay in Spain too short to allow him the right to any attempt to unfold to our view the mysteries of Spanish politics. He was enabled only to catch the lights and shadows of the surface of things. But to us the most interesting passage in the book is the few lines in the preface that touch this very subject. On the Mediterranean steamer he encountered a middle-class Spaniard, who, observing the foreign accent of his attempts at Spanish, inquired with cold caution if he were an Englishman. "No," replied the writer, "I am an American of the North; of the United States." "His manner," says our author, "changed at once; he thawed; more than that, his face lighted with hope, as if he had found a powerful friend, and he gazed at me with a certain delighted awe, attributing to my person a glory for which I was in no way responsible. 'You are a republican, then,' he exclaimed. 'Yes.' He gave me another long, silent look, and then confessed that he, too, was a firm believer in republicanism." But as to the present Spain it is strikingly added, "Philip II. still rules." Yes, both Charles V. and Philip II. still rule over Spain, and thus it is that her ancient glory is her modern ruin. Emancipation from her past can alone create her happy future. And how much more glorious is this pre-eminence of being able to say, "I am an American of the great United Republic of the North," to that ancient memorable boast, "I am a Roman citizen."

Pamphlets.

"*Our Man of Macedonia:*" His Needs and Our Duties. By MORGAN CALLAWAY, D.D., President of Paine Institute, Augusta, Ga. Printed at the Southern Methodist Publishing House.

This eloquent sermon was delivered by Dr. Callaway before the students of Emory College and the citizens of Oxford, Ga., as his farewell to the scenes of his professorial labors on leaving for his presidential duties at the Paine Institute. The establishment of this Institute for the education of colored teachers and preachers, the high Christian tone of the discourse itself, and its publication at the Nashville House, are significant of a new chapter in the history of the Church South. The old purpose of retaining

the Negro race in ignorance and pariahism is fairly abandoned. He is accepted as no longer a serf, but a citizen. Culture, mental development, and fair play for showing what he is and can become are not only accorded to him, but aid and means are to be bestowed upon him for the process. On this high platform Dr. Callaway places himself; his utterances are free, frank, hearty, and profoundly sincere; the work can be safely trusted in his able hands; and every friend of both races will applaud him in the undertaking, and rejoice in his success.

Firmly maintaining the unity of the human race, he asks indignantly: "Are we to let the seven million negroes in our midst perish for lack of knowledge, and the civilization of Africa, for which Livingstone died and Stanley imperiled himself, be indefinitely postponed? Are we Christian men and women permitting the sophistry of a former servile relation to impose on our judgment and retard our offices of kindness to the race that cries to us from the depths of a pitiable poverty?"—Pp. 8, 9. He grounds his plea on a common Christian humanity, on the kindly sentiment between the two races, on the great services of Negro labor in the past to both South and North, on his faithfulness to the South in the late war, and on his good behavior and manifested fair capacity for culture since the war. On his services of labor in the past we have the following frank statement:

> Not to speak of lighter services at our homes, and in personal attendance, it is in order to recall the fact that the Negro's lusty strokes felled the forests from the Chesapeake to the Gulf of Mexico; that his spade drained our swamps and lowlands; that he followed the plow over every acre of our fields; that his pick dug out all the ores smelted in our furnaces; that his scoop and dump-cart graded our Southern railways; and that though he does not monopolize the labor in our factories, yet his labor produced the cotton our mills have spun and the mills of America have woven. His toil alone clothes at least the poor of two continents. If exemption from the severer forms of bodily toil be a relief, if leisure for learning or pleasure produced without sacrifice be a boon, if the prosperous industries and the high civilization of our section be a blessing, for this relief and boon and blessing we are largely indebted to the Negro.—Page 11.

Dr. Callaway contemptuously repudiates the excuse of some Southerners from aiding the Negroes made on the ground that "others liberated them, by these others they should be cared for." He repudiates it, reasoning from the Negro's innocence of the "red-handed war" that emancipated him. But does not the above catalogue of services received furnish a far more overwhelming reason? The Negro has enriched the South, to say nothing of the North, and has been deprived of his wages, and left poor as poverty itself. Is he not entitled to repayment from the South of his education-money, with an overwhelming amount of interest

for payment delayed? After all the South will or even can do, she is left in bankruptcy and repudiation of dues to those terrible colored creditors.

Perhaps in the following paragraph Dr. Callaway shows "the wisdom of the serpent:"

> He has lost his reckoning who inquires fearfully if it be a proper thing, or a possible thing, to educate the Negro. The best men always acknowledged its rightfulness. The proudest intellect this Southland has produced, in a lecture on slavery, delivered at Tremont Temple, Boston, January, 1856—he then being United States Senator from Georgia—in answering objections to slavery, said: "It is objected that our slaves are debarred the benefits of education. This objection is well taken, and not without force. And for this evil the slaves are greatly indebted to the abolitionists. Formerly in none of the slave States was it forbidden to teach slaves to read and write; but the character of the literature sought to be furnished them by the abolitionists caused these States to take counsel rather of their passions than of their reason, and to lay the ax at the root of the evil. Better counsels will in time prevail, and this will be remedied. It is true that the slave, from his protected position, has less need of education than the free laborer who has to struggle for himself in the welfare of society; yet it is useful to him, to his master, and to society." So Robert Toombs in 1856.—Pp. 9, 10.

To the statement of Senator Toombs, that "the Abolitionists" were responsible for the anti-education laws, that sharp-tongued set had, of course, their ever-ready keen reply. They paralleled Senator Toombs with Pharaoh, who inflicted deeper oppression on the crushed race because Moses sought its emancipation. And they called to mind how far more horrible was the modern Pharaoh's cruelty in that he brutalized his victim with ignorance in order to make him more securely his victim. And on the providential deliverance of ancient Israel from his task-master, the said sharp-tongued abolitionist grounded a prediction—with what terrible truth fulfilled!—that God would with mighty power deliver the Negro. Dr. Callaway does not quote the Senator in approbation of his excuse for passing anti-education laws, but to show that even he, the *Bourbonissimus Bourbonorum*, avowed that "better counsels" required negro education.

Dr. Callaway pays the following brief but explicit tribute to the earlier labors in the field:

> The Freedman's Bureau, the many Missionary Societies of the North, a Slater, and other good persons and corporations, have helped nobly; but, notwithstanding their munificence, so gross is the darkness, and so wide-spread, that it seems that only a few light-houses have been erected where there should be a light burning in every district and in every community.—Page 14.

This is, indeed, altogether better than even good Dr. Duncan's ridicule—most untrue—of the "ignorance," etc., of the "Northern school-marms," and Dr. Summers' denunciation of our whole mission work as an oppressive invasion of the South. And yet a

fuller acknowledgment of the heroic labors of Dr. Rust and his compeers, amid cold-shoulders and sneers and persecutions, would have been graceful, but perhaps not yet quite "wise and prudent." Dr. Callaway claims, unwarily, "We of the South, as best knowing his capacity," . . . should be intrusted with the responsible duty. . . . "We are his guardians." This was the language with which the attempt was early made to exclude Northern teachers and prevent all education of the Negro. "The South alone," forsooth, "knew the Negro." But the South did not know the Negro until the Northern teachers in the South revealed the true Negro to her so clearly that she could neither ignore nor deny. It is the absoluteness of that revelation, we are happy to say, that calls our noble Professor to his glorious mission. He anticipates, most justly, in his work an advance of "true fraternity." He will be welcomed by his predecessors in the noble work, and our two Methodisms will have one more ground of goodly fellowship.

Miscellaneous.

Short Studies on Great Subjects. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE. Fourth Series. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

Whatever other faults may be charged upon Mr. Froude as a writer, he is never guilty of what Johnson used to call "the most fatal of all faults." He never wrote a dull line. And he is something more than the brilliant rhetorician. He has that historical imagination which enables him, out of dry and meager materials, to reanimate the past and make its men and women live before us. But he has *les défautes de ses qualités*, too. He has sometimes mistaken the picturesque for the true. He is always something of an advocate, and has now and then pressed his brilliant imagination into the service of his theories. He has never made any pretensions to the impossibility of viewing the men and events of the past as a strictly impartial observer; but he has rather too often shown something of the skillful pleader's liking for a hard case.

All these qualities are discernible in the concluding volume of the "Short Studies." The opening papers on Thomas Becket were roughly criticised by Mr. Freeman, when they first appeared in the "Nineteenth Century," some six years ago. Mr. Freeman has always shown a rather crabbed resolution not to like

any thing that Mr. Froude can write; in this case, however, though pointing out numerous instances of rather careless writing and hasty inference, he failed, we think, to discredit the general truth of Mr. Froude's picture of Becket's life and times. The papers are here reprinted, if we mistake not, without correction or change, as they appeared in the "Nineteenth Century." Mr. Froude's Protestantism is of a very thorough-going sort, and it is always roused by any claim of supernatural powers for the priesthood, whether in the days of Becket, or of Laud, or of Pusey. It is natural, therefore, that of the various hypotheses by which Becket's conduct may be explained, he should choose the one that bears hardest on the prelate. Yet, although written with something of partisan zeal, his story of this first great struggle between crown and clergy seems to us substantially just; it is certainly very graphic.

The paper on Origen and Celsus, and that on Alexander of Abonatichus are interesting sketches, but contain nothing new. The story of "Cheneys and the House of Russell," is a charming piece of historical gossip, brightened with bits of graceful description. But by far the most valuable portions of the book are the chapters on the Oxford Tractarian Movement. We venture the opinion that nowhere else, in like compass, can be found so vivid a sketch of the rise of the movement, its leaders, and its effect upon that large class of Englishmen of whom Mr. Froude is a representative. These brief papers are worth vastly more than Mr. Mozley's dull volumes, which promised us so much and gave us so little.

Of Cardinal Newman, Mr. Froude speaks with the loving reverence of early discipleship. The secret of Newman's wonderful influence over those who knew him in the Oxford days has rarely been better indicated. But of the results of the movement in which Newman was the leader, Mr. Froude can speak only in the most gloomy terms. Just before that movement began, at the beginning of the second quarter of this century, the Church of England, Mr. Froude thinks, was in excellent case. It had intelligence; it had energy; it retained much of the spiritual fervor which was generated by the Wesleyan movement; it was liberal to Dissenters; it was active in philanthropic and humanitarian endeavor; it was teaching men to be honest and just, to obey God, and not ask questions.

"It was orthodox, without being theological. Doctrinal problems were little thought of. Religion, as taught in the Church

of England, meant moral obedience to the will of God. The speculative part of it was accepted, because it was assumed to be true. The creeds were reverentially repeated; but the essential thing was practice. . . . About doctrine, Evangelical or Catholic, I do not think that in my early boyhood I ever heard a single word, in church or out of it. The institution had drifted into the condition of what I should call moral health. People went to church because they liked it, because they knew they ought to go, and because it was the custom. They had received the creeds from their fathers, and doubts about them had never crossed their minds. Christianity had wrought itself into the constitution of their nature." The Church, in Mr. Froude's opinion, was then in "the healthiest condition it had ever known." But then came the epoch of political reform, of scientific criticism, and of the "counter-reformation," as Mr. Froude calls it, in the Church. And what is the result?

"The nation has ceased to care what the clergy say or do. The Church of England, as part of the Constitution of the country, has ceased to exist. As the Church has become "Catholic," the honored name of Protestant has passed to the Non-conformist. The laity stand aloof indifferent and contemptuous. The thinking part of it has now a seriousness of its own and a philosophy of its own which has also grown and is growing. . . . The storm will die away, agitation is wearisome, and we may subside into a dull acquiescence even with the travesty of ecclesiasticism which is now in possession of the field. But the active mind of the country will less and less concern itself with a system which it despises. A ritualist English Church will be as powerless over the lives of the people as the Roman augurs over the Rome of Cicero and Cæsar; and centuries will pass before religion and common sense will again work together with the practical harmony which existed between them in the days of Whately and Arnold, and Hare and Sedgwick."

If this *were* the destined future of the English Church, even for the next fifty years, the outlook would indeed be sad. But Mr. Froude is neither accurate seer nor inspired prophet. The liberalist is not always liberal; and a late quotation in our Quarterly from Dr. Rigg furnishes a much fairer estimate of the Ritualistic "revival" as a movement inspiring the Church to much that is excellent, and quite preferable to the sleepy half-belief of Whately and the others. The remaining years of this century will suffice to show that it is not the Church of Pusey and Keble,

but the Church of disestablishment and evangelical revival, which will rule the future. Such a Church, concerned not so much with forms and rites as with the essentials of Christian faith and life, will live because it is true to the spirit of its Master's teaching, because it is broad enough to embrace all truth, and is in sympathy with all that is genuinely progressive.

The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. The Text in the Authorized Translation; With a Commentary and Critical Notes. By ADAM CLARKE, LL.D., F.A.S., etc. A New Edition. Condensed, and Supplemented from the Best Modern Authorities. By DANIEL CURRY, LL.D. Vol. I. The Gospels and Acts. Imp. 8vo, pp. 541. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1883.

A Complete Concordance to the Revised Version of the New Testament Embracing the Marginal Readings of the English Revisers, as well as those of the American Committee. By JOHN ALEXANDER THOMS. 8vo, pp. 532. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

The Wisdom of Holy Scripture. With Reference to Skeptical Objections. By J. H. M'ILVAINE. Small 8vo, pp. 488. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

The Gospel of the Secular Life. Sermons Preached at Oxford. With a Prefatory Essay. By the Hon. W. H. FREMANTLE, Late Fellow of All Souls, Rector of Saint Mary's, Bryanston Square, and Canon of Canterbury. 12mo, pp. 256. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

Poems. By WILLIAM CLEAVER WILKINSON. 12mo, pp. 180. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

The Life of Christ. By Dr. BERNHARD WEISS. Counselor of the Consistory, and Professor of Theology in Berlin. Translated by JOHN WALTER HOPE, M.A. Vol I, 8vo, pp. 394. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1883.

Biblical Theology of the New Testament. By Dr. BERNHARD WEISS. Translated from the Third Revised Edition by Rev. JAMES E. DUGUID, New Machar. Vol. II, 8vo, pp. 450. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1883.

Hand-Books for Bible Classes. The Epistle to the Romans. With Introduction and Notes by DAVID BROWN, D.D., Principal and Professor of Divinity, Free Church, Coll., Aberdeen. 12mo, pp. 152. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1883.

The Doom of the Majority of Mankind. By SAMUEL J. BARROWS. 12mo, pp. 151. Boston: American Unitarian Association. 1883.

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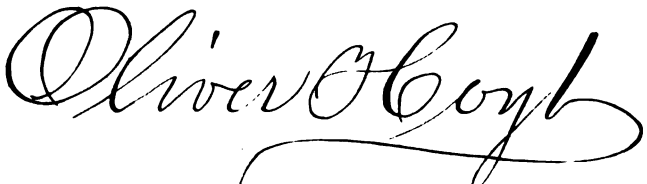
Oliver Coyl

bringing this invigorating influence into the life of the tree. So.



METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1883.

ART. I.—THE SOLIDARITY OF METHODISM.

YEARS ago, some Frenchmen, not familiar with the teachings of the Bible, supposed they had discovered a new truth in regard to the human race. Availing themselves of the facility which their language affords for coining terms to express scientific and philosophical ideas, they invented the word *solidarité*, as the vehicle of their new thought. Slightly Anglicizing it, we have the word solidarity. For this word, says Trench, "we are indebted to the French Communists," who use it to "signify a community in gain or loss, in honor or dishonor, a being (so to speak) all in the same bottom." Trench adds, this term is "so convenient that it will be in vain to struggle against its reception among us." Webster defines it, "an entire union or consolidation of interests and responsibilities; fellowship."

By this term is meant that individuals are not isolated personalities, independent of each other, like trees standing separately in a field, but like branches on a common stock, or buds on a common bough. The same life-sap flows through them all; so that, if the life of the tree is attacked anywhere, —in its root, its trunk, its limbs—all the buds feel it. Yet each bud has a life of its own, and develops its own stalk, leaves, blossom, fruit. Each bud and leaf is necessary to the life and growth of the tree, its breathing-places, inhaling the oxygen, and bringing this invigorating influence into the life of the tree. So

mutual and all-pervasive are these relations between the boughs, buds, leaves and trunk, that if either fails to perform its functions, the tree will suffer. So it is with individual men in the great tree of mankind. None liveth to himself alone, or dieth to himself alone. If one suffers, all suffer. If the life of mankind becomes diseased, individual men are also affected, and whatever improves the life of the race improves the individual members of the race. Such is the common life-connection of humanity. It is a solid, a unit. As individuals, we are parts of a whole, with which we are bound in relations of mutual dependence and service. We have a common race life. This is what the term solidarity means.

This term contains no new principle; but one as old as Christianity, which long ago declared that God "made of one blood all nations of men." The golden rule is predicated upon this great underlying race truth. So also the second great Commandment. The clearest Christian expression of this truth is in the language of St. Paul—"We are members one of another." "The body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body." This truth is very prominent in Paul's epistles.

This principle is one of the broadest and most fundamental of all known truths.

I. It sustains a vital relation to the human race.

1. *The common race life is dependent upon it.*

It stands opposed to artificial divisions of the human family into *castes*, to aristocratic exclusiveness, to slavery, war, and every thing that estranges nations and communities. It condemns all wrongs against our fellows, for an evil done to one is a wound inflicted upon the race. The virus enters into its common life. This principle is the basis of mutual assistance. It was a profound remark of Sir Walter Scott, that if the element of sympathy should die out of the human heart, the race could not protract its existence through another generation. Philanthropy, moral and social reforms, educational movements for the masses, and all charities, have their origin in this principle. It lies at the foundation of all moral relations and duties in the social sphere. Impure acts, words, and examples taint the moral life of the race, sending their pernicious influence through large circles and for many generations.

This principle is fundamental in civil government. The Preamble of the Massachusetts Constitution declares:

> The body politic is formed by a voluntary association of individuals; it is a social compact, by which the whole people covenant with each citizen, and each citizen with the whole people, that all shall be governed by certain laws for the common good.

It is a prime truth laid down in the commentaries on civil law, that government exists for the good of society. Natural rights are surrendered when any government is formed, in order to promote the greater good of the whole. This principle makes us all cosmopolitans, linking us in a common race life.

2. If the principle under consideration is so important, as regards the common life of the race, *it ought also to be recognized in the civil polities of the nations.*

All true progress in government is an approximation toward the perfect recognition of the principle that we are "members one of another." In the earlier and untutored periods of national life, it was only slightly recognized. It is the ideal of the periods of better development and fuller manhood.

In the civil polities of the nations there have been two extremes—*Absolutism* and *Democracy*—both of which ignore this great truth. Some governments are of a mixed character, having features in common with one of these extremes, and perhaps some resemblance to both. This is especially true of provisional governments.

In *absolute* government power centers in the head—king or emperor—not conferred according to constitutional provisions, but assumed, or inherited. No power rises from the people to the head, but starting from the head, it descends to the people. Such has been the government of all Mohammedan and pagan lands, and, until recent centuries, of almost all Europe also. It was the only thing practicable in the earlier periods of the race. The Mosaic economy provided some limitations of this absolutism, in advance of any thing that appeared in the pre-Christian ages. In limited monarchies, the sovereign power is curtailed by constitutional restrictions; and every constitutional limitation is an expression, more or less, of the principle that we are "members one of another." The British Magna Charta, a notable guaranty of popular rights against absolutism, is a conspicuous illustration; and the principles

embodied six centuries and a half ago in that memorable document, the basis of English liberties, have been widely expanded and applied in the successive centuries. The movement has been a progressive abridgement of absolute prerogative among people of almost every clime and land.

The other extreme is *pure democracy*. To some extent this form of government recognizes the principle that we are "members one of another," but only in an inchoate and unorganized way, for it is a government wholly by the people. All business being transacted in an assembly of the whole people, the power rests wholly in their hands, and is distributed among individuals. Having no cohesion and no center of power, democracies soon fall in pieces. How different from the figure employed in the New Testament, in setting forth the principle we are discussing—the human body, with its various members, the vital organs, etc. These portions are not disconnected and separate, like the individual people in a pure democracy, but organized and controlled by a central head. The blood is diffused from the heart through all the extremities, and then returns to the heart. Each member has its appropriate functions, but there are checks and counter-checks all through the body. No such things can be claimed for a pure democracy; it is only a collection of individualities, discordant and disintegrating. Such is the unquestioned verdict of history.

But what form of civil government most fully recognizes the principle under consideration, so strikingly illustrated by the figure of the human body? *Ans.* A republican government like that of the United States.

In the republican government of the United States the power resides principally in the people. The popular phrase of President Lincoln, so often quoted with encomium, "A government of the people, for the people, and by the people," is not quite correct. The Republic of the United States is a government of the people, for the people, *by representatives* of the people.

Originating with the people, the power rises through distinct lines of ascent, to the Congress and the President, and then, through enactments and appointees to office, returns again to the people. To specify: we have first Governors, State Legislatures, Representatives in Congress, and a President and

Vice-President elected by the people. Then, we have United States Senators elected by the Legislatures. Thus the power, starting with the people, concentrates in Congress and the President, the federal head of the government of the United States. From this point the power returns again to the people, the members of the Cabinet, the Judges of the Supreme Court and of the District Courts, the United States Marshals, the Collectors of Ports, the officers of the Revenue, the Postmasters, and the Army and Navy officers—all appointed by the President and Congress, or by heads of departments, whom they have appointed. Thus, the power originating with the people, rises and concentrates in a single head or will, and then returns to the people. Along all the way of ascent and descent there are checks and counter-checks, in the form of legal or constitutional limitations. Some links may be wanting, but they are being gradually supplied by national and State legislation year by year. No other government so fully meets the conditions of St. Paul's illustration.

II. This principle is also fundamental to the Church.

1. It is *the life principle* of the Church. It is opposed to caste and selfish exclusiveness in the Church. If true to the spirit of her founder, no invidious distinctions will be recognized. It is also opposed to the spirit of excessive denominationalism and exclusive sectarianism. The narrow assumption sometimes indulged by conceited bigots, that their denomination is *the Church* of Christ, is a gross offense. To exclude from the Lord's table Christian men and women because they have not been baptized according to a specific denominational form, is also an offense to the body of Christ.

This principle is also opposed to schisms. Different denominations do not necessarily imply schisms. The New Testament doctrine of schism is heart-division among Christians, and that may exist in the same denomination, and in a local church or society, without any open rupture.

This principle is the basis of Christian fellowship; it sweetens the communion of saints; it begets kindly attention to those united with us in Christ; it hallows and makes precious our Church relations; and it makes the Church a comfort and a blessing. It is the basis of mutual forbearance, mutual esteem, mutual joys and sorrows. It prompts to kindly interest in

those members of Christ's body who are sick, or bereaved, or unfortunate. It is the basis of mutual burden-bearing in the Church, prompting us to cheerfully share the expenses, the labors, the offices, and responsibilities of the Church. It is also the basis of our joint-heirship with Christ. If we would jointly inherit, we must be joint members in the same body.

2. If this principle be so fundamental to the life of the Church, it should be recognized in *the polities* of Churches. If civil polities should be founded in this fundamental truth, so also should ecclesiastical polities.

In Church government there are two extremes, corresponding to absolutism and democracy in civil government.

Ecclesiastical absolutism is represented by the Church of Rome. In that Church the power is lodged in the Pope, from whom it descends through Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, and Priests, to the people; but no power rises from the people to any Priest, Bishop, or any other official.

The Churches of the Congregational polity, Baptists, Unitarians, Universalists, and largely, also, the Presbyterians, correspond to the democracy in civil government. In respect to polity, there is but little difference among them. They are pure democracies. The Presbyterians vary a little, and but little. The Orthodox Congregational denomination in the United States is not one national Church, but an aggregate of churches. Their State Associations are Associations of Congregational churches. The same thing is true of the Baptists, Unitarians, etc. Each local body is a church, in the fullest sense, holding no organic connection with any other local church—only brotherly relations. Each local church holds the supreme power of legislation and discipline within itself. No other church or collection of churches, even of the same denomination, can do any thing more than give advice. Councils called for settling and dismissing ministers are only advisory, and their advice may be disregarded without any ecclesiastical penalty. It would, however, make them liable to be considered as wanting in proper respect for the opinions and feelings of sister churches—a violation of the principles of the communion of churches, not a question of ecclesiastical law, but of Christian courtesy.

The pastor has absolutely no power. If he presides at a

church meeting, it is not by right, but by courtesy. Any layman can as well preside, and often does preside, being chosen instead of the pastor. Even in case of discipline, the pastor has no power. He can only act an advisory part, like any other member. As local churches, they are a collection of individuals, with no organic unity, no cementing bond, no conserving link. Churches thus constituted fail to meet the conditions of the figure used by St. Paul—the human body—for there is no union of individual members in one common system.

Another element of weakness in Churches of the Con-gregational polity is, that the church divides its voice with the congregation or parish. Said Rev. Dr. Hawes,* of Hartford:

> These two bodies are in some respects united and one, but in others are distinct, independent corporations. In the call and settlement of a minister, which is the great business they have to transact together, each exerts a separate and uncontrolled agency. And yet the concurrence of each is indispensable to the validity of their respective acts. The church has no power to place a minister over the congregation; nor has the congregation power to place a minister over the church. In effecting the settlement of a pastor, the concurrent voice of the church and society is essential.

Under such a system the power, instead of being concentrated, is scattered. The congregation can withhold its concurrence, as has often been the case, and so compel the church to elect whom it chooses as its pastor. So much for the boasted "free election of the brethren." The power to defeat the church is in the hands of irreligious men not members of the church.

Furthermore, this society, a corporation distinct from the church, holds all the church property, determines the salary of the pastor, etc., and is responsible by law for the raising and paying of the salary. The church, therefore, sustain a subordinate and dependent part in this important business. So far has this matter been carried, that the question has sometimes been discussed,† whether the church should have the precedence of the society, or the society the precedence of the church.

* "Tribute to the Memory of the Pilgrims," page 58.

† Professor Upham; *Ratio Disciplinæ.*

We come now to consider

III. How the principle under consideration enters into the polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

1. As to its general organic features.

We have seen that the denominations of the Congregational polity are aggregates of denominational individualities; but the Methodist Episcopal Church is a denominational unit. It is not a local society, but it comprises all the local societies throughout the United States, Europe, Asia, Africa, wherever it has ministers and societies. It takes all her members, wherever she is organized, all over the world, to make one Church. Each local body is a society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. These societies are linked together by connectional bonds. Under the presiding elder, from twenty to sixty or more societies are united in a District, through which that official travels four times each year. Several of these presiding elders' districts are united in one Annual Conference, and ninety-four of these Annual Conferences are under one General Conference. The Methodist Episcopal Church is not a confederacy of ninety-four Annual Conferences, not a mere association of, say, twenty thousand societies. It is a single body of which these societies and Conferences are component parts, and all "members one of another."

This bond of connection is carried out by Bishops, who, as general superintendents, travel through the whole Church, administering its affairs, and sustaining the same relation to every member; by Presiding Elders, traveling through their districts; by Pastors, liable to be appointed to any society; by the Book Concerns' Books and Periodicals; by the great Benevolent Societies and their Secretaries, reaching out into the whole body. The Bishops have ever been a strong bond of union to the Church. They are not confined to any diocese. As general superintendents, they travel every-where, and acquaint themselves with the needs of every portion of the Church. Their fields of labor are interchanging every year, first in one section, then in another, so that each one belongs to the whole Church. Each Bishop is strictly amenable to the General Conference for his conduct and his administration; and every minister and every lay member has a right to bring any Bishop to trial before the General Confer-

ence. Such is the connectional unity of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

But let us look a little further. There are many persons who think our Church polity is very undemocratic. Undemocratic it is, in some respects, and none the worse for that, but rather better; for a pure democracy is a very weak government, whether in State or Church. Our nation is not, as we have already noticed, a democracy, but a Republic, in which the democratic principle is largely incorporated, but supplemented by the representative and the federal principle, to which it is indebted for whatever strength and efficiency it possesses. The doctrine of State Rights or State Sovereignty, out of which the nullification heresy and our late civil war sprung, directly antagonizes the federal principle, and logically leads into the weakness and disintegration of an irresponsible democracy. Our best statesmen are fully impressed with this truth, and the necessity of guarding and strengthening the federal element in the civil polity of the Republic. Out of what did the federal element in the government of the United States spring? Out of the necessity of a stronger government than the confederation which preceded it. Under that, public affairs were in a condition bordering upon chaos. The imperiled state of the country was viewed with alarm by the best and wisest patriots who had struggled with the issues of the Revolution. The great speech of Hon. Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, in the convention that framed the Constitution, disclosed the weaknesses and defects of a government without a federal bond, and the elements of power which it imparts. A federal bond implies a concentration of power in a responsible center. Men may say that they do not believe in centralization of power. But there is no power without concentration. All nature and common life are full of illustrations of the fact.

Does any one persist in saying that the government of the Methodist Episcopal Church is very unlike the government of the United States? If we look closely, we shall see that there is no Church polity which more nearly corresponds to that of the United States government than our own. In the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Annual Conferences correspond very largely, though not fully, to the State Legislatures, and the General Conference corresponds to Congress. The An-

nual Conference is composed of ministers, and the General Conference, the legislative body of the Church, of ministers and laymen. The analogy between our Annual Conferences and the State Legislatures fails at some points; but a similar defect or discrepancy may be seen in all the subordinate associations, conferences, presbyteries, or other local bodies of all the religious denominations, and they are believed to be peculiar to the necessities of ecclesiastical life, which require less local legislation than the State. In the Methodist Episcopal Church, the power starts from the laity. No man can become an exhorter unless first recommended by the laity, either the class of which he is a member, or the Leaders and Stewards' Meeting. No man is licensed to preach unless first recommended by the Leaders and Stewards' Meeting, which is composed wholly of laymen, except the pastor, who presides; and then the candidate must receive the votes of the Quarterly Conference, which is seldom composed of more than one minister, and from ten to thirty laymen. If this man, thus constituted a local preacher, desires to become an itinerant preacher or a member of an Annual Conference, he must come a fourth time before the laity. The Quarterly Conference, composed, as we have seen, of laymen, must recommend him to the Annual Conference. He can reach the door of the Annual Conference in no other way. Thus, among us, the laity decide the question who shall be the ministers. Among the Congregationalists and the Baptists, the Association, composed wholly of ministers, grant licenses to preach; among the Presbyterians, the Presbytery, composed of an equal number of ministers and elders, the latter being laymen.

While with us the pastoral office is reached by four successive steps, each of which is watched over by the laity, and must be sanctioned by their formally expressed will, with Churches of the Congregational polity, the laity is not consulted at all until the question comes up as to whether a given minister, who has been made a minister independently of them, shall be their pastor. Deny these churches the privilege of electing a pastor, and they would be in a condition pitiably helpless, vastly inferior to that of our churches. With us the laity speak four times before the laity with them speak once. And yet we are told that our churches have no voice in electing ministers. Besides, our churches are unformly consulted in the

selection of their pastors. But Congregational churches are never consulted at all until they come to settle a minister.

Next, the ministers who compose the Annual Conferences every four years elect ministerial delegates to the General Conference, just as our Legislatures elect the Senators in Congress. At the same time, an Electoral Conference of laymen, made up of delegates chosen by the Quarterly Conferences, meets and elects lay delegates to the General Conference. The General Conference thus constituted elects the Bishops. Thus we see the power starting with the people rising up through several gradations, with checks and counter-checks, to the General Conference. But it should be remembered that the Bishops are not above the General Conference, but subject to it. The General Conference is the head from which the power returns again to the people. First, the General Conference elects the Bishops, and gives them all their power. They can do only what the General Conference says, and they are amenable to the General Conference. Their conduct and administration are scrutinized, censured, or approved every four years. The General Conference also elects the Editors, and the Secretaries of the Missionary, Sunday-School, Tract, Church Extension, and Freedmen's Aid Societies, who, with the Bishops, come in contact with the people of every section of the Church. The Bishops appoint the Presiding Elders, who visit and superintend the twenty, thirty, and sixty societies, of their districts, and in connection with the Bishops, arrange and fix the appointments of the Preachers. The preachers appoint the Class-leaders, and nominate the Stewards and Trustees.* Thus we see that the power which originates with the people rises through successive gradations, with checks and counter-checks, to the General Conference, from which it returns to the people, just as in the government of the United States the power travels from the people upward to the Congress and President, and returns again to the people. As in the national government there are yet some missing links in the chain, so in the polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

* In several States, the laity alone nominate and elect trustees. In New York, all who statedly contribute to the support of the churches, (even though not church members,) are entitled to take part in the election of trustees. And this is in accordance with the provision of our Discipline.

Is it said that the Quarterly Conferences are close corporations, and self-perpetuating, and the nominations of stewards and trustees dependent upon the pastor? In reply, I ask, Do we not find similar close corporations, under due provision of law, too, in all our States? The analogy, therefore, does not fail. But is it said that our economy does not sufficiently admit the laity to a voice in the affairs of the Church? We have before shown that they have several important advantages over other denominations; and they are constantly gaining others. Our Church legislation is, in every quadrennium, supplying something in that direction. Once, a minister, on his sole prerogative, could turn out a member from the Church, but now every member has a right to a trial before his peers before he can be expelled, and can be expelled only on their verdict; and he can object to any juror who sits on his case, as in civil courts. Once, a minister had the full right to appoint a board of trustees and fill vacancies; at a later date, trustees filled the vacancies on the nomination of the pastor; now the whole Quarterly Conference, composed, as we have seen, almost wholly of laymen, votes on the election of trustees, and also of stewards. Such is the tendency of legislation in our Church, to supply the missing links, and recognize the popular voice. Eleven years ago laymen were introduced into the General Conference—the great legislative body of the Church.

It must be admitted that, even with some of the links yet wanting, the government of the Methodist Episcopal Church, viewed as a whole, more nearly corresponds to the government of the United States than that of any other Church.

In the language of our Bishops, in their Address to the General Conference in 1876: "The connectional character of our Church we regard as of the highest importance and greatest utility. An army in detachments, under independent authorities, would be feeble and ineffective, in comparison with the same army moved by one supreme authority, having unity of purpose and action. Germany under the Empire is much more potential among the nations of the earth than when under the government of independent sovereignties. So the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the sublime unity of her grand purpose, and under the government and direction of the General Conference, as her supreme authority, is much

mightier in her action and influence than she could possibly be in independent divisions. She can better antagonize great errors, contend with enormous vices, overthrow combinations of wickedness, and press forward the triumphs of divine truth and grace in the earth."

2. As to the Itinerancy. Some seem to think that the itinerancy of the Methodist Episcopal Church is opposed to the principle under consideration. If we study the itinerancy, we shall see that it is founded directly upon the principle that we are "members one of another." The itinerancy has reference to the assignment of the preachers to their ministerial and pastoral work. It was constituted on the basis of the surrender of personal rights and preferences. Under this system, at the outset, the preacher relinquishes the right of absolutely deciding as to his field of labor, and the societies also surrender the right of absolutely deciding who shall be their pastor. This does not mean that there can be no consultation between the preachers and the people, nor between the preachers or the people and the Bishop or presiding elder. By no means. This has always been not only allowable, but also necessary, in ascertaining the needs of all concerned. But the *fixing* of the appointment is with the Bishop. The Discipline defines the duty of the Bishop in these words: "to fix the appointment of the preachers." He must judge between conflicting claims, and finally determine the allotment. This all good Methodists submit to gracefully.

The reason for this surrender of personal rights is, for the good of the whole, that every society may have a pastor and every pastor a society. If the matter were left to be decided by personal agreement of pastors with societies, a large number of societies would be left without pastors, and pastors without societies, (as in churches of the Congregational polity,) to the detriment of each party, and of the Church as a whole.

But we are asked if, under our present economy, there is not a large number of the societies of the Methodist Episcopal Church without pastors? We answer No; not one. Those noticed in the Minutes as left *to be supplied*, are all of them provided with pastors. Every society whose name is on the list in the Minutes has a pastor. If the society cannot be furnished with a pastor who is a member of the Conference, it is

left under the care of the presiding elder, who provides one. Usually he has some one already provided, he having, in his oversight of the societies, anticipated the case, and arranged with some local or supernumerary preacher to take the charge, so that these societies are as promptly and regularly provided with pastors as others which receive ministers from the Conference. Preachers thus appointed by the presiding elder are as truly pastors as though appointed at the Conference. In case a few days or weeks should ever intervene between pastors, on account of death or otherwise, the pastorate is vested in the presiding elder, who gives special attention to the society until he can furnish a pastor to dwell among them, which is seldom more than a few weeks. Thus all Methodist societies have a perpetual pastorate. If one pastor leaves, another immediately steps into his place. While, therefore, we have not, in the technical sense, "settled pastors," we have, nevertheless, a permanent pastorate. No other denomination but the Methodist has a perpetual pastorate. This is a great advantage to both pastors and people.

Thus it appears that what men of other denominations have said to their own credit and to the discredit of Methodism, in regard to the permanency of their pastoral relation, has been full of misapprehension as to the facts, or unfortunate in phraseology, or both. The itinerant ministry is permanent, unceasing. It never vacates, never intermits. The very act and moment that dissolves a minister's pastoral relation to one society places him in the same relation to another society. The societies are never without pastors, nor the pastors without societies.

One thing to us seems palpable: *If the Methodist Episcopal Church should abandon the itinerancy and adopt the Congregational polity of settling ministers, in less than five years one half of our churches would be without pastors.*

Let us see how it is with the churches of the Congregational polity. Turning first to the Baptist churches, we find that their Year-Book does not give the necessary data to determine the question of the number of settled pastors in the whole country; but the local "Minutes" for the several New England States enable us to ascertain the facts for that section, though the case in regard to some of their churches is not quite clear, some who are only supplies not being distinctly designated.

VACANT BAPTIST CHURCHES IN NEW ENGLAND IN 1880.

	Number of Churches.	Churches Vacant.	Per cent. Vacant.
Maine	262	113	43
New Hampshire	84	22	26
Vermont	114	37	32
Massachusetts	289	61	21
Rhode Island *	..	..	..
Connecticut	119	20	17
Total	868	253	29

Of 868 churches, 253, or 29 per cent., were without pastors. In Maine, the vacant churches were 43 per cent. of the whole, and in Vermont, 32 per cent.

Passing to the "orthodox Congregationalists," let us first notice what one of their own writers says:

> Take the stronghold of Congregationalism, Massachusetts, for a little survey. In 1857, the number of churches in Massachusetts was four hundred and forty-four; *sixty with ministers not installed*, and *forty-two not supplied*. In 1867 the number of churches was four hundred and ninety-six; *one hundred and fourteen with ministers not installed*, and *eighty-seven not supplied*. The number of ministers not installed was nearly double in ten years, while the increase in the number of churches not supplied nearly equaled the increase in the whole number of churches. In 1877 the number of churches was five hundred and twenty-six; *one hundred and seventy-four with ministers not installed*, and *seventy-three without supply*. In the last ten years the number of churches increases by thirty; the number with ministers not installed increases by sixty, and the number without supply decreases by fourteen. For the last twenty years the number of churches increases by eighty-two, or an average of about four per year; the number with ministers not installed increases nearly threefold, or from sixty to one hundred and seventy-four, or on an average, nearly six a year, and the number not supplied also increases on an average of nearly two a year, or from forty-two to seventy-three. (Massachusetts and Connecticut are the only States reporting more ministers installed than uninstalled.) The two States reporting the next largest number of churches are New York and Illinois. In New York, of two hundred and fifty-nine churches, only fifty-nine, in Illinois, of two hundred and forty-two churches, only twenty-six, have ministers installed. Iowa reports two hundred and twenty-five churches, with only seventeen ministers installed. The whole number of churches in the country is 3,564. Of these, 2,693 are regularly supplied, but 1,795 of the ministers supplying are uninstalled. "*Tempora mutantur, mores mutantur.*"

Twenty years ago a leading and lively writer in our Quarterly makes the following statements: "Few men of middle age are

* Not designated.

now in their first pastorates. A few Sabbaths of preaching seminary sermons, a hasty vote, a council obliged to concur—this is the settlement; a few months of novelty, gradually waning to indifference, a few years of sameness, a restiveness on the part of minister or people, a difficulty through some troubler in Israel—this is the tenure; then a request for dismission on the ground of 'ill health,' a council to indorse the minister as an angel and the people as saints, condolence with the church in its 'great loss,' a separation—and this is the end." "Such," he adds, "are the majority of our pastorates." If that were true, making allowance for rhetorical and quizzical features of statement, before the war, it cannot be less so now. There are more reasons for this state of things than we are now called upon to canvass, but the facts are significant.*

Taking a broader and longer survey of this denomination, we find that until within a comparatively brief period, say sixty years, their churches were well supplied with pastors. In 1770, in Massachusetts, there were 294 Congregational churches, of which only 15, or about 5 per cent., were without settled pastors. In those days ministers were settled for life, and there was a complete union of Church and State.

With considerable research, we have been able to gather data covering several periods, showing the drift in the Congregational churches.

IN NEW ENGLAND.

	Churches.	Settled Pastors.	Stated Supplies.	Vacant.
1830.—Maine	157	104	...	53
New Hampshire	146	116	...	30
Vermont	203	110	17	76
Massachusetts	227	208	...	19
Rhode Island †	16	10	5	1
Connecticut	223	183	...	40
Total New England	972	731	22 ‡	219
1870.—Total New England	1,442	671	444	327
1880.—Total New England	1,472	620	544	308
1882.—Maine	239	66	100	73
New Hampshire	188	68	66	54
Vermont	198	53	96	49
Massachusetts	532	274	178	80
Rhode Island	27	16	6	5
Connecticut	297	132	116	49
Total New England	1,481	609	562	310

* Rev. H. E. Barnes, in the "Congregational Quarterly," 1878, pp. 610, 611.

† For 1845, earlier cannot be obtained.

‡ Probably some vacant churches had stated supplies.

PERCENTAGE OF THE FOREGOING CHURCHES WITH SETTLED PASTORS, STATED SUPPLIES, AND VACANT.

	Settled Pastors.	Stated Supplies.	Vacant.
1830.....	75 per cent.	....*	24 per cent.
1870.....	47 "	31 per cent.	23 "
1880.....	42 "	37 "	21 "
1882.....	40 "	38 "	21 "

From the foregoing tables it is evident that the Congregational churches, even in their stronghold, New England, are gradually losing their "settled" ministry, the churches with pastors having decreased from 95 per cent. of the whole number in 1770, to 75 per cent. in 1830, 47 per cent. in 1870, and 40 per cent. in 1882; a little more than one fifth are vacant, and more than one third have stated supplies.

Turning to the whole country we find the following exhibit, covering a period of twenty-five years:

CONGREGATIONAL (ORTHODOX) PASTORATE IN THE UNITED STATES.

	Churches.	With Pastors.	With Stated Supplies.	Vacant.
1857.....	2,315	947	592†	503†
1860.....	2,583	898	694†	537†
1870.....	3,121	903	1,438	780
1880.....	3,745	881	1,919	945
1882.....	3,936	927	1,986	1,023

PERCENTAGE ON ABOVE.

	With Pastors.	With Stated Supplies.	Vacant.
1857.....	41 per cent.	25 per cent.	21 per cent.
1860.....	34 "	27 "	21 "
1870.....	29 "	46 "	25 "
1880.....	24 "	51 "	25 "
1882.....	24 "	50 "	26 "

While the total number of churches has increased 1,621, the settled pastors have decreased from 947 to 927, or from 41 per cent. of the whole number to 24 per cent. The stated supplies increased from 592 to 1,986, or from 25 per cent. of the whole number to 50 per cent., and the churches wholly vacant increased from 503 to 1,023, or from 21 per cent. to 26 per cent. of all the churches.

Outside of New England, the supply of pastors for the

* Too small a number to be calculated.

† In some churches in these years these items were not specified, the statistics in those years being less full and accurate than in later years.

Congregational Church is very small, as will be seen by the following table for 1880:

ORTHODOX CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES.

	Churches.	Pastors.	Stated Supplies.	Vacant Churches.
United States	3,745	881	1,919	945
New England	1,472	620	544	308
Outside of New England	2,273	261	1,375	637

In the United States, outside of New England, only 11½ per cent. of the Congregational churches have pastors, 60½ per cent. have stated supplies, and 28 per cent. are vacant.

The Presbyterians show a more favorable record in the whole country, a result in part of the fact that their economy has something more of the connectional character. But their practice of settling ministers on the same principle of personal choice does not well supply their churches with pastors. In 1880, of 5,489 Presbyterian churches, 3,086, or 56 per cent., had pastors; 1,369, or 25 per cent., had stated supplies; and 1,034, or 19 per cent., were vacant. Combining the Congregational and the Presbyterian churches in the United States, we find 42 per cent. have pastors, 35 per cent. stated supplies, and 23 per cent. are vacant.

Of late, the question has been discussed among our Congregational brethren whether the installation of pastors should be considered essential to the Congregational polity. This was the topic of an able article in the Congregational Quarterly, in October, 1878. The writer discussed the question of principles and also of facts. He answered "the main question plumply in the affirmative." He said, "Theoretically and historically the installation of pastors is a constituent part of the Congregational polity." "Not ten years ago, Connecticut Congregationalism declared in grave speech and graver document that no uninstalled minister was a pastor, or could properly be a member of a council." But the writer thinks the logic of events seems to be answering this question in the negative.

The same writer says: "For a long time, the view was held and acted upon that a man was not a minister unless he was a pastor in charge of a church. For more than one hundred years of our history, moreover, ordination always meant what

installation now does. None were ordained 'to the ministry,' but *over* churches." His conclusion is stated in these words, "From leading facts and principles, then, it would seem that the installation of pastors is a constituent element of the Congregational polity."

It is evident that the Congregational polity, as a system, fails, if it does not furnish pastors for the churches. The Congregationalist for January 9, 1868, in an editorial article in regard to stated supplies, said: "Of late years, an effort has been made to make the relation sound more Congregational, by styling those who hold it "acting pastors." It is clear to careful reflection upon the fundamental principles of our system that Congregationalism recognizes no such church officers as having any place among the regular force of her laborers. One of her cardinal doctrines is, that there are only two grades of regular church officers—pastors and deacons—known to Scripture. But a stated supply is not a deacon; equally, he is not a pastor; because the church has neither chosen him nor ordained him to be such. In a great many instances, as the thing works now, the church, as such, has taken no vote upon the matter, and has no official cognizance of the man at all; the engagement by which the supply is made "stated," instead of for a Sabbath or two, having been made by the parish committee, without so much as saying to the church "by your leave."

In reply to the inquiry whether Congregationalism is not a system of common sense, under which provision is made for such exigencies, the editor further says, Yes,

> but the radical and ineradicable difference between her theory of the whole matter and that of the system of stated supplies is that she regards no church, strong or weak, as in its normal condition without a pastor. Therefore she recognizes all other occupation of its pulpit as purely and necessarily exceptional and temporary; as simply a bridge over a lamented chasm. . . . The theory that it is right and wise for churches, because they are weak, or because they are peculiarly situated, or because they cannot quite find the man whom they are willing to settle, or for any other reason, to hire preachers by the year, as farmers do farm laborers, she utterly repudiates. . . . We could mention towns in New England where the preaching of an orthodox Congregational pulpit has been thus for years controlled by the parish committee; who have made all bargains with their

"stated supplies," and all selections of them, the church meanwhile having had no direct cognizance of the matter at all.

The practical effect of so many churches being without pastors is very bad. They often remain many months, and even some years, in this condition. No church, however strong, will be exempt from serious losses, besides failing to make progress. The writer already quoted (an editorial writer) says:

A few years of such experiences are very apt to sink a church so low in its essential life, that it is almost impossible for it to have more than a name to live, (if it retain even that.)

Again:

We believe the feeblest church of Christ, west or east, new or old, should seek to have a pastor. That is God's way. The feebler it is the more it needs a pastor. Let them take one of their own humble members, if they can get none better qualified; but let them have a pastor, who shall dwell among them, and make their interests his own. Happy will be the day for the churches when these ill-omened letters, "S. S." and "A. P.," shall disappear from all our statistics.

Such is the testimony of an eminent Congregational editor.

Thus we have, on the one hand, Methodist societies fostered by a perpetual pastorate, and, on the other hand, denominations of the Congregational polity with a large percentage of their churches suffering from the want of pastors. What is the effect on the growth of these churches? I will give the statistics as gathered from the official sources of each.

The following table gives the number of the communicants:

CHURCHES OF THE CONGREGATIONAL POLITY.

	1800.	1880.	Gain.
Baptists (all kinds).....	103,000	2,452,878	2,349,878
Congregationalists (orthodox) ..	75,000	384,332	309,332
Presbyterians (all kinds).....	40,000	937,640	897,640
Total.....	218,000	3,774,850	3,556,850

CHURCHES OF ITINERANT POLITY.

	1800.	1880.	Gain.
Methodists (all kinds of itinerant)	64,894	3,669,932	3,605,038

Methodism, starting in 1800 with less than one third as many members as all kinds of Baptists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists combined, has come to be nearly as numerous as all of them united, and her actual gain has been 48,188 more

than theirs. The relative increase to the population of the country is full of significance.

INHABITANTS OF THE UNITED STATES TO ONE COMMUNICANT.

CHURCHES OF THE CONGREGATIONAL POLITY.

	1800.	1880.	
Baptists, (all kinds).....	51	20	
Congregationalists (orthodox).....	71	131	— a relative decrease.
Presbyterians (all kinds).....	132	54	
Total, Churches of Congregational Polity.....	25	13	

CHURCHES OF ITINERANT POLITY.

	1800.	1880.
Methodists (all kinds).....	82	13

In 1800, the communicants of the Churches of the Congregational polity were 1-25th of the whole population of the country, while the communicants of the Methodist Churches were 1-82d part; but in 1880 the communicants of the former had become 1-13th part of the whole population, and those of Methodism had also become 1-13th part of it, a gain of 12 in the population in the former, and 69 in the latter.

We need not pursue these statistics any further. We do not, however, presume that the superior growth of Methodism is due wholly to her peculiar polity, which furnishes a perpetual pastorate; but it is too palpable to need argument that this perpetual pastorate, continually fostering the societies, has been a very large and important factor in its rapid growth; and that the small number of pastors, ranging from 56 per cent. (Presbyterians) to 23.5 per cent., (Congregational,) leaving from about one half to three fourths of the churches either vacant or with only temporary supplies, must be very disastrous to the growth of any Church.

The Boston Journal, May, 21, 1881, in an editorial, speaks of the disadvantages of the Congregation polity, as follows:

> Our local columns have lately contained reports of the case of a church in one of our Massachusetts towns which has installed a pastor after *nine years'* ineffectual quest. *Two hundred and forty different candidates had been heard by the church*, and the final settlement was accomplished over the protests of a minority, which *broke up one council on the score of technicalities, and endeavored to prevent the action of the second.* What were the reasons which lay back of this extraordinary lack of harmony we do not seek to inquire, and it would be no kindness to

rekindle controversies which we may hope to have been set finally at rest. But we may be allowed to use these circumstances as an illustration of a difficulty quite often encountered among churches with vacant pastorates—although not often manifested in so extreme and acute a form. We hardly know which is the more to be wondered at, in the case which we have mentioned—the *fastidiousness* of the church, or the endless succession of candidates, each as hopeful as his predecessor, who were willing to subject themselves to the critical scrutiny of a congregation, their chance of pleasing whom was about one in a thousand. . . . But this, serious as it is, is not the only evil that follows in the wake of this bad custom. It has a *demoralizing effect upon ministers*, who by the necessities of their position, when they are seeking a settlement, are tempted to consult popularity more than truth, and to preach what is palatable rather than what is profitable. No minister can be subjected to this sort of ordeal for any length of time without a distinct weakening of self-respect, and an uneasy sense of insincerity and unworthiness of motive. It serves further to deter young men from entering a profession the tenure in which is so hazardous.

Another fact appeared some years ago in the papers:

ITINERANCY.—The Congregational Church in Northampton, Mass., has had *twenty-nine* different clergymen since July, 1855, (about two and a half years,) *seventeen* of whom were *invited* by the "*committee*," with the expectation of being "candidates for the vacancy." It is a large and wealthy church. This is rather more of "itinerancy" than even the Methodists contend for.

Another paper had the following:

Bishop Paddock, of the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts, in his recent charge to his clergy, said that "pastoral changes are growing frequent. About *one* Episcopal minister in *five* is unsettled, and they change almost as fast as the Methodist." The Congregationalist says: "The same is too true with us, although we think there are signs of improvement. Somebody once said, sensibly: 'Four ministers out of five who resign do not need to, if they would realize it.'"

Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Episcopalians have felt the disadvantages of their system. Prof. Tucker, of Andover Theological Seminary, presented before the last National Council of the Congregational Churches a paper upon the difficult question, how acting pastors or stated supplies could be recognized and invested with fuller powers, and brought into closer official relations with the churches they serve. The fact that the stated supplies in his denomination are two and a fourth times as many as the pastors, with a

continual increase in that direction, seems to necessitate some such action. The precise piece of ecclesiastical mechanism that will fit the case has not yet, however, been discovered.

In the Presbyterian Church, the committee on the "Pastoral Relation," in the report to the General Assembly, in May, 1881, after deploring the number of *vacant* churches, among other causes of their being in that condition, specifies the following: "A want of system in bringing those who are able and willing to work and the vacant churches together." To meet this need the committee recommend the following plan: A committee in each Presbytery to prepare a list of the vacant churches and the unemployed ministers, "who shall send" the ministers to the vacant churches, and that all unemployed ministers, able for service, who refuse to be placed on the list, and work under the direction of the Presbytery, if not excused, be retired, and so reported to the General Assembly.* This plan approaches very nearly to the system under which the Methodist presiding elders work.

But this persistent seeking of one's own selfish preferences in the settlement of a pastor not only results in the general disadvantage of leaving many churches without a pastor to suffer and to decline, but it often produces unhallowed and pernicious agitations. The choice of a new pastor often imperils the well-being of a church. Divisions and distractions spring up. Said Rev. John Angell James: †

> It must be admitted that, on these occasions, our principles as Independents and our practices as Christians have not unfrequently been brought into disrepute. We have been accused of wrangling about a *teacher* of religion till we have lost all our religion in the affray; and the state of many congregations proves that the charge is not altogether without foundation.

Again he says:

> We carry into the sanctuary and into the church our pride, our self-will, our personal taste. That spirit of mutual submission, brotherly love, and surrender of our own gratification to the good of others, which the word of God enjoins and our profession avows would keep the church always happy and harmonious, and enable it to pass in safety through the most critical circumstances in which it can be placed. Instead of seeking the good of the whole, the feelings of too many of our members may be thus summarily expressed—"*I will have my own way.*"

* "Minutes Gen. Assemb., 1881," p. 547. † "Church Members' Guide," p. 165.

Our itinerant polity, properly worked, will insure against these evils. The spirit which Mr. James recommends as the remedy for the evils incident to the Congregational polity—mutual submission, the surrender of personal preferences to the greatest good—is the basis of our itinerancy. Both ministers and societies with us waive personal choices, in order that the great ends for which the Church is founded may be more fully accomplished. Is it objected that, under the itinerant polity, churches sometimes receive undesirable ministers? I reply, Do not churches which call and settle their ministers often find themselves mistaken in their choice, and burdened with an undesirable minister whom they cannot easily get rid of? But if a Methodist society gets an undesirable minister, is it not better thus than to be left a year, possibly several years, without any pastor; and can it not, for the general good, be patiently borne for a year, when exchange can be easily effected?

It is also true that a Methodist minister will sometimes have an undesirable society; but that is not so bad as to have no place, and to be obliged to go about the country exhibiting himself and seeking a call. He will certainly bear it, if he be a true servant of God, when he considers it part of an administration for the general good.

What, then, is the conclusion to which we come, as regards the question of Church polity? We learn that the denominations which retain their personal preferences, in deciding the pastorate, do so to the detriment of the general good; and that those who forego their personal preferences, do so to the advantage of the cause at large. It cannot be impertinent to ask, *Which is the more Christian: to please ourselves, as ministers and churches, to the injury of the cause of God, or to sacrifice personal preferences for the good of the cause as a whole?* And which kind of Church polity recognizes the fundamental principle of the Gospel, that we are "members one of another?"

1. It is very plain, therefore, that the itinerant economy of Methodism, by which its preachers are assigned to their fields of labor, which has occasioned so much criticism, and the other great connectional features of our Church polity are founded upon *the most vital principle of God's spiritual kingdom*, that

we are "members one of another;" yea, more, our Church polity is deeply rooted *in the fundamental race principle*, which recognizes the whole human family as "members one of another." Let this principle be every-where discarded in common life, and the race will not survive one generation; let it be discarded in the Church of God, and weakness and disintegration must follow.

2. From this discussion we see the logical and the vital relation of our "*General* Superintendency" to the economy of Methodism, and how incongruous a diocesan episcopacy would be in our peculiar polity.

3. We see, too, the indispensableness of the Presiding Eldership in our Church organization, and especially to the working of our itinerancy. It is not only a legitimate, but a necessary concomitant of our polity—a connecting link, and an administrative factor.

4. In this light, too, we see why our peculiar tenure of Church property, especially the clause required to be put into all the deeds of churches and parsonages, is necessary. It is a wise and legitimate provision for any Church which maintains an itinerant ministry. Without it the ministers could not be stationed. No society which assents to the itinerancy can logically refuse to conform to this condition. The unifying bond that binds us in a common life must include the sanctuary, as well as the individual. The Church property must yield to this self-sacrificing spirit for the good of the whole. The same thing is true of all our connectional institutions and funds, the Book Concerns, the colleges, etc. They must be held by such tenures that they may subserve the general Church.

5. Our system of providing for the superannuated preachers by funds raised from the societies at large is also germane to our peculiar Church economy. Having shared in whatever disadvantages are involved in the itinerancy, for the good of the cause at large, and the societies having reaped the advantages of these self-sacrificing labors, it is fitting that the pecuniary support of the worn-out servants of the Church should be made a common cause.

6. So also all our connectional collections are a part of a great scheme. The collections for Foreign Missions, for Home

Missions, for Church Aid, for Freedmen's Aid, Education, etc., are put before all our people, on the principle that we are "members one of another."

7. The administration of discipline upon ministers by Conferences, rather than by individual societies, as in other denominations, is also based on this principle. An itinerant minister belongs to the Church at large, and is liable to be appointed anywhere.

8. But this peculiar economy cannot endure the inordinate self-seeking, the unscrupulous scheming, the selfish combinations of over-ambitious men, either in the ministry or the laity. These things are foreign to its spirit, and the effect of them can only be ruinous. Every instance of such exhibitions is a breach of good faith with our polity. The germinal center and the animating spirit of the polity of Methodism is self-sacrifice of the individual for the good of the whole. It should be administered on this principle. It can be perpetuated on no other. An inordinate, scheming self-hood will destroy it.

ART. II.—SLAVERY IN THE NORTH.

"WHOSOEVER hateth his brother is a murderer." But hatred does not always take the form of murder. When it pervades clans or states and culminates in war, the war does not go on to extermination. The fiercest revenge is at last softened, and life is spared on the condition of servitude. This was probably the origin of slavery. But when the condition of slavery was established its ranks were replenished by other means. As the slave could utter no complaint, and his wrongs could have no redress, all manner of crimes were buried in its dark recesses. If Joseph could be taken from a princely family and consigned to slavery, we may know that it covered other cases of greed and revenge, and that there was a place for the slave-trader and the kidnapper; and as it lived on human passion, we need not marvel that it became almost universal. Abraham, in his pastoral life, was ministered to by slaves; and the Israelites, under the code of Moses, continued to have a mild form of slavery. It belonged to the Grecian,

the Egyptian, and the Roman civilizations, and was prevalent, to some extent, in the nations of modern Europe.

In England slavery existed during the Heptarchy, and it was the presence of some fair-haired Saxon children in the slave-market of Rome that moved Pope Gregory to send out St. Augustine to convert the rude Britons to Christianity. But under the operation of the feudal system the people of England outgrew slavery without being committed against it; and when the American colonies were being settled she had nearly a monopoly of the African slave-trade, and took care that her colonies were abundantly supplied with slaves. But it must be said that she acted only in conformity with the usages of those times. For many generations the Mohammedan States of Northern Africa were in the habit of making slaves of all Christians. They plundered the northern shores of the Mediterranean, and carried their captives—men, women, and children — to the slave-market; and when, in 1537, Charles V. made his memorable descent on these pirates, he released twenty thousand Christian slaves; and, to make the balances something like even, he carried back with him about half that number of Mohammedans who were doomed for life to the galleys of Italy, Spain, and Malta.

There were no scruples against slavery in England, and, from the reign of Queen Anne, the slave-trade was among the most cherished interests of the government. In June, 1712, the queen, in her speech from the throne, took great glory to her administration, that in the treaty of Utrecht she had been able to secure the right of furnishing Negroes to the Spanish West Indies for the term of thirty years. Then, and many years later, there was no public opinion against slavery; and, at the planting of the colonies, Negroes were so persistently thrust upon them as to sometimes cause complaint. Hence, the colonists were familiarized with slavery from their first settlement, and it was regarded as quite in the natural order of things, not only to buy Negroes, as being heathen, but to enslave Indians taken in "lawful warres." If Abraham kept servants who were bought with money from the stranger, and the Old Testament Scriptures presented examples of captives who were made "hewers of wood and drawers of water," the New England Puritans, at least, could have no scruples about

making slaves of the "heathen," and their only anxiety seems to have been to preserve the checks and guards of the Mosaic code, and to prevent the harsh and cruel treatment of the slaves.

The Indians were not a tractable race, and the men, especially, had so many resources for escape, that it was a little difficult to apply the discipline necessary to make them obedient and serviceable. But the near vicinity of the West Indies provided a remedy for this difficulty; and when prisoners were captured it seems to have been the custom to distribute the women and girls to the colonists, but to send away such of the men and boys as were obstinate to be exchanged for Negroes. Hence, after the exterminating war which was waged against the Pequods in Massachusetts in 1637, Governor Winthrop, of the Bay Colony, in writing to Governor Bradford, of the Plymouth Colony, says:

> The prisoners were divided; some to those of ye river (Connecticut) and the rest to us. Of these we send the male children to Bermuda by Mr. William Peirce, & ye women & maid children are disposed of about in ye tounes. Ther have now been slaine or taken, in all, about 700.*

Winthrop records in his journal the return of Mr. Peirce, in the Salem ship "Desire," "with some cotton, tobacco, and Negroes." Hubbard, the contemporary historian of the Indian wars, according to Moore, confirms this statement. He says: "Of those who were not so desperate or sullen as to sell their lives for nothing, but yielded in time, the male children were sent to the Bermudas. Of the female, some were distributed to the English towns, and some were disposed of among the other Indians." That is to say, Indians who had assisted the English in prosecuting the war.

A little later, after the King Philip war, (1676,) this plan of disposing of Indian captives was pushed further, and some hundreds of Indians were sent out to be exchanged for Negroes. Among them seems to have been the wife and son of Philip; and Mr. Everett, in one of his orations, refers to the matter thus:

> And what was the fate of Philip's wife and son? The boy is the grandson, his mother the daughter-in-law, of good old

* "Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts." By George H. Moore, Librarian to the New York Historical Society, and corresponding member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. New York: Appleton & Co. 1866.

Massasoit, the first and best friend the English ever had in New England. Perhaps—now that Philip is slain and his warriors scattered to the four winds they will allow his wife and son to go back — the widow and the orphan — to finish their days and sorrows in their native wilderness. No! They are sold into slavery—West Indian slavery! An Indian princess and her child sold from the cool breezes of Mount Hope, from the wild freedom of a New England forest, to gasp under the lash beneath the blazing sun of the tropics.

Among the earliest laws passed by the General Court of Massachusetts was one touching this subject. It does not indicate, as some have contended, that the colonists were averse to slavery, and only tolerated it out of regard to English interests. It provides, indirectly, for the slavery of both Negroes and Indians, as follows:

> There shall never be any bond slaverie, villinage, or captivitie amongst us, unless it be lawfull captives taken in just warres or such strangers as willingly sell themselves or are sold to us, and these shall have all the liberties and Christian usages which the law of God established in Israel concerning such persons doth morally require. This exempts none from servitude who shall be judged thereto by authoritie.*

It will be observed that the word *strangers*, which was evidently inserted to give it a remote reference to the Mosaic code, does not cover the enslaving of children born of slave mothers. Still, in any slave-holding community the *unless* would be regarded as giving about all the privileges that the slave-holder would deem requisite for the security of his supply; but the boundaries were still further enlarged at a later date by substituting the words *such as* for *strangers*, making it include Indians "taken in just warres," Negroes brought from Africa or the West Indies, criminals condemned to slavery by the courts, and Negroes other than *strangers*—that is to say, *such as* were born of slave mothers. Mr. Palfrey, Mr. Sumner, and some other distinguished antislavery leaders have declared that "no person was ever born into legal slavery in Massachusetts;" but Mr. Sumner prudently added in his famous speech of June 28, 1854, "If, in point of fact, the issue of slaves was sometimes held in bondage, it was never by sanction of any statute law of colony or commonwealth." This will probably strike the reader as a pretty liberal construction

* "Slavery in Massachusetts," page 12.

of the law above cited; but whatever was the theory, there was no dispute about the practice. The children of slave mothers were constantly held in bondage, not only in Massachusetts, but in all the other colonies. In a fugitive-slave case which was carried before the Connecticut General Assembly in 1704, the facts of usage were thus stated:

> According to the laws and constant practice of this colony and all other plantations (as well as by the civil law) such persons as are born of Negro bondwomen are themselves in like condition—that is, born in servitude. Nor can there be any precedent in this government or any of her Majesty's plantations produced to the contrary. And, though the law of the colony doth not say that such persons as are born of Negro women, and supposed to be mulattoes, shall be slaves, (which was needless, because of the constant practice by which they are held as such,) yet it saith expressly that "no man shall put away or make free his Negro or mulatto slave," etc., which undeniably shows and declares an approbation of such servitude, and that mulattoes may be held as slaves within this government.*

Considering what was the inevitable result of "just warres" with the Indians, it is not surprising that they were matters of no small interest to some of the colonists. Moore quotes an interesting letter touching this point. It seems that the father of the famous Sir George Downing married a sister of Governor Winthrop, and, on coming from England to Massachusetts, he took an active interest in the affairs of the colony. He was much troubled about the "paw wawes" of the Narragansetts, and was particularly aggrieved that they should be suffered thus "to maynteyne the worship of the Devill." His remedy is stated in a letter to his brother-in-law, as follows:

> If, upon a Just warre, the Lord should deliver them into our hands, we might easily have men, women, and children enough to exchange for Moors, which will be more gayneful pilladge for us than wee conceive; for I do not see how we can thrive until we gitt into a flock of slaves sufficient to do all our business. †

Indians, as has been said, were somewhat difficult to manage; but the practice of sending them to the West Indies to exchange for Negroes, or, as Mr. Downing calls them, Moors, offered a feasible plan for getting into "a flock of slaves." But the extract is valuable not only as showing the use of "just

* "Slavery in Massachusetts," page 25. † *Ibid.*, page 10.

warres," but the value that was put upon slavery. It is often said that slavery was abolished in the Northern States because it was not profitable; but whether it was profitable or not, the slave-owners clung to it with a wonderfully tenacious grip, and there were others besides Mr. Downing who felt that the one thing needful was to "gitt into a flock of slaves."

At first the slaves were not numerous, and were not regarded as of much account; but their value appreciated as the colonies advanced, and their number rapidly increased. Even in Pennsylvania the number of slaves had swelled to ten thousand at the breaking out of the war; and although the Quaker colony was in advance of the others in dealing with inferior races, it does not seem to have been exempt from the common weakness in regard to slavery. The article on slavery in the American Cyclopedia says: "The Quakers were opposed to slavery and the slave-trade from the beginning of their existence." If this was so, how did it come to pass that the Quaker Legislature of Pennsylvania allowed it to take root and grow to such enormous proportions? On this subject Mr. Moore gives us some very instructive facts. In 1688 a small body of Quakers living at Germantown, who had come from a town in Germany not far from Worms, were disturbed in mind by complaints from home about the usages in Pennsylvania touching slavery; and at one of their meetings they determined to draw up a protest and send it to "the monthly meeting held at Richard Worrells." It was accordingly written and signed by four leading Friends. In it they say:

> Pray what thing in the world can be done worse toward us than if men should rob or steal us away and sell us for slaves to strange countries, separating husbands from their wives and children?

And they conclude by this appeal:

> Now, consider well this thing, if it is good or bad. And in case you find it to be good to handle these blacks in this manner, we desire and regard you hereby, lovingly, that you may inform us herein, which at this time never was done, *viz.*, that Christians have such liberty to do so, to the end we shall be satisfied on this point, and satisfy likewise our good friends and acquaintances in our native country, to whom it is a terror or fearful thing that men should be handled so in Pennsylvania.

This paper, "from our Meeting in Germantown held ye 18th of 2d month, 1688," was duly considered at the monthly meeting; but no action was taken on it, for the reason that "We find it so weighty that we think it not expedient for us to meddle with it *here*, but rather commit it to ye consideration of ye quarterly meeting." It accordingly went up to the quarterly meeting at Philadelphia, where it was read "on ye 4th of ye 4th month, '88," and recommended to the attention of the yearly meeting, which met at Burlington in July of the same year; and the minute of the yearly meeting in regard to this very difficult question, as to whether one Christian can buy or sell another, is in the following words:

At a Yearly Meeting, held at Burlington the 5th day of the 7th month, 1688: A paper being here presented by some German Friends Concerning the Lawfulness and Unlawfulness of Buying and Keeping of Negroes, It was adjudged not to be so proper for this Meeting to give a Positive Judgment in the Case, it having so general a Relation to many other Parts, and, therefore, at present they Forbear It.—Page 78.

Their answer does not take the color of a very obstinate opposition. Slavery "had so general a relation to many other parts" that they "adjudged" it best not to give any opinion, but to let the buying and selling of Christians go on. A little later (1699) William Penn proposed to his Quaker Legislature that they should provide by law for the marriage, religious instruction, and kind treatment of slaves; and a bill was reported in accordance with his suggestions, but when it came to a vote it was rejected. Still later, in 1712, a petition was sent up to the Legislature, praying for the passage of a bill which provided in some way for the emancipation of the slaves. But the committee to which it was referred reported that "it was neither just nor convenient to set them at liberty." *

This action, or want of action, explains why slavery continued to grow in Pennsylvania; and we may well believe that it was "inconvenient" to part with it. But the facts cited are further important, as showing that slavery had as firm a grip on the people of these colonies as on those of South Carolina and Georgia. It is probably true that the hardships of slavery were lighter in the North than in the South, and that the

* "Blake on Slavery," page 381.

attempts to apply to it the Mosaic code were not wholly without results. There was a prejudice, too, against enslaving baptized Christians; and in New York the Dutch code (1665) expressly provides that "no Christian shall be kept in bond-slavery, villeinage, or captivity, except such who shall be judged thereunto by authority, or such as willingly sold or shall sell themselves." But the tenacity manifested in clinging to the system appears to have been quite as great at the North as at the South.

There was, however, one exception to the general indifference respecting the slavery of inferior races; and, curiously enough, that exception was among the *heretics* of Rhode Island. According to Mr. Moore, whose careful researches give great weight to his statements, the only case of positive legislation against slavery through the whole colonial period and, so far as he can ascertain, in all the world down to the middle of the 16th century, took place under the eye of Roger Williams, who had been driven out of Massachusetts and banished "for divers new and dangerous opinions." This legislation, standing thus conspicuously alone, is in the following words:

The commissioners of Providence and Warwicke,* being lawfully mett and sett, on the second day of their session, (19th of May, 1652,) enact and ordain:

"*Whereas*, there is a common course practiced among Englishmen to buy Negers, to that end they may have them for service or slaves forever: for the preventinge of such practices among us, let it be ordained: That no black mankind or white, being forced by covenant bond, or otherwise, to serve any man or his assighnes longer than ten years, or untill they come to be 24 years of age, if they be taken in under 14, from the time of their cominge within the liberties of this Collonie. And at the end or terme of 10 years to sett them free, as is the manner with English servants. And that man that will not let them goe free, or shall sell them away elsewhere, to the end that they may be enslaved to others for a long time, hee or they shall forfeit to the Collonie forty pounds.—Page 73.

This brave and manly record was made against the general public opinion of the colonies, and found no imitators. It was

* The colony of Rhode Island consisted of the Providence Plantations, Warwick, and the Plantations of Rhode Island. The last does not appear to have participated in this legislation.

probably due to the influence of the Quakers, then strong in the colony, and true to the traditional opinions of their founder, who denounced the trade in slaves and dissuaded his followers from having any connection with an institution which did not square with the golden Christian rule. His course had a decided influence on all his followers in America; and although many of them became slave-owners, and at first hesitated and faltered in their course under the strong influences that surrounded them, they soon began to take a more decided stand, especially against the traffic.

After the action of the German Quakers, to which reference has already been made, the proceedings of the Quakers in England against slavery were felt by the denomination in this country, and at the yearly meeting of 1696 in Pennsylvania, Friends were advised to guard against future importations of African slaves. Again, in 1711 and in 1754, the yearly meeting spoke out on the subject. In 1754 their pastoral letter contained an exhortation to desist from "purchasing and importing" slaves, and where they possessed them "to have a tender consideration for their condition." The next year they returned to the subject again, and advised that if any members bought or imported slaves they should be reported to their quarterly meeting, to the end that they might be dealt with "as might be directed in the wisdom of truth." Under this influence the rigors of slavery were greatly softened in Pennsylvania, but no decided measures were taken for its suppression.

But while there was no decided official action against slavery in any quarter, save in the little colony of Rhode Island, there were not wanting protests against it. These were, however, like angels' visits, few and far between. In relation to Massachusetts, Mr. Moore undertakes to enumerate them, about as follows: A paper by Judge Sewall, in 1700, on the "Selling of Joseph" was a forcible tract of three pages, for which, as appears from his own statement, he received "many frowns and hard words." In it he says:

> The numerousness of slaves in this day in the province, and the uneasiness of them under slavery, hath put many upon thinking whether the foundation of it be firmly and well laid, so as to sustain the vast weight built upon it. It is most certain that all

men, as they are the sons of Adam, are co-heirs, and have equal right unto liberty and all other outward comforts of life.

In relation to his text, which was "Joseph," he says:

> Joseph was rightfully no more a slave to his brethren than they were to him; and they had no more authority to sell him than they had to slay him. And if they had nothing to do to sell him, the Ishmaelites, bargaining with them, and paying down their twenty pieces of silver, could not make a title. Neither could Potiphar have any better interest in him than the Ishmaelites.—Page 84.

In 1701 the town of Boston, probably moved by Sewall's tract, instructed its representatives in the General Court to act in favor of the policy of bringing over white servants and putting an end to the buying of Negro slaves.*

In 1716 the Quaker monthly meeting at Nantucket declared, "as ye sense and judgment of this meeting, that it is not agreeable to truth (rectitude) for Friends to purchase slaves and hold them term of life."—Page 109.

In 1733 Elihu Coleman, a minister of the Society of Friends in Nantucket, in pursuance of the views expressed at a previous monthly meeting, issued a tract entitled "A testimony against that anti-Christian practice of making slaves of men; wherein it is showed to be contrary to the dispensation of the law and time of the Gospel, and very opposite to both grace and nature." On the title-page is also quoted the words of Christ: "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do you even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets."—Page 108.

These may not be all, but the fact that they are all that can be easily found shows how strongly intrenched in the habits and usages of society slavery was. Then it should be observed that these movements stand apart, and produce no considerable impression on the public mind, although they proceed from the moral stand-point, and maintain that slavery is wrong, that it is contrary to individual rights and to the golden rule of Christ. But, in the meantime, slavery continued steadily to increase in all the colonies.

In 1715 the following table was compiled for the use of the Board of Trade, which is interesting as giving the population

* "Bancroft's History," page 409.

of all the colonies at that time, and their relation to slavery. It is copied from Blake's History, page 378:

POPULATION OF THE COLONIES IN 1715.

	Whites.	Negroes.	Total.
New Hampshire	9,500	150	9,650
Massachusetts	94.000	2,000	96,000
Rhode Island	8,500	500	9,000
Connecticut	46,000	1,500	47,500
New York	27,000	4,000	31,000
New Jersey	21,000	1,500	47,000
Pennsylvania and Delaware	43,300	2,500	45,800
Maryland	40,700	9,500	50,200
Virginia	72,000	23,000	95,000
North Carolina	7,500	3,700	11,200
South Carolina	6,250	10,500	16,750

Here the number of slaves in Massachusetts is estimated at 2,000. A little before, in 1700, they were rated at about 650. In 1754 a census was taken by order of the governor, because the General Court had passed a resolution to tax slaves as property. But the enumeration only extended to those who were above ten years of age. The number was found to be 4,489. Ten years later (1764) a similar census showed the number to be 5,779. But it not only increased, it rooted itself more and more in the habits and interests of the people, and was always able, not only in Massachusetts, but in all the colonies, to control public sentiment and legislative action. Even in Rhode Island the action of 1652 did not put an end to slavery. It was overborne by the common sentiment, and in 1776 the colony is reported as having 4,373 slaves.

But a time arrived when there was a break in the continuity, and public opinion began to change. When the British Government, by their oppressive acts, provoked the great discussion in regard to colonial rights, they unwittingly sounded the doom of slavery. The first important blow was delivered by James Otis in 1761, when he made his famous argument against the "writs of assistance." And if, as John Adams declared, the American Revolution "was then and there born," it was equally true that "deliverance to the captive" was then and there assured. The "writs of assistance" were measures for sustaining the restrictive acts of the government in relation to trade. England undertook to tie the colonies down to trade with her alone; and as the laws enacted for that purpose were

evaded, and smuggling had greatly increased, the officers of the customs found it necessary to have more power, and applied to the courts to grant them, through these writs of assistance, power to call to their aid all the executive officers of the government and, in fact, all the people, and to make search where they chose without preliminary ceremonies. So bold a measure in the interest of arbitrary power awakened the greatest excitement in Boston, then a town of 15,000 inhabitants, and called out all the combative enthusiasm of Boston's greatest orator. Mr. Otis was then a young man of 36; a lawyer of large reading and brilliant endowments who was comfortably provided for as the Judge Advocate of the colony. It was of course his duty, as an advocate in the employ of the government, to stand by its measures. But he promptly and peremptorily refused, and at once surrendered his commission and determined to oppose the granting of the writs. Accordingly, when Chief-Justice Hutchinson and his four associates took up the case in the Old Boston Town House, and Jeremiah Gridley appeared for the Crown, declaring that "to refuse the writ would be to deny that the Parliament of Great Britain was the sovereign legislator of the British Empire," Otis arose to oppose him, and made the great argument with which his fame and the founding of an empire of freedom is connected. But what concerns our present purpose is that *he struck the key note of* UNIVERSAL LIBERTY and laid down principles in relation to the rights of the people which were universally accepted by the lovers of liberty in all the colonies, and which, when applied to individuals, made slavery impossible. It is a little difficult at this remote date to know precisely what that speech contained; and Mr. Bancroft, in his luminous history of it, supposes that John Adams, who is its chief reporter, mingled with it some of the utterances which were made by Otis at a later period. But then or later, when he was a member of the General Court, he declared that reason and the Constitution were paramount to the British Parliament; that laws restricting the trade of the colonies are unjust and of no binding force; that the "administrators of legislative or executive authority, when they verge toward tyranny, are to be resisted; and that "there can be no prescription old enough to supersede *the law of nature and the grant of God Almighty*,

who has given all men a right to be free." A little later he was more explicit in regard to slavery, maintaining that "no good reason can be given for enslaving those of any other color. Is it right," he asked, "to enslave a man because his color is black, or his hair short and curls like wool? Can any logical inference in favor of slavery be drawn from a flat nose or a long or short face? Liberty," he exclaimed, "is the gift of God, and cannot be annihilated!"

The burning words of Otis fired the colonies from one extreme to the other, and Adams, then a young man of 25, declares that he could never afterward read the Acts of Trade without a feeling of anger; but he could not, at first, accept the radical position taken by the orator, and declares that he "shuddered at the doctrines which Otis taught." Of course, these doctrines were mainly applied to the circumstances in hand, and not to Negro slavery; but as they spread through the colonies they fastened on minds which took in their logical consequences, and from that day slavery began to wane in Massachusetts and in most of the other northern colonies. In the South the doctrines of Otis and their logical tendencies were accepted by the leaders of public opinion; but the new developments in the culture of cotton made slavery so profitable that a majority could never be brought to relinquish it. Washington avowed in his correspondence that "it was among his first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery may be abolished by law." Patrick Henry wrote: "Would any body believe that I am a master of slaves by my own purchase? I am drawn along by the general inconvenience of living here without them; but I cannot, I will not, justify it." Madison, George Mason, Col. Bland, and Mr. Jefferson stood on the same basis. Mr. Jefferson and other Southern members of Congress voted for and succeeded in securing the exclusion of slavery from the North-west Territory, and in the Virginia Assembly, on motion of Mr. Jefferson, (1778,) the further introduction of slaves into Virginia was prohibited. A little later (1782) the old colonial statute forbidding emancipation was repealed; and Maryland followed the example of Virginia in both these cases. But Mr. Jefferson says "he soon saw that nothing was to be hoped," and in a letter, in his old age, he narrates a bit of his experience thus:

From those of a former generation, who were in the fullness of age when I came into public life, I soon learned that nothing was to be hoped. Nursed and educated in the daily habit of seeing the degraded condition, both bodily and mental, of those unfortunate beings, not reflecting that that degradation was very much the work of themselves and their fathers, few had yet doubted that they were as legitimate subjects of property as their horses or cattle. The quiet and monotonous course of colonial life had been disturbed by no alarm and little reflection on the value of liberty, and when alarm was taken at an enterprise of their own it was not easy to carry them the whole length of the principles which they invoked for themselves. In the first or second session of the Legislature, after I became a member, I drew to this subject the attention of Col. Bland, one of the oldest, ablest, and most respectable members, and he undertook to move for certain moderate extensions of the protection of the laws for these people. I seconded his motion, and, as a younger member, was more spared in the debate; but he was denounced as an enemy to his country and was treated with the greatest indecorum.*

The discussion went on, hot and fierce, in all the colonies, and ended in the long Revolutionary War, which brought independence and liberty of action. In the meantime, many Negroes had gone into the army and laid down their lives for a liberty which they did not possess, deepening the convictions which had fastened on the public mind and which were everywhere manifested by calls on the newly made States to blot out the black stain of slavery. The change that was going on in public opinion was reflected across the water; and the people of England began to speak out against slavery and the slave-trade as they had never done before. In 1765 the case of Jonathan Strong enlisted the sympathies of Grenville Sharpe, and challenged the attention of a great portion of the English people; in 1768 another slave case was brought to the attention of the English courts through the sympathy of Mr. Sharpe, and was decided in favor of the slave. In 1774 John Wesley issued his celebrated tract on slavery; and two years later David Hartley, a member of Parliament, and Adam Smith, a distinguished author, came out against it. The English pulpit also began to thunder against it, and the public opinion of England was so wrought upon that when the Somerset case came before Lord Mansfield in 1772 it was so treated as to

* Quoted by Blake, page 390.

reverse the action of all the preceding courts, and put an end to slavery in England.*

In the Northern American Colonies and States the course of action was not very different, and the general procedure may be inferred from what took place in Massachusetts. There the change began to manifest itself:

1. By what were called "liberty suits" brought before the courts. All attempts to free the slaves by legislation failed, although the action seemed to indicate a majority in the General Court against it; but individuals, inspired by the views of liberty which now prevailed in the State, instituted suits in special cases in which slaves demanded wages withheld from them on the ground that they were slaves, while they claimed their freedom; or for being unlawfully held in servitude, or for being beaten by those claiming to be their masters. These suits were not numerous, but they were generally decided in favor of the slaves. They had no effect, however, beyond the individual actions which they settled.

2. Another indication of the change is to be found in the more frequent and earnest action of individuals and communities in regard to the wrong of slavery. The press began to groan with tracts against it. In 1767 an anonymous tract of twenty pages was written by Nathaniel Appleton, a merchant of Boston. In 1769 Rev. Samuel Webster published "An Earnest Address to my Country on Slavery." In 1773 James Swan, a merchant of Boston, printed "A Dissuasion from the Slave-Trade, Showing the Injustice Thereof."

In 1763 the representatives from Salem were instructed to use their exertions "to prevent the importation of Negroes into Massachusetts," as "repugnant to the natural rights of mankind and highly prejudicial to the province." In the same year the town of Medford instructed its member "to use his utmost influence to have a final period put to that most cruel, inhuman, and unchristian practice—the slave-trade." In the

* James Somerset, an African slave, went to England with his master, James Stewart, in 1769, and soon after left without leave and was seized and put on a vessel to be carried out of the Kingdom and sold. The question before the court was whether a slave by coming into England became free. The case was argued in January, February, and May, attracting great attention, and the result was a determination that as soon as a slave set his foot on English territory he became free.—*Blake on Slavery*, page 165.

same year the town of Leicester instructed its representative "that we cannot behold but with the greatest abhorrence any of our fellow-creatures in a state of slavery." Hence, they demand that he shall act against it. In 1765 the town of Worcester required its representative to "use his influence to obtain a law to put an end to that unchristian and impolitic practice of making slaves of the human species," etc. In 1766 the town of Boston instructed its representatives "for the total abolition of slavery among us, and that you move for a law to prohibit the importation and purchase of slaves for the future."

3. Another indication to the same effect was the decrease of slavery in the colony. We have seen that it increased rapidly prior to the agitation in regard to colonial rights, and that at the census of 1764, three years after the speech of James Otis on the "writs of assistance," the number of slaves was 5,779. But thenceforward, although the population continued to increase, the slaves diminished in number. In 1776, when the next census was taken, they numbered only 5,249, and every year thereafter showed a small decrease, till the whole system was swept away.

4. Another indication existed in the changed tone of religious men and religious denominations. Opposition to slavery grew strong in the Churches, and the pulpit began to thunder against it. Among the great names in controversial theology was that of Rev. Stephen Hopkins, of Rhode Island—the head and front of Hopkinsianism and the leading character in Mrs. Stowe's celebrated novel, "The Minister's Wooing." Her account of his determined opposition to slavery, his denunciation of it from the pulpit, and the divisions which it caused in his church and congregation, is the history of many other ministers and churches in the Northern States. The Quakers, as we have seen, were among the earliest to go to the rescue of the slave. The Presbyterians, in the United Synod of New York and Philadelphia, acting as the General Assembly of the Church in America, issued a pastoral letter in 1778 in which they strongly recommended the abolition of slavery and the instruction of the Negroes in letters and religion. The Methodists, then just rising into notice as a religious denomination, were very earnest for the abolition of slavery, and called its members to a strict account for the treatment of their slaves.

Blake, in his history says: "They had even gone so far as to disqualify slave-holders to be members of their communion." He adds that "Coke, their first Bishop, was exceedingly zealous on this subject, but that the rule was afterward relaxed."

This high ground on the subject of slavery is in curious contrast with the action of "Old John Street" a little earlier. According to Rev. J. B. Wakeley, this old church, the first Methodist church built in America, bought a slave to do the sweeping and cleaning of the building, and to perform the general duties of sexton. This curious piece of church history shows more conclusively than any words would do the complete obliviousness that then existed of any wrong in the practice of holding slaves, and the great change that took place when the wrong was duly exposed.

5. Still another indication was to be found in the formation of societies to promote the abolition of slavery. A society of this description, organized in Philadelphia in 1787, was sustained by the great names of Benjamin Franklin and Richard Rush. Dr. Franklin was president, and Dr. Rush and Tench Coxe, secretaries. Its object was "to promote the abolition of slavery, to relieve the free Negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and to improve the condition of the African race." A similar society in New York had behind it the name and influence of John Jay, soon to be Chief-Justice of the United States Court. But the change in public sentiment was not confined, as we have seen, to the Northern States. It also prevailed largely in the States South. Immediately after the war the Legislature of Virginia appointed Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Wythe a commission to revise the State laws. In the performance of their duty the question arose as to what should be the action in reference to slavery. After considering the matter and consulting with friends they agreed to report a clause in favor of gradual emancipation. But when the revision was completed, and was ready to be presented to the House of Delegates, (1785,) Mr. Jefferson had gone to France as minister, and those who shared his views thought that the favorable moment had not arrived for such a measure, and the clause was stricken from the report.

It thus appears that as the colonies grew slavery grew with them, without check or hinderance, till the agitation broke out

which preceded the war; that doctrines were then inculcated which could not be applied to slavery without destroying it; that the logical tendencies of those doctrines were generally perceived and produced a strong effect in all the colonies, and that in the North they culminated in such action as swept slavery, in due course of time, out of existence.

The first State to get rid of slavery at a blow was Massachusetts. In 1780 her people adopted a Constitution in which was inserted some "glittering generalities" about liberty. It does not appear that the clause was adopted with any view to the uses which it served. It was in the Bill of Rights, and was simply a rehearsal of the current views in relation to popular liberty. Here are its words:

> All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and inalienable rights, among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties; that of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property; in fine, that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness.

In the following year some suits, similar to the "liberty suits" which have been mentioned, were decided by the lower courts—some in one way and some in another. Among them was one "for assault and battery and false imprisonment," which was carried up and, in 1783, tried by the Supreme Judicial Court. The defense of the master was that the black was his slave, and that the beating, etc., were the restraint and correction necessary to secure obedience. This was answered by citing the clause above quoted from the Bill of Rights. The court held that the master had no right to beat or imprison the Negro under that provision,* and he was found guilty and fined forty shillings. This settled the question of slavery in Massachusetts, and at the next United States census no slaves were registered against that State.

In 1776 the remaining Northern States, as appears from a table in Blake's "History of Slavery," had slaves as follows:

* The same judges and the same public opinion would have delivered Virginia under the Bill of Rights, which stands or stood at the head of the Constitution then in force. Its declaration of rights is as follows: "All men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity, namely, the enjoyment of life, liberty," etc.—*Bigelow's Constitutions.*

Rhode Island, 4,373; Connecticut, 5,000; New Hampshire, 629; New York, 15,000; New Jersey, 7,600; Pennsylvania, 10,000.

Vermont, not one of the thirteen original States, passed laws against slavery while yet a Territory, in 1777, and was admitted as a free State. Maine, also not an original State, was under the government of Massachusetts, and her condition in regard to slavery followed the action of the parent State. New Hampshire, like Massachusetts, had slavery destroyed by a clause in her Constitution. Pennsylvania passed an act in 1780 which forbade the further introduction of slaves, and gave freedom to all that were born in the State after that day. It would seem that the new impulse given to liberty was more effective in Pennsylvania than in any other State. In 1776 she is reported as having 10,000 slaves. Four years later she passed her act for gradual emancipation, and when the first census was taken, in 1790, she had only 3,737 slaves. Connecticut and Rhode Island passed similar laws in 1784. New York passed an act for gradual emancipation in 1799, when she had 20,000 slaves. In 1827 she passed a supplementary act, declaring all her slaves free on the 4th of July of that year. New Jersey followed the example of New York in 1804, but without the supplement. She consequently had slaves later than any other State.

The condition of these States, as to the number of slaves, after acts of emancipation were passed, may be learned from the table below, made up from the United States census:

DECREASE OF SLAVERY IN THE NORTH.

	1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.	1850.
Connecticut....	2,759	951	310	97	....	....	....
New Hampshire	158	8	....	....	....	....	....
New Jersey....	11,423	12,422	10,851	7,557	2,254	674	236
New York.....	21,324	20,343	15,017	10,088	....	....	....
Pennsylvania..	3,737	1,706	795	211	....	....	....
Rhode Island..	952	381	108	48	110	64	....

Such are the facts developed by this simple history. Clearly they do not sustain the charges of selfishness and greed which are sometimes hurled at the North by heated partisans. Undoubtedly there were cases of fierce opposition and bitter complaint. Undoubtedly there were some who endeavored to make the most of their shattered property, and hurried it off

to a market. There were, we know, cases of merchants who endeavored "to turn an honest penny" by pushing the horrible African slave-trade; but these cases were few, and against the general sentiment of the country. There is nothing more certain in the whole range of history than the fact that slavery at the North was abolished because of the general conviction that it was wrong; that it was contrary to the doctrine of natural right; that it was incompatible with republican institutions; that it could not be reconciled with Christian morals, and was a disgrace to Christian civilization.

It grew up in the North and in the South under nearly the same influences, becoming stronger and stronger as the colonies increased in population and wealth, and rooted itself so deeply in the habits and interests of the people that practical men shrank away from every serious effort to disturb it, till an overwhelming public sentiment demanded that it should be swept away. It was struck with the same death in the North and in the South; but in the South its more vigorous condition and the fertilizing influence of cotton carried it through, and it recovered its former strength and power, and went on to wage war with its deadly enemy—the free public opinion of the nation.

This view does not entirely harmonize with the claims of the antislavery leaders of Massachusetts, some of whom have stoutly maintained that slavery was never legal in that State, and was always adverse to the general sentiment of its people. It has seemed to us that this view is not sustained by the facts current in her history, some of which have been cited in the foregoing pages, and that, aside from the ameliorating influences of Congregationalism, slavery in Massachusetts was not greatly different from slavery in South Carolina.

But if we cannot entirely accept all the strong claims of Mr. Sumner, still less can we accept the distorted pictures drawn by passionate partisans in the South. The editor of this Quarterly in the preceding number noticed an article in the Southern Review, by Rev. J. W. Scott, touching Bishop Andrew and the General Conference of 1844, in which he quotes Mr. Scott as saying: "These men, whose sires had waxed fat on the traffic in human flesh, were now in hot pursuit of Bishop Andrew for the sin of slave-holding," etc. It need hardly be said that this is the language of passion, and

not of criticism. But if such words are to be taken for truth, the question arises as to who the men were that thus "waxed fat." The general tenor of pro-slavery sentiment seems to have been that slave-holding in the North was an unprofitable business, and that slavery died out because it did not pay. Hence it was that Mr. Webster protested against any enactment excluding slavery from certain Territories because it was "re-enacting the law of God." It was not, therefore, the men who were so unfortunate as to hold slaves who "had waxed fat." Indeed, the words used pretty plainly imply that Mr. Scott referred to those who were engaged in the "traffic." But there could be no profitable "traffic" in a commodity that could not be sold and had no market. It was not, therefore, the trade in "human flesh" within the Northern colonies or States on which any body "waxed fat." But there was a "traffic" which was profitable, and in which Northern men, to some extent, participated. In Massachusetts, for instance, with a population of four hundred thousand, there were some gamblers, a few thieves, now and then a murderer, and one or two slave-merchants. These last fitted out their ships in Boston, and sold their cargoes in the West Indies. They took the risks and braved the odium of the "traffic," just as a gambler or a house-breaker braves the law; and because it was a stench in the public nostril and no honorable man would engage in it they had a monopoly and undoubtedly "waxed fat" on their trade in "human flesh." But does the Rev. W. J. Scott mean seriously to maintain that all the men in that General Conference who voted against Bishop Andrew were the sons of these freebooting slave-pirates? If he does not, he had better reconstruct his words.

We have said that slavery in the North was abolished from principle. It was, in fact, struck down by the conscientious convictions of an awakened people, by the overwhelming power of public opinion. In Massachusetts it began to decline from the day that the "writs of assistance" were argued. In Pennsylvania, where the action of the Quakers had prepared the way, manumissions were even more frequent than in Massachusetts. The act for gradual emancipation was not passed without bitter opposition from a strong minority, but the rapid decline that followed shows how strong and general was the

sentiment against it. In New York, under the operations of the act of 1799, the slaves fell off from 20,000 in 1800 to 10,000 in 1820. But the decrease was too slow to meet the popular demand, and the Legislature, in 1827, struck out the balance at a blow. Every-where public sentiment was in favor of the speedy overthrow of the system. The people felt that the action of the States should be consistent with the platform of the nation; and if all men were "created equal," a part should not linger in slavery. If liberty was good for the white man, it was good for the black man; if it was hard to be oppressed by England, it was still harder to be oppressed by a selfish and cruel master; if men had inherent rights as against political power, they had also inherent rights as against individual tyrants. The argument was irresistible, and the heart of every true man beat in unison with his brain.

ART. III.—THE CHURCH LYCEUM.

The Church Lyceum. Its Organization and Management. By Rev. T. B. NEELY, A.M. With an Introduction by Bishop HENRY W. WARREN, D.D. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1883.

THE chief design of Methodism was the promotion of the spiritual life; but a movement which was "cradled in a university" could not be indifferent to the mental culture of the people. Its field preaching and its literary institutions have a contemporaneous existence, and both are significant facts in the progress of the great evangelical revival. The Academies, Colleges, and Theological Seminaries of Methodism, established and supported wherever the denomination has obtained a foothold, in Europe and America, in civilized and pagan lands, tell the story of the devotion of this spiritually aggressive Church to the important work of education.

The provision made by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1876, for the organization, on each pastoral charge, of a Church Lyceum "for mental improvement" and for other kindred purposes, is in harmony with the genius and history of the Methodistic movement. The work which we make the text for this article was prepared

to explain the origin, aim, and processes of the Church Lyceum, and to show its possible value to individuals, to the Church, to institutions of learning, and to general society. The book also contains many practical suggestions in regard to methods and collateral work, which will be useful to pastors and others. There is a brief "Introduction" by Reverend Bishop H. W. Warren, which, as might be expected, is pointed and positive. "The Church," says the Bishop, "is the school of all schools, teaching health, cleanliness, temperance, hardihood, wisdom, holiness; that is, perfect manhood." And Mr. Neely affirms that the purpose of the Lyceum "is intellectual, as distinguished from that which is specifically called spiritual;" and, in response to the objection that this looks like an attempt to save the world by culture, he pertinently says, "It is not an effort to save by culture, but to culture the saved, or those who may be saved." The apprehension that the Lyceum may interfere with the regular religious work of the Church has some good ground on which to rest; and the fear will, in some cases, become a fact, if the organization be not kept well in hand by the Quarterly Conference.

There are those who object to this scheme of popular Church education as likely to impart only loose, general information, without accuracy or thoroughness, which will mislead and betray rather than discipline and develop. The objection would have force if it were designed to substitute the Lyceum for the Academy and College, or to make it the end instead of the beginning of an intellectual career. It is probable that an enthusiast in the cause, like Mr. Neely, may expect altogether too much from the Lyceum, and it is certain that it will have to be thoroughly worked to produce the satisfactory results which he contemplates. But we have no question that its influence will be salutary so far as it extends, and that very positive good may be realized. Pope's celebrated couplet,

> "A little learning is a dangerous thing:
> Drink deep, or taste not, the Pierian spring,"

is essentially false. "A little learning" is not "a dangerous thing," if it be *real* learning. If a man thinks that he knows a language because he has mastered its alphabet, or if he is led to believe that $2 + 2 = 5$, or that $5 - 2 = 4$, the results may be

disastrous. The unfortunate outcome is not, however, to be attributed to his knowledge, but to his ignorance. All learning is restricted, to begin with, and the wisest man's acquisitions are inconsiderable compared with the wide domain of knowledge. "A little learning" excites an intense thirst for deeper draughts from "the Pierian spring." It is only absolute ignorance which is content—only bias and perversion which are dangerous. Knowledge is more than accumulation; it is aspiration. It feeds the mind, to be sure, but it also kindles desire. Its greatest benefit is its awakening power. It clears the mental vision, and it widens, at the same time, the circle of observation. What it gives is a prophecy of what it has to bestow. That something, however little, has been actually learned, reveals our possibilities, and demonstrates that to the magic touch of our persistent research every gateway of knowledge will swing open in all the boundless universe of God.

The great necessity, in order to the success of the Church Lyceum, and, indeed, of our whole educational work, is that the ministers and members of our denomination should realize that mental cultivation is manifestly the design of God, and, therefore, unmistakably a Christian duty.

The mental constitution which we possess indicates the Divine will in this regard. The mind is capable of acquiring knowledge, of receiving discipline, and of being enriched by cultivation. It must, therefore, have been the design of God that the powers and faculties of our intellectual natures should be improved by study and trained for usefulness. A being made in the image of God—that is, in some sense, in the similitude of God—is under the highest conceivable obligation to make the most of his endowments, resources, and opportunities, to know and serve his Creator and Benefactor.

The whole process of the great salvation which God has given us is stimulative to the mental faculties. Men must "reason," "consider," "ask," "seek," "strive," "contend," "watch," and "endure," with patient perseverance, in order to obtain the crown of life. The general rule of Gospel acquisition is expressed by the wise man, in the inspired declaration: "If thou criest after knowledge, and liftest up thy voice for understanding; if thou seekest her as silver, and searchest for

her as for hid treasures; then shalt thou understand the fear of the Lord and find the knowledge of God."* The very conditions of God's promises of mercy and grace demand mental activity, and show that it is the Divine will that our intellectual powers be cultivated. We are bound to know God and to be like him—to know ourselves, our relations, duties, and privileges.

The apostolic injunctions, "Give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine," and "Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth,"† are precepts which concern not only evangelists, but all Christian workers. Every argument in favor of ministerial education applies, if not with equal force, yet as certainly and conclusively, in favor of Christian education. We need, for the greatest prosperity of the Church, cultured men, not only in the pulpit, but also in the pews, in the Sunday-school, in the official bodies, and in all the active relations of life. Can it be doubted, then, that it is the will of God that every follower of the Lord Jesus improve his mental powers to the fullest extent of his opportunities? Ought not a Christian to be, in every particular, the highest style of man? And is it not manifest that He who is the author of mind, as well as heart, may be as truly served with the intellect as with the emotions?

A Christian ought to cultivate his mind, that he may more clearly comprehend the revelations of God, in the material universe, in the government of the world, in the written Word, and in the office and work of the Holy Spirit. Ruskin complained, some years ago, of "the stern impossibility of getting any thing understood that required patience to understand." We need not marvel at this statement, or at its pertinent application to modern society; for "patience to understand" is the ripe fruit of mental discipline and culture. The comprehension of any important truth requires this "patience"—this attitude of persistent, painstaking thought. How many of the most thrilling utterances and powerful appeals and monitions of the pulpit and of the religious press are largely, if not entirely, lost, because the doctrines and sentiments presented are not held before the mind and considered in all their

* Prov. ii, 3–5. † 1 Tim. iv, 13, and 2 Tim. ii, 15.

facts and relations, till the half-inspired, or, it may be, wholly inspired, truth rises into clearness of view!—rises, not like an exhalation, but as a continent emerges from ocean depths and mists, grand and imposing in outline and magnitude.

God has placed us in a universe which is a miracle of beauty and splendor. There are perfections and adaptations and utilities in God's works which our heavenly Father must be pleased to have us observe and admire. "Some years ago," says an English essayist, "in passing through the cells of the Grand Chartreuse, noticing that the window of each apartment looked across the little garden of its inhabitant to the wall of the cell opposite, and commanded no other view, I asked the monk beside me why the window was not rather made on the side of the cell whence it would open to the solemn fields of the Alpine valley. 'We do not come here,' he replied, 'to look at the mountains.'" Such is the monastic spirit; and such teachings may be in harmony with a system which holds that "ignorance is the mother of devotion;" but such was not the strain of the Psalmist when he sung, "O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all;" nor is this monkish declaration after the manner of Jesus who showed to his disciples, in mountains and seas, in the earth and in the heavens, and even in the grass and flowers of the field, the tokens and signs of the care and love of a wise and merciful Father. There are visions and voices of God in his works and in his providence; but they are a sealed volume to us, except we have eyes to see, and ears to hear, and faculties to understand.

Christianity, moreover, is the religion of a book, of an ancient book, of a Book of books; of a book written in languages which are no longer living languages; of a book which is historic, biographic, dogmatic, narrational, poetic, epistolary, and apocalyptic; of a book which reveals God, announces creation, celebrates redemption, declares human relations, duties, and privileges, discloses a world beyond the grave, and points the way to life and immortality. Is it possible that such a book can be comprehended without research and reflection? Since God has thus revealed his mind and purpose to our race, is it not plainly his will that men should study and understand these sacred Oracles? With a Bible in his hand, can any

Christian fail to discern his obligation to cultivate, to the utmost, all his rational powers?

The Holy Spirit, it may be claimed, is given to enlighten our minds, and to teach us the things of God. But the Holy Spirit never imparts any new truth; he sanctifies us through the Word; he shows the startling significance and appropriate applications of the truth which we have learned, and he brings all essential things to our remembrance. The Holy Spirit, however, does not enrich the barren mind, does not supply the wastes of indolence and inefficiency, and does not honor ignorance and stupidity. And no marvel; for ignorance is the mildew of piety, the source of superstition, and the bane of progress. God honors intelligence, and the industry, self-denial, and perseverance which render it possible, when the knowledge and discipline thus secured are consecrated to Christ and to the work of the world's redemption. "The most devout and useful men," says an eloquent Wesleyan Methodist, "that have ever served the Lord Jesus Christ in our community have been men of sound and varied scholarship." Is it not evident, from all these considerations, that mental culture must be regarded as a Christian duty? and do not nature, Providence, Scripture, and the Holy Spirit unite in demanding its performance?

Mental culture is a condition of wide usefulness, especially in a cultured age, and is, therefore, an unmistakable Christian obligation. There are two conditions of usefulness—*character* and *consecration;* mental culture creates and exalts character, and leads indirectly to consecration; for although mental and moral culture may be divorced, they are naturally allied. "Studies," says Bacon, "serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability." The momentum of a body depends on its weight and velocity; if the former be less, the latter may be more, and so a given result be secured. But it is the special felicity of mental culture that it produces both weight and velocity; or, in other words, it adds to our resources and to our skill in their use. It develops reason, broadens observation, quickens reflection, and intensifies our conceptions of right, duty, and holiness; and so increases the domain and power of conscience. It enables us to discern the proper objects of individual choice, reveals the moral quality of conduct, makes manifest

the attractions of virtue and the repulsiveness of vice, shows the identity of duty and interest, and furnishes powerful motives to rectitude and purity. Prejudice, bigotry, local and sectional animosities, partisan bitterness, antipathies of nations and races, and all wars and persecutions begun and continued in the name of religion, are born of ignorance and depravity. Mental culture, therefore, must combine with Christian principle to produce elevation of mind, breadth of view, regard for intellectual freedom, reverence for individual conscience, and discernment of the great facts of human brotherhood and of our equal relation to our Father in heaven. An increase of light scatters the mists and fogs, and, by revealing, destroys many enormities and crimes. Not only phantoms and ghouls, but specters of sin and shame, not imaginary but real, disappear with the breaking of the morning, and perish in the radiance of the day. Intelligence will secure vigilance, a quick perception of wrong, and earnest endeavors to prevent or to remove it. All the activities of the Church require knowledge and the ripest fruits of culture; in other words, they require discipline, development, and scholarly endowments. It is only through these agencies that great results are accomplished. As Goldwin Smith has said, "Cultivation without force may be impotent, but force without cultivation is blind. Force without cultivation has produced great effects for the time, but only cultivated men have left their mark upon the world."

It needs intelligence to perceive the needs of the Church and of a perishing race; and our clearness of discernment will measure the depth of our emotions, and determine the extent of our activities. Faith in God and in the possibly glorious future of men is essential to sacrifice, and to arduous endeavors; and faith must rest on a sure foundation of knowledge, acquired by study or revelation. The aggregate of information requisite to Christian usefulness demands ceaseless mental operation. The work of the Church is immensely important. It is the growth of the centuries; it is sanctioned by historic examples; it is warranted by the highest reason; it is imposed by the authority of the Almighty; it concerns races and generations; and it contemplates nothing less than the salvation of lost men. Can such a work be successfully

performed without the highest type of training and development? "Restraint of discipline," says Edmund Burke, "emulation, examples of virtue and of justice, form the education of the world." Christian manhood, then, is the great reformatory and evangelizing power—the mightiest factor, next to the immediate agency of the Holy Spirit, for human regeneration. We must not only be Christians, but we must also persuade others to become Christians; and the Gospel, we may be certain, will not be helped by our ignorance and insufficiency. There are opportunities for usefulness, for grand and glorious achievements, which must be forever lost to us, except we have thoroughly trained and cultivated faculties, energized and electrified by the Holy Spirit, with which to engage in evangelical work. The best things can be done in the Master's cause only with the best weapons, polished and perfected in the best manner. "Knowledge shall be increased," is a characteristic of the Millennial Age. It is also said, "Wisdom and knowledge shall be the stability of thy times, and strength of salvation." Wisdom and knowledge are inseparable in strong and stable Christian character. When they are sundered, only disastrous results follow. Intelligence without piety dethrones God, while piety without intelligence debases man. The one produces infidelity, the other superstition. But piety and intelligence, the fear of God, and the knowledge of the forces and powers of the universe, develop the perfect Christian, and secure the conditions of widest usefulness.

Christian culture, so far as the individual is concerned, means an increase of his capacity, and an increased disposition to employ his powers for the well-being of mankind. For society, it means a growth of all its resources; an increase of wealth; the harmony of diverse interests; capacity to make field, forest, mine, earth, and ocean, the near and the remote, contribute to human sustenance and happiness; a greater strength and glory of manly character; more refined and elegant homes; happier children, nobler youth, a wiser maturity, and a more peaceful and golden old age. For the Church, it means a richly furnished ministry and an intelligent and useful membership, a clearer comprehension of the needs of the world and multiplied activities for human redemption.

The religion of the Bible demands culture. Its holy oracles must be explained, its historic records must be examined in the light of a searching criticism, and its sublime dogmas must be upheld despite the antagonisms of a speculative philosophy. The friends and advocates of the Christian system must be prepared to show the relation which the Church sustains to human governments, to the increase of civilization, to the promotion of genuine reforms, and to the progress of the race, in the overthrow, by Gospel agencies, of despotism, idolatry, and all barbarous and degrading practices and institutions. The sword of the Spirit needs to be wielded by skillful hands, and to be directed by cultured brains. The heaviest artillery is demanded for the service of the armies of our King. Every advance of the Church is met by trained, cultured, and liberally endowed foes. Indeed, the bulwarks of sacred truth are constantly and vigorously assailed with every weapon which can be found in the armories of history, science, and philosophy. If the Church does not place in the hands of the on-coming generations all the forces and appliances of Christian culture, infidelity will rear his ghastly throne above the sepulcher of our most cherished hopes, and a wave of barbarism will overflow and desolate all lands with a tide of death.

Mental culture promotes human happiness, and it is the will of God that his creatures should be happy. The joy of the acquisition of knowledge, of the exercise of our highest faculties, and of esthetic discernment in the realms of literature and art, is, unlike the joy of worldly success and of sensual gratifications, a rapture which is akin to the pleasures of beneficence and religion. The richest springs of enjoyment are unsealed and quickened into a perpetual flow by the cultivation of the mind. Indeed, the permanence of mental acquirements, and the constant means of usefulness and happiness which they furnish, are arguments in their favor too weighty to be disregarded. Mental cultivation renders its happy possessor quite independent of external conditions. Without wealth, or place, or power, the mind, enriched by knowledge and trained to activity, has unfailing resources within itself. Whether at home or abroad, in youth or in age, in solitude or in society, such a mind is always in the domain of usefulness and rational enjoyment. The works and won-

ders of God's universe and government, the facts and laws which relate to things and powers, the treasures of the inspired Word and the mysteries of redemption, the realizations of the present and the anticipations of the future—these are the heritage of the mind which has mastered knowledge, acquired discipline, and tasted the sweets of a genuine Christian culture.

As Milton sings:

> "How charming is divine philosophy!
> Not harsh and crabbed as dull fools suppose,
> But musical as is Apollo's lute;
> And a perpetual feast of nectared sweets,
> Where no crude surfeit reigns."

"What are lands and seas and skies to civilized men," inquires New England's greatest orator and statesman, "without society, without knowledge, without morals, without religious culture?" Mental and moral development, as indicated in this extract, are closely allied, and furnish the basis of sociciety and the sources of satisfaction to civilized men. "Where there is no sound reason," says a philosopher, "there can be no real virtue;" that is, in order to virtue, there must be understanding, and the power of intelligent choice. If, then, virtue is necessary to happiness, the relative value of mental culture is obvious. How often do uninstructed Christian men severely suffer from misapprehensions and superstitious fears! They walk, so far as their mental constitution is concerned, "in the vanity of their mind, having the understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them, because of the blindness of their heart."* They cannot readily distinguish sin from error, transgression from infirmity, or the darkness of guilt from the clouds of ignorance. But mental culture informs the understanding, restrains the passions, enlightens the conscience, disciplines the affections, and harmonizes all our powers and faculties. It delivers us from many a corroding fear, many an ensnaring doubt, and many an artful device of our great adversary. By its present and powerful aid we are often enabled to "put to silence the ignorance of foolish men."†

The work of Christian culture is a work of patriotism, as well as a work of religion. An ignorant people cannot remain

* Eph. iv, 17, 18. † 1 Pet. ii, 15.

a free people. The safety of the nation, and so of all landed and bonded estates, is in the liberal, thorough, and general discipline and development of its citizens. Christian culture, therefore, lies at the very basis of representative government, and of the hopes of the race. It is on the foundation of character in individuals—character produced by culture, in the family, in the Sabbath-school, in the Church Lyceum, in the Seminary, and in the College—that the pillars of empire are reared. "There are many Americans," says Rev. R. W. Dale, in his "Impressions of America," published in the Nineteenth Century, "as there are many Englishmen, who have not yet learned that in claiming the right to govern themselves, they have accepted the responsibility of doing their part toward maintaining a just and wise and vigorous government." An education of all classes in political duties is a necessity of the Republic. It is too much to expect that the secular schools alone can successfully accomplish this work. The pulpit, the Church, the Sunday-school, the mission teacher, the press, the Lyceum, the home, must take part in the grand movement for Christian cultivation. The government will escape its perils if citizens generally are intelligent and virtuous, and realize their solemn responsibilities; but it is a stupendous matter to raise up a nation of sovereigns, capable of acting without passion or prejudice, in the great exigencies of peace and war. It belongs to us as Christians to carry the principles of Christ's kingdom into all the duties and relations of life. The purity of society can be secured in no other way. To apply morals to national concerns, and to secure, through law and its administration, the happiness of mankind, are not only special necessities of our time and land, but they are grand achievements for any people, at any period. The most memorable incidents and epochs in our past history have resulted from the infusion into public affairs of the irrepressible forces of justice, morality, and beneficence—forces which are the product of Christian culture. In other words, they were the golden fruit of mental training and of Christian doctrine and experience.

The great need of the Church is a sanctified scholarship—the consecration to God of mental culture and attainments. Learning is not necessarily the handmaid of piety. Many times it

is the inspiration and support of doubt and disbelief. Particular truths may be so taught as to engender, on the whole, a blighting skepticism. The great facts and laws of the universe may be so combined and presented as to foster naturalism, and to discredit spiritual existence. One may be so blinded by a false system that he can walk through the splendid corridors of creation, and not discern the Creator. At the fountains of Helicon many a youth drinks in the poison of infidelity. In the groves of the Academy he learns a deceptive and corrupting philosophy. He climbs the steeps of Parnassus, but he fails to discern the glory of God shining in the heavens. He listens to Plato and Aristotle, but he hears not the words of Jesus, the Supreme Teacher, "the Prime and Blossom of the race." In all the voices of creation, he discerns not the voice of Him who "spake and it was done," who "commanded and it stood fast." The lessons of history do not teach him the grandest of all lessons—the lesson of a wise, watchful, and eternal providence. Despite all his acquisitions, he is *αθεος*, an *atheist*, "without God in the world." His studies have not brought him into the realm of the highest culture, where the beauty of the Lord is discerned. He has compassed the whole diapason of Nature's scale, but he has not caught the highest note—the note of redemption; he has not listened to the divinest melody—the melody of the heavens.

Not discerning God in human affairs, he is, notwithstanding his accumulations of knowledge, ignorant of the world, incapable of comprehending the drift of things, the currents and courses of the progress of the race, the mighty impulses of redemption in the growth and development of communities and nations. He is not able, therefore, to keep step with the music of the world's march in the realization of its highest ideals. He lacks adaptation to life, and is incapable of conquering a genuine success. He is not a helper to his fellows, but a hinderance and a burden. His doubts cloud the heavens, his fears chill the atmosphere, and his infidel speculations blight and blast every thing beautiful and ennobling in life. So far as his knowledge is power, it is a power of evil. Service to man is not to be expected of him; for he has no worthy conception of the dignity and value of a Christ-redeemed soul.

It is this class of men which bring learning into reproach.

Their scholarship is infernal in its prostitution, and their genius is set on fire of hell. In the courts, in Congress, in business, in literature, in art, in every walk of life, high and low, these men scheme mischief, breed corruption, organize rings, debauch morals, and defile, by pretense of favor, patriotism, religion, and all holiest things. Cultured wickedness, in a word, is pre-eminently satanic, as the whole history of civilized man proves. A sirocco is not so blasting, a simoom is not so deadly, a famine is not so fearful, as the wide-spread desolation of infidel thought, presented by trained minds, with the charms of learning, eloquence, and song, employing all the stores of knowledge and all the forces of discipline for the perversion of the truth, the weakening of faith, the degeneration of the race, and the destruction of society.

Now, when rare attainments in science and charming literary gifts are used to discredit the Christian revelation, it is no time to yield to the sway of ignorance, no time to cherish dogmatism or sectarianism, and no time to rail at culture and scholarly research as being inimical to the faith of the Gospel. On the contrary, while we guard ourselves and guard our youth from an insinuating skepticism, we must seek sedulously those fountains of learning which flow fast by the oracles of God. The only sufficient antidote to a skeptical scholarship is a sanctified scholarship. It is the uncultivated and ill-informed whose misguided feet are caught in the meshes of infidelity. If a lack of knowledge suggests doubt, an increase of knowledge will remove it. The more skepticism there is in a community, the more the truth of God, scientific, philosophic, and theologic, needs to be diffused. There is no conflict between science and revelation, and none are so conscious of this truth as those who are familiar with the facts and laws of the natural world, and also with the spiritual domain of faith and experience. More knowledge, more research, more discipline; more humility, more consecration, more power with God in prayer, more comfort of the Holy Spirit—this is the defense, the victory, and the glory of the Christian Church. Good books and periodicals, thoughtful, scientific, devout, must be widely scattered and diligently read and pondered. The Christian man who does not read must be relatively unintelligent, and correspondingly narrowed in his realm of usefulness. An

unreading Church, in a reading age, must go to the very rear rank of moral forces; and it will even be found in opposition to some of the grandest of Christian movements. This *is* a reading age. Infidel books, magazines, newspapers, and tracts, not all of them coarse, vulgar, and repulsive, but many of them learned, polished, and persuasive, and well calculated to deceive and betray, are scattered by the millions throughout this land and in all lands. The most dangerous ideas and sentiments, calculated to subvert and destroy society itself, are thus diffused through communities and nations. This literature is the more dangerous because it is plausible and attractive, tinged with romance and adorned with classical allusions; because it assumes to speak with the wisdom of the schools, claims to interpret the great facts of history, employs the discoveries and conclusions of science and philosophy for its own perverted purposes; teaches doubt by suggestion, and destroys confidence by insinuation; assails the Church in a pretended concern for humanity, impugns religion in the name of reason, and blasphemously denies God because of an affected regard for morality and virtue. What, then, is our remedy and duty? We must print and circulate good books—books which not only flash with the scintillations of genius, but which also throb and glow with the power and fire of the Holy Ghost. We must exalt that system of science and philosophy which casts no disparaging reflections on the Christian doctrines, and indulges in no sneers at the world's Redeemer. We must devote our means and energies to the work of personal improvement, and consecrate our ripest culture on the altars of a Christian civilization. The highest scholarship must be sanctified to God and to the work of human redemption. This is the grandest field which opens to our godly endeavors. From the sanctities of our homes, from the sacred inclosure of our Sunday-schools, from the hallowed places of our Church Lyceums, and from the halls of our Christian colleges, must come forth the daring and enthusiastic *knights of the Cross*, not to rescue the Holy Land from the infidel, but to bring the nations of the earth into the grand symposium of the Gospel.

Two practical conclusions remain to be stated:

1. It is every man's duty to make the most of himself, to seize all opportunities for mental culture and growth, to use

books, papers, lectures, associations, and all kindred facilities for his improvement, to study diligently the Holy Scriptures with an earnest purpose of comprehension and edification, and to pray believingly for the presence and power of the Holy Spirit to sanctify all knowledge and discipline to his growth, development, usefulness, and happiness.

Especially is this the duty of every member of the Methodist Episcopal Church; for the spirit of the denomination, from the inception of the grand movement, has been, first, salvation by faith in Jesus Christ; and, secondly, the best possible culture and development, and the wisest and most practical use of every talent, whether of endowment or opportunity, for the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom in the earth. Its schools, periodicals, Book Concerns, and educational organizations have precisely this significance. "The higher education of her youth" is an avowed disciplinary object of the Church; and the necessity of seminaries, colleges, and regular educational contributions is recognized and enforced. The "Church Lyceum," a local but important agency, has for its aim "mental improvement," provision for schools and libraries, the dissemination of religious literature, assistance for young men called to the ministry in obtaining an education, and, generally, the fullest ministration which the Church can offer "to the varied nature of man." That particular society exhibits practical wisdom, and will reap a golden harvest, which makes the completest use of these provisions. The youth will be attracted and instructed, the charms of social comminglings will be added to the pleasures of intellectual pursuits, and the paths of learning, like those of holiness, will be directed toward the Zion of God. All will be interested, saved from frivolous and corrupting associations, refined in thought and feeling, and allied by pleasant and profitable intercourse to the Christian Church; and some, without doubt, will be drawn, not only to the house of God, but also to the altar of prayer, will be changed in heart and life, and will

> "by due steps aspire
> To lay their just hands on that golden key
> That opes the palace of eternity."

2. The Church of Christ, which has been the conservator of knowledge in the days of greatest darkness, which saved

ancient learning from founder and wreck in a turbulent sea, which has always gained her surest victories in uplifting and enlightening men, needs now, more than at any period in the past, to ascend every summit of science, to explore every field of knowledge, to speak in every dialect of culture, to use the facts in every domain of learning, to convert every invention and discovery into a resource of power, to rear her battlements on every beetling crag of philosophy, and to fill every realm of art and song with the brightness of her creations and the melody of her sacred hymns.

Art. IV.—SOME HISTORIC PLACES OF METHODISM.

Foremost of these places is Epworth, where the leader of the second Reformation first drew breath. In the flat lands of Lincolnshire, where in winter the eye fell on dreary wastes of water, and in summer ague reigned supreme, stood the poor parish town of Epworth.

The minister was that "rugged and granitic man," Samuel Wesley, who fought hard against poverty within doors and against "the rabble of his parish without." In those days local politics ran high, and Samuel took sides. The other side fought him with weapons of the baser sort, and took full revenge on "the parson." They stabbed his cows, cut off his dog's leg, broke down his doors, drummed under his window at night to ruffle him as he wrote sermons; they stole his grain, burned his flax, and twice set fire to his house. Few men worked harder, few fared harder. But he stood his ground, and when timid friends urged him to give up, he said, "No, 'tis like a coward to desert my post because the enemy fire thick upon me." And so he held on, preached truth boldly, and eked out a scant living by parish rates and the writing of multitudinous, if not immortal, verses, over which thoughts and pen ran so rapidly that a day's work of two hundred lines was an easy task. Thrown into prison for a trifling debt, he lay in confinement three months. But even there he was far less concerned for himself than for his "poor lambs left in the midst of so many wolves." His brave heart did not sink, and

he wrote with spirit, and even humor, to the Archbishop of York, that he expected to do far more good preaching *in his new parish* than in the old one.

To this man of firm nerve and iron will was joined a helpmeet ranking foremost among "elect ladies."

Susannah Annesley, the youngest daughter among twenty-five children, in girlhood, in womanhood, in motherhood, in age and feebleness, was a woman such as this world is rarely blessed with. Think of a girl of thirteen examining and settling for herself the points of difference between Churchmen and Dissenters—and, with full knowledge of all her distinguished father had suffered as a Non-conformist, becoming a zealous Churchwoman.

In Epworth parsonage, amid the scenes and sufferings just alluded to, the mother of nineteen children, all blessed with grace of person and rare intellectual gifts, she brought out the rich treasures of her great soul. There is not an aspect of female character in which she is not a model. Cheerful in all fortune, good or ill, following to the grave nine beautiful lambs of her fold, selling her little trinkets and slipping the rings from her fingers to feed and comfort her husband in prison, ordering her household with a precision of Christian rules that tolerated no deviation, leading the minds of her children upward with a patience that amazes all fretful and impatient mothers, she was a living benediction in that humble household.

What a lesson we have in that family scene, when the irritable Samuel asked her, snappishly, "Why do you tell that boy the same thing twenty times over?" "Because," said the wise woman, "nineteen times were not enough." See her holding service in the kitchen for the poor of the parish while her husband is absent, reading the most awakening sermons with sweet, womanly eloquence to the crowd of eager listeners, and gently leading them to the Fountain of Life. Note her answer to her husband's letter of rebuke, when his stupid curate, who could not interest the people, had reported to him that his wife was holding unlawful conventicles: "If you do after all (she had in her letter defended her course unanswerably) think fit to dissolve this assembly, do not tell me you *desire* it, for that will not satisfy my conscience. But send me your positive

command in such full and express terms as may absolve me from all guilt and punishment for neglecting this opportunity of doing good when you and I shall appear before the grand and awful tribunal of our Lord Jesus Christ"—words and sentiments worthy of a loyal wife and a Christian woman.

The rarest and richest gifts were bound up in the character of the mother of the Wesleys. Her portraits show a classic beauty of face and form, while dignity, firmness, gentleness, strong common sense, far-seeing sagacity, clear penetration, and intense religious fervor blend and form a model for the study of all who can reverence one of the noblest works of God—a Christian mother. She has been well described as "a queen uncrowned and saintly:"

> "Not perfect, nay, but full of tender wants;
> No angel, but a dearer being, all dipt
> In angelic instincts; breathing Paradise;
> Interpreter between the gods and men
> Who looked all native to her place, and yet
> On tiptoe seemed to touch upon a sphere
> Too great to tread."

The crowning scene in this rare life was reached when it was yielded up in the room fitted up for her by her son John in the old Foundry. As the noble woman felt death draw near, she calmly said, "Children, as soon as I am released, sing a hymn of praise to God."

That old rectory, with its peaked and thatched roof; its mysterious noises from the visits of "Old Jeffrey," as the children called the familiar ghost, which and its pranks Isaac Taylor explains to his own satisfaction, at least, by his conceit of "idiotic creatures" of the spiritual world, "not more intelligent than apes or pigs," which "by some mischance are thrown over their proper limits and disport themselves among things palpable, and go to the extent of their tether in freaks of bootless mischief;" the fire at midnight when John Wesley was six years old, from which he was saved by one man standing on the shoulders of another and dragging him from the window just as the roof crashed in, which scene so impressed itself on the imagination of the thoughtful child that in manhood he kept it ever before him by the motto on his seal: "Is not this a brand plucked from the burning?"

And Epworth church-yard, with its strange and awe-inspiring scenes, what a place it holds in Methodist history! There for eight successive nights John Wesley stood on his father's tomb in the midst of a great multitude and preached with amazing power. "While I was speaking," he says of one occasion, "several dropped down as dead; and among the rest such a cry was heard of sinners groaning for the righteousness of faith as almost drowned my voice."

Such was Epworth, never to be forgotten, for it cradled John Wesley, the prince of preachers in modern times, and Charles Wesley, the prince of Christian hymn writers for all time.

London is full of sacred places. In the west rises the mausoleum where rest beneath turret and tower in the aisles and chapels of the venerable pile the bones of kings and nobles, philosophers, poets, and statesmen renowned in English story. In the east stands the gloomy tower where the best and bravest have languished in cell and dungeon and found exit from earth and its sorrows beneath the headsman's ax.

In Smithfield, where thousands now rush daily to the vast meat-market, thousands once gathered around the blazing fires of persecution, while the souls of undaunted witnesses to the true faith ascended in the flames.

The memories that cluster about such shrines can never perish. The light that broke from them in the midst of dense moral darkness can never grow dim. But to me the historic places of Methodism have as rich memories and as strong a light. The achievements in war and peace, of Raleigh and Nelson, of Wellington and Burke, of Peel and Palmerston, all combined have not done for England and for the world what the Wesleys and Methodism have done. For without the reforming, renewing, and restraining power of their preaching on the ignorant and degraded masses of the English people, neither the eloquence of Burke nor the sword of Wellington could have saved that country from the red dragon of the French Revolution.

Near to Smithfield stands the famous old Charter-house to which the loyal Methodist may well make pilgrimage. It was at first, and hence its name, a monastery of the Carthusian monks, and fell, with more than a thousand other such houses of various monkish orders, under the wrath of that royal and

incomparable monster, Henry VIII. It came, by gift or purchase, into the possession of the great house of the Howards, and after varying fortunes was bought by "Thomas Sutton, merchant of London, of the Earl of Suffolk," who founded there his famous school for boys and his asylum for decayed gentlefolks.

A hundred years after the death of Sutton, John Wesley, a frail, delicate boy of ten years, entered as a scholar under the patronage of the great Duke of Buckingham, Lord Chamberlain of the royal household. It was a sad place to thrust such a child into, fresh and untainted from the Epworth family. The gloomy cloisters were still there, "brick-built and grimy with traditions of monks' cells and a ghost-like smell," with an evil fame for small boys and even larger ones, "for did not a prior and five of his monks lie buried in the spot known and dreaded as 'Middle Briers?'" Wesley went in as a gown-boy among a set of urchins described by a chronicler, with perhaps undue latitude, as "well-bred, pleasant, idle, and ignorant," and according to the fashion of the times was soon arrayed in gown-boy's uniform. A sort of jacket, which was waistcoat as well, trousers of dark blue stuff, shirt and socks, and a pair of stout shoes known as "gowsers" completed the Charter-house toilet.

Among the boys of the different houses, and especially among the gown-boys, discipline was left almost wholly to the boys themselves. They regulated the fights, and had a rough time generally. The type of the Charter-house boys was distinctly marked. They had an independence and a distrust of authority that they asserted in more ways than one, and one of these ways was the filching of the meat-ration from the small boys by the big fellows. John Wesley was a victim of this Charter-house etiquette. For five years his food was little more than bread, but he kept his health by faithfully obeying his father's command to race every morning three times around the garden.

There is a tradition that yet lingers, to the effect that Wesley, though a quick boy and well advanced in his studies, always consorted with smaller boys and inferior classes, and would often harangue them with juvenile eloquence. One of the masters, breaking in one day upon such a scene, called the

young orator into his room and asked him why he did not company with boys larger and more advanced, to which, as the story runs, the youngster replied: "Better to reign in hell than serve in heaven." If Wesley was an ambitious boy never was ambition more wisely or grandly directed than when his richly gifted soul came fully under the power of divine grace. He bore his hardships bravely, loved the old school-house, and in after life made it an annual visit and strolled through its courts and grounds.

One quiet morning I left the crowded street and turned into the narrow way leading to this memorable place. It had been the abode of England's greatest nobles, and for a time of royalty itself, for the usher showed the room in which "good Queen Bess" had been entertained, with its high and curiously carved mantel, and walls still covered with rich but faded tapestry bearing quaint devices of the olden time, and the very spot at the head of the great stairs where the Duke of Norfolk was arrested as he came out of his dining hall. I saw the decayed gentlemen pensioners in their long cloth cloaks filing out of the chapel after daily prayers, and the tablets to the memory of Charter-house boys who had won renown in field and forum. But none of these interested me so much as the places that recalled "Jacky Wesley." There was the indentical dining-room, dark and low-pitched, with the oak table in the center, and the hard benches on which the gown-boys sat, and so high that the legs of a ten-year-old would dangle far above the floor. There were the long corridors, brick-paved, up and down which the boys ran for exercise in rainy weather, and the square plot of ground, rich in English grass, around which little Wesley ran three times every morning.

From the Charter-house boys sprang a noble race of men. The names of Thackeray, Havelock, Ellenborough, Grote, Thirlwall, and a host of others fill high niches in the temple of fame, but there is no name more revered or oftener written and sounded throughout the world than the name of the Charter-house boy, John Wesley.

As Methodism was born at Oxford, that quaint old university town must be set down as one of the most noted of its historic places. At seventeen Wesley escaped from the ruffianism of the Charter-house and entered the "aristocratic,

fashionable, and luxurious Christ Church College." The morals of Oxford were by no means above the average of the times. All manner of dissipation prevailed in the colleges, among which drinking and gambling were looked upon as least disgraceful. In the midst of these scenes Wesley appeared, and is described by an old chronicler as a "very sensible and acute collegian, a young fellow of the finest classical taste and manly sentiments." But could he have withstood for five years the corrupting influence and example of Oxford college life except for the re-enforcement he received from the letters of his admirable mother? He of all her children seemed nearer to her heart from the night of his rescue from the fire. Not long after that event she wrote in her diary: "I do intend to be more particularly careful of the soul of this child that Thou hast so mercifully provided for than I have ever been; that I may endeavor to instill into his mind the principles of thy true religion and virtue. Lord, give me grace to do it sincerely and prudently, and bless my attempts with good success." Was ever maternal prayer more fully answered!

Though greatly modernized, Oxford is yet full of Methodistic memories. There is the stately and venerable Christ Church College, with its great dining hall hung around with portraits of distinguished graduates; there are the walks and fields and rich meadows with grand old trees, over which the students roamed, and in one of which "a Mr. Barnesby and two other students," as John wrote to his mother, "had seen a ghost, and learned, a short time after, that at that very hour Mr. Barnesby's mother had died in Ireland"—concerning which and kindred ghosts stories his very sensible mother wrote him: "that as to these ghosts, if they would speak to us and instruct us to avoid danger, or put us in the way of being wiser and better, there would be sense in it, but to appear for no end that we know of, unless to frighten people out of their wits, seems altogether unreasonable!"

There is old Lincoln College quadrangle, with Wesley's room on the right, second floor, the more memorable because the Holy Club met there to pray and plan for work. Old Bocardo was the gloomy prison over the town gate-way, where they spent three hours every week in comforting and instructing the hapless creatures that languished and often died there

for want of means to pay debts of a few shillings. It had been made famous as the place from which Archbishop Cranmer was led to his martyrdom of fire. Not far off was the tower of St. Michael, to the top of which he was led that his soul might be shaken by seeing the burning of Latimer and Ridley; but, instead of this, we may well believe that it was fortified by the shout of Latimer to his fellow-martyr: "Play the man, Master Ridley; we shall this day light up such a candle, by God's grace, in England as, I trust, shall never be put out." And there was old St. Mary's, into which Cranmer was brought to repeat his recantation on the way to the stake; and beyond was the pile of fagots, and the fire into which when he reached it the noble martyr thrust his hand, saying: "This was the hand that wrote it, therefore it shall suffer first punishment;" and, holding it steadily in the flames, he never stirred nor cried till life was gone."

These were memories to inspire the little band known and ridiculed as "The Holy Club." And out of that club of strange elements what a power emerged to shake the world! There was in it a triumvirate that has not since been equaled for heroic daring and triumphant success—John Wesley, Charles Wesley, George Whitefield! What three other names represent in modern times so much moral power?

Born in poverty, battling with evils on all sides, they steadily rose and lifted thousands with them to the grandest heights of Christian experience. But not without passing under the yoke. They fasted, they prayed; they went into wretched prisons; they read all books that laid open the human heart and told of the need of Christ and a new life. "The Whole Duty of Man," "The Imitation of Christ," "The Serious Call," "Holy Living and Dying," they pondered over night and day with intense and painful concern. What bitter things they set down against themselves! Hear the poor tapster boy from the "Bell Inn," George Whitefield, as he cries out, like John Bunyan, "If I trace myself from my cradle to my manhood I can see nothing in me but a fitness to be damned;" and yet, while serving as tapster at the "Bell," he was dreaming of being a parson, praying and reading his Bible far into the night, and longing to go to Oxford to study for the ministry. And after he got to Oxford, what battles he had with his own

flesh and with the devil! He reminds us of Luther in his monkish cell. For hours Whitefield would lie upon the floor of his study, with arms extended in the form of a cross, groaning in agony of prayer. He would stand shivering in the cold till his flesh was almost black. He lived on bread and sage-tea without sugar, wore the shabbiest clothes, neglected his hair, prayed under the trees for hours at a time on stormy nights, which were the more welcome as they gave him awful thoughts of the day of judgment. By these and other penances he wore his body down till he could scarce creep up stairs to his room. After a year of such "unspeakable pressure of body and mind, God," he says, "was pleased to set me free." "I know the place," he exclaims, exultingly; "it may be superstition, but whenever I go to Oxford I cannot help running to the spot where Jesus Christ first revealed himself to me and gave me a new birth." The poor tapster boy had fought his way manfully to the celestial city; the Wesleys did not reach it till years of toil and sorrow had passed over them in the Old and the New World.

Let us return from Oxford to London. My venerable friend, Dr. M'Ferrin, will not soon forget a long trudge we took together in that vast city one afternoon in search of a little mission-room in the old Shaftesbury mansion in Aldersgate Street, where we were to meet a company at a "tea," and help to plan for church extension in that part of the city—nor, indeed, the good joke we had on a high dignitary of English Methodism, whom we met looking for the same place, when we told him to come on and we would show him one of his own mission-rooms, if we were Americans, and three thousand miles from home.

Within a hundred yards of where we sat that afternoon John Wesley was converted. No place in England interested me more. I had preached in the mission-room the Sunday previous, and referring to that memorable scene at the close of the sermon, expressed my surprise and regret that the precise locality had not been discovered. At the close of the service a gentleman met me as I was leaving the house and said the locality was known, though the house in which the meeting was held could not be identified, and politely offered to conduct me to the spot. I accepted his offer. We passed down

Aldersgate Street for fifty yards and turned into a narrow alley on the left that led us for some distance between tall business houses, and at length opened into a sort of court; from this we turned sharp to the right, advanced twenty yards, and again turned to the right. We were now in a very narrow court with old-fashioned two-story brick houses on either hand. They had two small rooms below, two above, and were occupied by laboring people. "Here," said the guide, "in one of these rooms John Wesley was converted." Yes, I thought, and thirteen years after he had been ordained a minister of the Church of England. My curiosity prompted me to peer in at the windows as I went by the houses, wondering in which of them that famous meeting was held. The few poor women I saw looked like washer-women, and shrunk away from my gaze into the recesses of their shabby dwellings.

On February 1, 1738, John Wesley landed in England on his return from America. It was nearly four months after before he found peace. This period was spent in great searchings of heart, and in free conversations with Peter Böhler, "whom," says Wesley, "God prepared for me as soon as I came to London."

The day ever memorable as the spiritual birthday of John Wesley was Wednesday, May 24, 1738. He had "continued to seek," he says, "with strange indifference, dullness, and coldness, and unusually frequent relapses into sin," until this day. At five o'clock he opened his Testament on these words, "There are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, even that ye should be partakers of the divine nature." Just before he went out of the house he opened again on the words, "Thou art not far from the kingdom of God." In the afternoon he was at St. Paul's. The anthem was, "Out of the deep have I called unto thee, O Lord." He was being made ready for the long-sought blessing. In the evening he went "very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate Street"—that is, to the little court near this street as I have described it. "One was reading"—who he was we know not—"Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans." The reading over, the leader at "about a quarter before nine was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ," when the quiet little man who sat listening with profound interest "felt his heart

strangely warmed." Let his own record stand forever as a testimony to the grace of the Lord Jesus: "I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given to me that he had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death." What did converted Wesley do? Shout? No, he did better than that. "I began to pray with all my might for those who had in a more special manner despitefully used me and persecuted me." What next did he? "I then testified openly to all them what I now first felt in my heart. But it was not long before the enemy suggested 'this cannot be faith, for where is thy joy?' Then was I taught that peace and victory over sin are essential to faith in the Captain of our salvation, but that, as to the transports of joy that usually attend the beginning of it, especially in those that have mourned deeply, God sometimes giveth, sometimes withholdeth, them according to the counsels of his own will."

While John Wesley was happily converted in a small room in the blind alley, Charles lay sick of pleurisy not far off in the house of a poor man in the street called then and still known as "Little Britain." It is strong proof of the sincerity of the Wesleys that, full of learning as they were, they willingly sat at the feet of the humblest to learn the way of salvation. In a letter preserved by Dr. Adam Clarke in his "Memoirs of the Wesley Family," from a Mrs. Hutton to Samuel Wesley, Jr., complaining of the strange conduct of his brother, that lady says: "Mr. Charles went from my son's, where he lay ill for some time, and would not come to our house, where I offered him the choice of two of my best rooms; but he would accept neither, but chose to go to a poor brazier's in Little Britain that the brazier might help him forward in his conversion, which was completed on May 22, as his brother John was praying." It was very kind in the good Churchwoman to offer him the choice rooms, but he wanted more than pleasant lodgings for the body; he wanted rest for his soul and help forward in the work of conversion—this she could not give, so he went to "Mr. Bray's, the brazier." This historic place has been swept away by the march of improvements. It stood at the end of Little Britain street, and directly opposite the famous "Bluecoat School." A square below, toward Aldersgate Street, is a small ancient building which that accomplished

Methodist antiquarian, George John Stevenson, of London, assured me was almost an exact counterpart of Mr. Bray's house. I scanned it closely more than once with deep interest. There were only three rooms, the front shop-room, the back living-room, and one upper room. Imagine the earnestness of Charles Wesley in seeking the way of life when, still weak from a severe pleurisy, he declines the comforts of Mrs. Hutton's best apartments, and takes the little room over the shop, with the braziers hammering below, and willing to endure all if he could only be helped forward in his conversion.

On Whitsunday, three days before his own conversion, John had prayed in the little room with his sick brother, and in the midst of the prayer the prisoner was released. Near ten o'clock the next Wednesday evening, a troop of friends took John down Aldersgate Street and up Little Britain to Charles' room, where they "sang a hymn and prayed, and parted praising God." The spot where once stood the humbled house of Mr. Bray was more to me in its blessed memories than the great school of King Edward opposite in its stately grandeur.

In the first period of the Methodist movement the prominent leaders were John and Charles Wesley, George Whitefield, and that noble and elect lady, Selina, Countess of Huntingdon. With these we may well name the famous and devout Moravian, Count Zinzendorf. The spirit of each of these great workers seems to linger still around the places in London made sacred by personal toil and sacrifice. Old Fetter Lane—the Moravian chapel remains very nearly as it was internally when those wondrous love-feasts were held in it. I sought it out as a pilgrim would seek a shrine. The yard that once stretched from the chapel front to the street has been long covered with modern buildings, but "the brethren" seem to hold the ancient house as a most sacred place, and have not altered it in the least, except to lower a little the high box pulpit. The very seats of plain boards are there on which the saints of a century gone sat when the baptism of fire fell upon them. Here in this very room was held the watch-night meeting that Wesley refers to in his journal: "About three in the morning, as we were continuing instant in prayer, the power of God came mightily upon us, insomuch that many

cried out for exceeding joy, and many fell to the ground." Here were held those strange meetings by a class of good but deluded people who preached "a new commandment called '*stillness*,' which repealed all God's commandments and gave a full indulgence to corrupt human nature." Wesley thus describes one of them: "In the evening our society met, cold, weary, heartless, dead. For two hours they looked one at another. The first hour passed in dumb show, the next in trifles not worth naming." Here Wesley, who opposed their wild doctrines, was expelled from the pulpit, and here in the love-feast five days after he read from a paper the errors into which he believed they had fallen, and at the conclusion said: "You that are of the same judgment follow me." Eighteen followed him, and the next day at the Foundry the Methodist society was formed.

The Foundry! What memories linger around the spot where it stood! What a busy hive, what a center of power it was in the heroic days! Within a hundred yards of City Road Chapel, where the Ecumenical Conference sat for two weeks, is the site of the original London fortress of Methodism—and yet, possibly, scores of the American delegates passed daily without knowing the facts.

A hundred and fifty years ago that part of London was little more than a common. A great highway, now City Road, led out into the country through Moorfields, a sort of park where people of the middle and lower classes sought recreation and amusement in all the sports of the day. On the right of this road and fifty yards distant was a gentle rise called Windmill Hill, now Windmill Street. On the summit stood a large irregular pile of half-ruined buildings. Wesley describes it as a "vast, uncouth heap of ruins." It was long used as a cannon foundry, but on account of an explosion, in which many lives were lost, had been unused for nearly twenty years. In this "uncouth heap of ruins" Wesley planted his Gospel battery. and began a cannonade that soon shook the kingdom. He preached his first sermon at eight o'clock in the morning to five thousand hearers; at five in the afternoon he preached again to eight thousand. He was urged to buy the place, and did so by the help of generous friends. Let us look at the Foundry refitted for the warrior, John Wesley, and his

thundering legion after the attempt to recast Marlborough's cannon had shaken it to pieces.

It had a front of 120 feet and a depth of 100. The main audience-room would hold 1,500 people. There were no pews, only the plainest sort of seats. Just in front of the pulpit were a dozen of these for the devout sisters; under the front gallery were free seats for women, under the side galleries for men. The front gallery was exclusively for women, the side galleries for men. The sexes sat apart rigidly, "as they did," says Wesley, "in the primitive Church." "None were suffered to call any place their own, but the first comers sat down first." The benches for rich and poor were exactly alike. The form of worship was this: Wesley began service with a short prayer, then a hymn was sung, then the sermon, usually about half an hour long; then followed another hymn, and the service closed with prayer.

The next largest apartment was the Band-room. It was in the rear of the chapel, eighty feet long and twenty wide. Here the five o'clock services were held, wonderful in power, to which the zealous Methodists came trudging through the mud by the dim light of lanterns before the dawn. In this room the classes met, and at two o'clock on Wednesdays and Fridays the prayer-meetings were held here. At one end of this long, narrow room a school was conducted; at the opposite end was the Book Room, germ of the mammoth Book Concerns and Publishing Houses of the present day. Over this room were Wesley's private apartments, and here his venerable mother spent her declining years, a matronly queen supporting her sons by her counsel and prayers in the great work that daily widened before them. At the end of the chapel room was a house for assistant preachers and domestics, while the whole establishment was completed by a coach-house and stables.

"Honest Silas Told," as Wesley calls him, who was converted from a swearing sailor's life to that of a saint, was the first teacher at the Foundry, and he taught from five in the morning till five in the evening at a salary of ten shillings a week. He has left us a picture of the place when he set up school in it. "A ruinous place it was, with an old pantile covering, consisting mainly of decayed timbers, with a pulpit made of a few rough boards." It was one of Wesley's five-o'clock sermons

on the text, "I was sick and in prison, and ye visited me," that the converted sailor felt moved to take upon himself that amazing work among the wretched criminals of Newgate and other prisons that gained him the noble title of the Good Samaritan of London. For thirty years he worked day and night among the most miserable and degraded of mankind, and when Wesley buried him he entered in his journal this uncommon eulogy: "I buried all that was mortal of honest Silas Told. For many years he attended the malefactors in Newgate, without fee or reward, and I suppose no man for this hundred years has been so successful in that melancholy office."

The displays of divine power in the Foundry in early times, and at the open-air services in Moorfields, near-by, almost exceed belief at the present day. Twenty thousand people was an ordinary Moorfields congregation for Whitefield and Wesley. The singing could be heard two miles away, and the voice of Whitefield, when at his best, fully a mile. Around him coaches, wagons, scaffolds, and other contrivances by the hundred were let to those of means who were anxious to hear the great preacher. One memorable Easter service in this place was the grand occasion of his life as a field-preacher. It was the custom in the holiday season to erect booths in Moorfields for all sorts of mountebanks, players, and puppet shows; and from early morn till late at night the place was filled with thousands of the lower sort of people. Whitefield determined to make one of these festive seasons a grand Gospel field-day. On Whitmonday, at six in the morning, attended by a large band of praying people, he ventured out among the multitudes gaping for their usual diversions. His text was well suited for the occasion: "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up." In the early still morning all was hushed and solemn. The people gazed with awe upon the impassioned preacher; they wept and were stung with deep conviction. He ventured out again at noon, when the fields were filled with motley crowds, and the shows were in full blast. As soon as they saw him mount the stand the people left the Merry Andrews and crowded by thousands around him. In the evening he renewed the battle, and then came the real tug of war. When he had mounted the pulpit twenty or thirty thousand flocked around

him. He soon became a target for rude fellows. Dirt, dead cats, stones, decayed vegetables, rotten eggs, were hurled at him. A brawny showman, mounted on the shoulders of a comrade, tried to slash him with a heavy whip. A recruiting sergeant forced his way through the dense crowd near the stand furiously beating a drum. But preacher and hearers held their ground. The little boys and girls that stood near him served as pages to pass up the notes for prayer that the people handed in; "and though," says Whitefield, "they were pelted with eggs and dirt thrown at me, never once gave way, but on the contrary every time I was struck turned up their little weeping eyes and seemed to wish they could receive the blows for me." They fought the battle against the rabble for three solid hours, preaching, praying, singing, and exhorting the whole time. They then drew off their forces to the Tabernacle, where Whitefield drew from his pocket a thousand notes from convicted sinners asking their prayers. As the substantial fruits of this day's work three hundred were taken into the Church in one day, nearly all of the lower classes, "brands plucked from the burning."

The power which attended the sermons of Wesley, delivered usually in calm but fervid tones, was amazing. In a moment men and women would drop down without any strength and cry out with violent pain. "Some said they felt as if a sword was running through them; others as if a great weight lay upon them, and would crush them into the earth; others felt a choking sensation and could scarcely breathe; others as if their hearts were swelling in them ready to burst; others as if their whole body was tearing all to pieces." Of these strange scenes Wesley says: "These symptoms I can no more ascribe to natural causes than to the Spirit of God. I can make no doubt but it was Satan tearing them as they were coming to Christ; and hence proceeded those grievous cries whereby he might design both to discredit the work of God and affright people from hearing that word whereby their souls might be saved." A scene of this sort occurred in the Foundry while Wesley was expounding the 12th of Acts. A young man rushed into the room cursing and swearing vehemently. The disturbance was great and the intruder had to be put out by force. But Wesley called to them, "Let him come in that our Lord may

bid his chains fall off." He returned at the close of the sermon, confessed himself to be a disguised smuggler on his way to his unlawful work, and vowed that he would seek God. Wesley certainly believed the devil to be a terrible personality. The places of early Methodism were not only marked by wonderful revival scenes, but also by stern and unrelenting discipline on incorrigible offenders against Society rules. Look at this record: "Sixty-four were expelled: two for cursing and swearing; two for habitual Sabbath-breaking; seventeen for drunkenness; two for retailing spirituous liquors; three for quarreling and brawling; one for beating his wife; three for habitual Sabbath-breaking; four for railing and evil speaking; nine-and-twenty for lightness and carelessness; and one for idleness and laziness." If we should begin to thin out in these days on such lines, especially the two last named, what a vast reduction we should have in the numbers of modern Methodism!

The centers from which the great evangelists thundered against sin were, for Wesley, the Foundry; for Whitefield, Tottenham Chapel, and for Lady Huntingdon, besides her West End residence, her Spafield's Chapel among poor watchmakers and other artisans. Tottenham Chapel stands yet, though somewhat modernized. It was called in derision "Whitefield's soul-trap." Hundreds were turned away on Sunday mornings for want even of standing room. People of rank and of every profession crowded to hear the wonderful preacher. Even Hume, the infidel, could not withstand the desire to hear him. To a friend who asked his opinion of Whitefield he said: "Sir, he is the most ingenious preacher I ever heard. It is worth while to go twenty miles to hear him." He then actually repeated the following passage from one of his grand perorations: "After a solemn pause, Mr. Whitefield thus addressed his numerous auditory: 'The attendant angel is just about to leave the threshold and ascend to heaven. And shall he ascend and not bear with him the news of one sinner among all this multitude reclaimed from the error of his ways!' To give the greater effect to this exclamation, he stamped with his foot, lifted his hands and eyes to heaven, and with gushing tears cried aloud, 'stop, Gabriel! stop, Gabriel! ere you enter the sacred portals, and yet carry

with you the news of one sinner converted to God!' He then, in the most simple but energetic language, described what he called a Saviour's dying love to sinful man, so that almost the whole assembly melted into tears. This address was accompanied with such animated yet natural action that it surpassed any thing I ever saw or heard in any other preacher."

But, unhappily for the cold, infidel philosopher, he heard and received all only as the word of man. Even the play-actors went to hear this master of eloquence and to study his tones and action. The Tabernacle is there still; the great city has stretched to and far beyond it, covering all the once vacant fields; but the memories can never die. Alone one day I walked through its aisles, ascended the pulpit whence the thunder-bolts of truth were hurled amid the cowering thousands that packed the spacious house from door to pulpit-stairs and all the wide galleries. I went into the vestry where in marble and from canvass the full round face of the great revivalist looks upon you; sat in his spacious arm-chair, and sought to catch somewhat of the seraphic spirit that bore him triumphantly across oceans and continents as a mighty herald of the everlasting kingdom. Surely the bones of Whitefield ought to rest near or beneath the Tabernacle, as do those of his great compeer near City Road Chapel. But it is well that his dust rests in the soil of the New World, for he was as much the apostle of America as he was of England. From New England to Georgia he swept as a flame of celestial brightness, kindling holy fires which are destined to burn on forever. The man who preached 18,000 sermons, more than ten a week, for the thirty-four years of his ministerial life, who ten times crossed the stormy North Atlantic in slow sailing-vessels, who so impressed the infidel Hume that he thought it worth a man's while to go twenty miles to hear him preach, who so stirred such a nature as Franklin's by his appeals for his orphan house as to empty his pockets of the last coin when the philosopher had predetermined not to give a copper—such a man can never perish out of the heart of God's people.

From the London throne of Whitefield I went to the humble chapel where that holy woman, Lady Huntingdon, scattered the richest blessings among the wretched poor of the great city. Just as I reached the door of a house next to the

quaint-looking chapel an elderly man of benignant face was coming out. On telling him my mission he courteously informed me that he was the minister in charge, and at once conducted me to his parlor. We sat and talked of the countess and her work in the very room in which she had held counsel with the leaders of the Calvinistic branch of Methodism. The chapel is a circular building, and the arrangement of every thing is very nearly as the countess had it in her day. A private passage led from the dwelling into the chapel by which she always entered, and there may still be seen the large square pew occupied by her ladyship and her special guests. "The countess died here," said the minister, and not at her costly West End residence; would you like to see the room in which she died? follow me and I will show it you." We passed out of the parlor into a narrow passage; he opened a door on the right, and we entered a small room not more than twelve feet square. "Here," he said, "that noble woman ended her great life-work in her eighty-fourth year. Truly the death scene in that little room, amid its squalid surroundings, was sublime. Weary and worn the saintly woman awaited the word of release. When a blood-vessel broke, as soon as speech returned, she said: "I am well, all is well—well forever. Wherever I turn my eyes I see nothing but victory. The coming of the Lord draweth nigh. My soul is filled with glory. I am in the element of heaven itself. I am encircled in the arms of love and mercy. I long to be at home." Just before the golden gates opened she exclaimed: "I shall go to my Father this night;" and the last words were, "My work is done, I have nothing to do but to go to my Father." Such were the words that had filled the little one-windowed room from which the soul of this "elect lady" ascended to a mansion not made with hands.

But of all places in London to which the thoughts and affections of Methodists turn, City Road Chapel, its preacher's homes, and the little burying-ground in the rear of the chapel, are the most noted. Here Wesley established his head-quarters when compelled to give up the lease of the Foundry. The place and its surroundings are historic. Directly opposite is Bunhill Fields, made sacred by the dust of thousands of heroic Non-conformists. There lie the remains of Bunyan, Isaac

Watts, Susanna Wesley, Daniel De Foe, Henry Cromwell, the notorious John Wilkes, and a long line of others renowned in English annals.

On either side of the chapel stands a modest three-story brick house for the use of the circuit preachers. That on the right is known as Wesley's house. He occupied the suite of plain rooms on the second floor, consisting of a small front room used as a parlor; back of this was his bedroom, not more than 12x14 feet, and beyond this a narrow room, 6x10 feet, used as a study. A few pieces of his furniture are in the rooms, sacredly preserved; among these is his arm-chair, used during the Ecumenical Conference by the presidents of that body, a little writing-table and a book-case with paneled doors, on the inside of which may be seen the engraved faces of some of his leading preachers, such as adorned the pages of the old Methodist Magazine, pasted there by Wesley's own hands. In this book-case is kept the huge china tea-pot, a present to Wesley from the celebrated Wedgewood, in which tea was made for the Sunday breakfast of the preachers whenever a large company of them met there, as they often did—never for Wesley himself, as he was no tea-drinker. In these modest little rooms Wesley showed in the smallest matters that love of order and neatness that so strongly marked his character.

In his chamber and study not a book nor a scrap of paper was ever allowed to be out of place. He was always ready to move, and lived like a man who had only an hour to stay in one place. Beyond any man of his day he knew the value of small things, and so caught them up and bound each in its proper place as to build a system of aggressive spiritual warfare second to none in the history of the world.

If a man may be remembered by germinal plans of benevolence that come to him as inspirations from heaven as he stands on higher summits and gazes farther into the future than others of his times, then will John Wesley and his works live forever in the memory of mankind. Cheap literature is the boast of this age, but Wesley wrote for the million a hundred years ago; we boast of our dispensaries that give free medicine to the sick and helpless poor, but Wesley had a dispensary in the old Foundry, and actually studied medicine that he might prescribe for body as well as soul. What a grand

institution the Sunday-school is! But Wesley had such schools in Savannah; Miss Ball, a Methodist, held them at High Wycomb, in England, long before Raikes opened his school at Gloucester, and even to him the idea was suggested by a Methodist girl.

Though once despised and ridiculed, John Wesley is now recognized as in the front rank of the great benefactors of mankind. And so, when the pilgrim tires of looking at the lowly historic places of Methodism, he may rest him in Westminster Abbey, and thank God that the life-work of the Wesleys is now deemed worthy of record in monumental marble in the national mausoleum among England's noblest sons.

ART. V. — SUPPORT OF CONFERENCE CLAIMANTS.

THE proper support of an itinerant ministry, called of God to the exclusive work of preaching the Gospel, is one of the most important problems of our Methodist economy. To secure the best results, the preachers must be free from all care except that of soul-saving. When the people detect the outcroppings of a secular spirit in the pulpit, they become jealous and mistrustful. Pastors who seem to doubt the willingness or ability of their flock to provide the necessary sustenance are sure to suffer loss, even in the meager allowances originally offered. Our ministers cannot supplement their salaries by engaging in any secular pursuits without being suspected of neglecting the chief of all concerns, the redemption of human souls. However, if the preachers are to be preserved from temptations to secularity, it is plain that the Church must remove all occasions of fear that an adequate living will not be furnished when conscientious and competent service has been rendered.

It may be comparatively easy to command a fair living for a pastor and his family while he is vigorous in health and efficient in service. So long as he can maintain the interests of a charge—in our system always so dependent on the minister's work—he is reasonably sure of some kind of temporal support; but by and by his power of acceptability wanes, and there is

no more reliable prognostic of his decline than that which is indicated in the increasing deficiencies on the annual claim. While others increase he must decrease, and soon, too often, "lost to sight and to memory dear," he must pine in neglect for material and social enjoyments and necessities. Such a prospect does not inspire the self-sacrificing toiler with either confidence or encouragement. The members of our traveling connection are required to submit themselves to episcopal authority; to go where sent; to remove their family where appointed, thereby losing all opportunity of local accumulations; and to accept the risks of ill-health, poverty, lack of appreciation, and all other disadvantages of a systematic itinerancy. Had the heroic apostle chosen his own appointment, according to the plan of call and contract, he could demand no expression of sympathy or proffer of aid from a connectional source when the inevitable superannuation should arrive. He must take his chances when "no man hath hired" him, but he who waives his immediate interest for the permanent commonweal, is certainly entitled to constant recognition and equitable compensation.

Our care for the Conference claimant has seemed to smack more of sentiment than of principle. We have, too often, apparently regarded the support of the superannuated preachers and the ministerial widows and orphans as a benevolence rather than as a claim. Quite frequently the younger ministers give but little attention to the matter, while those on the ragged edge of retirement set up a whine. The solicitude of the older preachers would strike us as very unbecoming if actual penury did not stare them in the face. The amounts reported to the Annual Conferences by the active and promising are in many instances lamentably small, while the returns of those advanced, or advancing, in years are often largely out of proportion with the regular benevolent collections. This condition of affairs is a source of embarrassment and shame. The system which characterizes our effort in other directions must be practical and reliable in the permanent support of the ministry.

It must be conceded that, if a man sacrifice his hope of worldly gain for the care of souls, he is entitled to a fair living until God removes him from the earth, or until he forfeits his

claim by immorality or demerit. A faithful minister should be made to understand that, if he devotes himself wholly to the work of the Church, he may relieve his mind from consuming anxieties in regard to the bread that perisheth. "Bread shall be given him; his water shall be sure." It is a wise economy for the Church to command the undivided attention of one called to the work of the ministry and pre-eminently successful in winning souls, while others who excel in temporal pursuits contribute a portion of their gains to the maintenance of the Lord's chosen evangelist. Every man to his work. Money-getting may be a part of Gospel effort, and the Lord has some of his servants engaged in this duty; but let the priests remain at the altar, lest they attempt that for which they are unfitted, and to which they were never appointed.

Exclusive devotion to the work of the ministry may henceforth disqualify a preacher for most, if not all, of the secular vocations. By long continuance in the pastorate, he has been weaned from the tastes and adaptations of a life which is financially remunerative. Even if he were physically able for the task, and by nature inclined to it, he would find that the commercial world in the last quarter of a century had gone ahead of him, so that he could make but a very low score in the race for wealth. His time, if profitably employed, must be devoted still to matters more or less ecclesiastical. Though he is no longer able for pastoral duty, his usefulness as a laborer in the vineyard is not at an end. He may yet render valuable assistance in revival efforts, occasional preaching, writing or selling books, distributing tracts, or visiting from house to house. Leisure hours may be advantageously occupied with such bodily exercises as will return a small profit; but from all of these a competent support cannot be obtained. His efforts must be subsidized by the special offerings of the Church.

The preacher's family is a recognized force in Methodism. The wife is expected to be a prominent factor in social and religious life, and must devote much of her time and energy in visiting the sick and well, and in attendance on all public services. Withal, there are the children, usually in considerable numbers, who add to the influence, power, and sympathy of the pastor. On the circuits especially his visits are hardly counted as such unless he is attended by the entire household.

Large families in the ministry have tended to develop the liberality of the Church, and therefore have been an important missionary agency. Many charges would never have grown into the habit of giving a respectable salary had they not been compelled first to do so from an acknowledgment of the needs of a numerous household thrown upon them for a support which they dared not repudiate. The children of a minister can do very little toward their own maintenance. Their father's occupation is such that he cannot accompany or instruct them in lucrative employments. His is a work that none other can do. Wife and children, by indiscretions and improprieties, may prevent the collection of the full claim, but they cannot, except in an indirect way, bring anything more than what salary commands for the larder or wardrobe. Frequent removals interfere with profitable investments in real estate for future use. If the head of the house is taken away before some, at least, have reached adult age, dependency, if not destitution, follows. Against such a painful emergency it is the duty of the Church to provide.

Inasmuch as individuality, both in ministers and societies, is to a very great extent merged in the connectional idea of Episcopal Methodism, the responsibility for the perpetual support of accredited itinerants and their needy families is thereby centralized. In a limited sense, all must fare alike, both "he that goeth down to the battle, and he that tarrieth by the stuff." By this reasoning, the worn-out veteran is as justly entitled to his stipend as the younger minister in the tenth or fifteenth year of his extending work and usefulness. The widow and orphan have claims that demand a hearing fully as much as the wife and daughter of the still living itinerant. The Discipline recognizes the correct theory in providing for statistical and Quarterly Conference blanks which call for the reports of the Conference claimants' collections under the head of "Support of the Ministry." A few years ago the Bishops' fund was treated by some as a benevolence, but all now admit the propriety of dividends for this purpose from collections for the ministry in general. The symmetry will be complete when the rightful share of the so-called Conference claimants is included in the scheme of distribution. Such an arrangement may be liable to gross abuse, or, from the added

machinery, cause the entire scheme of ministerial sustentation to fall in pieces of its own weight; but the suggestion of the plan is worthy of some attention, and the force of recurring objections may be offset by other advantages.

Collections on this beneficiary account have sometimes been so small as indirectly to retard the growth of the Church. Many a preacher has been retained in the "effective" rank after the work suffers under his administration, because he cannot be adequately maintained in the superannuated list. The very ministers, too, who will most likely need the benefit of the fund are those who early fade, and thereby the evil is aggravated. The Church, if toned to a proper pitch of liberality, could far better afford to furnish such with a living, though unemployed, than to permit the cause to languish under a senile pastorate. A younger and more acceptable incumbent might not only advance the work more rapidly, but also, if the matter were properly understood, collect sufficient to make comfortable provision for those worn-out in the ministry. If the sums required are not inequitably or disproportionately large, the proposed scheme is not impracticable. With proper safeguards, the claims may be duly restricted and promptly honored, with no greater deficiencies than fall to the effective preachers.

To avoid failure, the most scrutinizing care must be exercised in calling men into the pastorate. None should be engaged unless there is a fair presumption that their services will be so valuable as to justify a perpetual contract. Many worthy claimants have suffered because the Annual Conferences were embarrassed with a large necessitous class, excessively swollen from those who became inefficient or non-supporting very soon after admission to the traveling ranks. These, when the circuits will no longer receive them, are placed in the superannuated list, to increase the demand to such figures that both people and pastors despair of doing a respectable thing, and hence do not profess to attempt to secure a full subsistence for all dependent. Unforeseen causes may early incapacitate a preacher, but these would give no serious trouble if due precautions were invariably taken in the examination of candidates for the itinerancy. Among the qualifications for the work, physical strength, the quality of intellect, and commer-

cial habits, as well as spiritual advantages, should be considered. If these conditions were invariably observed, and the investigation was conducted rigidly on business principles, we might at once hopefully set about the task of providing for the actual necessities of all ministers, superannuated either after long services or by some exceptional occurrence.

It might be supposed that, if a life-long annuity was assured, some would ask for the superannuated relation long before they ought to retire from active duty. As age advances, many of the details of the work grow irksome, and there is an increasing distaste for the ever-recurring move. However, instead of a disposition in the declining itinerant to withdraw from the field, the very reverse is generally observed. Like the old war-horse neighing on the noise of battle, these veterans covet a charge when the Bishop reads off the appointments to others. There is reason to believe that the prospect of a straitened living has not nearly so much influence over the protesting superannuescent, as the seeming humiliation of dethronement from the power of the pulpit. A divinely appointed minister delights in nothing so much as in the active discharge of apostolic functions. The love of ease, so natural to humanity, especially as it is aging, is more than counterbalanced by the joy of work for the Master in so elevated a station.

If, however, the beneficiary funds are likely to be seized by lazy or inefficient applicants, some decisive way of preventing the abuse must and can be adopted. Disciplinary provision already has been made for the Connection to rid itself of unacceptable, inefficient, or secular preachers in charge by their summary, yet orderly, location. In a Methodist Conference the rights of a member to its financial emoluments are in no great danger of being ignored or trampled upon. The itinerants are ever disposed to deal justly, even leniently, with each other in regard to temporal claims. Severity is exercised only toward those against whom crime is alleged, because thereby the reputation of the calling is assailed, and its usefulness impaired; but in other concerns mutual regard and sympathy are entertained. In reference to professional defects in another, each accepts a personal admonition—"Restore such a one in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself, lest thou also be

tempted." There is no telling how soon the most popular preacher may seem to be no longer useful and acceptable. Nevertheless, if a support is to be insured to an accredited ministry at every stage of its existence, great strictness and strong nerve are necessary to rid the Connection of unworthy or sponging members. These must be removed by a process that will be just to those who retire, as well as to those who remain. After an unsuitable person has been retained in the itinerant ranks for a great length of time, and thereby hindered from engaging in the more remunerative callings of life, it would be unfair to peremptorily remand him to temporal pursuits. He should be dealt with, when he first betrays signs of decline in spiritual power, or the Conferences must accept the legitimate consequences of their timid forbearance. The heroic course is kindest to those whom the Church cannot afford to perpetually maintain. If they are likely soon to become "wet logs," it is better at once to direct them to more profitable employments in secular life, or they will be equitably entitled to continued place and benefit in the work. On this account the doors to the itinerancy must be jealously guarded, and admission on trial must not practically signify, as it often does, reception into full connection. The proposition of the Bishops, at the last General Conference, to extend the period of probation to four years, is worthy of renewed attention. On the same principle it may be urged that the annual examination of character is usually passed over with perfunctory and unbecoming haste. An arrest of character in open Conference, without premonition, would now be a anomalous procedure, yet our forms imply that such an action is possible. Discreet, conscientious, and nervy sentinels are needed all along the line.

An objection is urged that, when the means of livelihood are secured to all ministers indiscriminately, many would be reckless in their expenditures and unthrifty in the management of their estate. The force of this statement must be acknowledged, but the Church is not thereby prevented from making a partial provision for the superannuates, or dependent widows and orphans, whose business affairs were never conducted with proper economy. Some preachers, like many other people, do not take the requisite precautions for old age,

living, perhaps unnecessarily, to the full extent of their means; yet very few, at the best, can save much from their salaries, while many have shown more than ordinary skill in rearing and educating their families on the meager pittances allowed. The pastor usually is expected to spend, in one way or another, about all that is doled out to him. Those who receive the largest stipends frequently have no greater margin, at the year's end, than others whose claims are stated in three of the lower figures. If a minister secures a worldly fortune, it is either by inheritance or marriage, unless he speculates in real-estate or stocks, and this we have been taught is to be always deplored and avoided. Granted, however, that a fortunate disposition of clerical assets is possible, the assurance of a few beneficiary dollars years hence, if needed, will not cause a truly sensible man to be heedless or rash in present property concerns. Daniel Drew lost none of his commercial shrewdness because he commanded a pension for services in the War of 1812. A true minister shrinks from being a sponge or an object of charity. Training others to consecration for the sake of Christ, he himself learns the lessons of unselfishness, and will not draw on the common ecclesiastical fund for more than is accorded to be his by right of service or actual need. If the contrary spirit is disclosed, it ought summarily to be rebuked. The offender is no longer entitled to countenance.

Again, it may be charged that absolute provision for all recognized ministers is pushing community of interest to extreme and dangerous limits. The spur to individual exertion is blunted, and the relative value of talent and application to business is not properly appreciated. For this reason the old system of uniform claims has been abandoned, and now preachers with two or no children may receive twice or thrice as much as the struggling circuit-rider with a family of nine. Yet inequalities of condition were common under the former *régime*. Our variable lots in life are largely dependent on those who manage them. Some pastors are sent to comparatively unfertile fields, and not only feed themselves well, but also add largely to all the resources of the Church. Others are appointed to charges that customarily pay liberal salaries, but under an inefficient, unwise, or ill-adapted administration, fall behind in every interest, both spiritual and temporal. There

are pastors who will receive about so much, no matter where they are placed. Still, in the Methodist system, the law of averages must to some extent obtain. We confess to embarrassment in dealing with the difficulty, but the fact is analogous with our polity in other respects. If we provide for the worn-out preacher at all, why not systematically?

Here some one may inquire, Why, then, raise a fund at all? And if so, why not make the aged in all the walks of life beneficiary claimants? The answer suggests itself. A preacher, for the sake of the Gospel, has been required to stand aloof from the scramble for earthly riches. Even if he would strive for gain, the limitations of his calling thwart his efforts. Others take their chance of poverty or riches. He, strictly speaking, must accept only the former. Then, if he gives a life's work, he is entitled to a life's pay. "The laborer is worthy of his hire." In other denominations, single churches often make competent provision for *emeritus* pastors, without respect to any general plan which the Church at large may adopt. Surely, where the connectional bond is so strong, as with us, and where the individual yields, even in choice of fields for labor, to the ecclesiastical entity, he is entitled to a dividend of the wages that are offered, and under favorable circumstances may be sufficient, for all in the vineyard.

On the principle that some sort of provision must be made for a disabled ministry, great care and discretion are to be used in fixing the claims of beneficiaries. Previous habits of life have much to do with present needs, but no encouragement or countenance should be given to wastefulness. Hardly so much should be expected as is allowed for an equal number in the effective ranks. Probably no aid ought to be given to a family that can be comfortably maintained without ecclesiastical subsidies. On this question there is difference of opinion, but the Church cannot assume to pension all her faithful servants. The only guaranty to be offered an itinerant minister is, that he or his shall not starve while he is duly accredited. Many enter the work in easy circumstances, or, because of their calling, effect marital alliances that are esteemed fortunate in a worldly sense. Much of their wealth may have accrued indirectly from advantages obtained through the ministry, and perhaps their services already have been sufficiently

compensated. The parochial life is so happy and honorable that no one who has enjoyed it ought to grumble if it alone has furnished him no more than a bare subsistence. Therefore every claimant should be willing to make a full and clear statement of his assets, income, and probable outlay to the authorized committee, in order that an intelligent and relatively just appropriation may be recommended. An apparent showing of accumulated property need not operate unfairly, if the proper explanations are made, since the principles of making the estimate are not ruthlessly invariable.

Term and character of service should weigh something in arranging for the distribution; not time alone, but also efficiency, for some may accomplish more in five years than others in twenty. Yet it is a fair presumption that, the longer a man has been at work, the more good he has done. Relative merit, however, cannot be a very prominent factor in this calculation. Distinctions of this sort are painfully invidious, and often inaccurately drawn, and the conditions of the ministerial contract imply the right to an equitable share in the beneficiary proceeds. Still, the moral responsibility of claimants is subject to the most rigid scrutiny. It would ill befit one who rails at the Church to accept its proffered aid. Ministerial respectability is steadily required. The disabled preacher who cripples his superior in office, or is troublesome in the congregation where he worships, ought not to be surprised when the same result follows that would have happened had he, while in charge, been so unwary or unwise.

It cannot be expected that the claims of those on the retired list will be placed at as high a figure as are those allowed to effective pastors. The expenses of the latter are necessarily greater. More clothes, food, fuel, light, literature, and expense of travel are required for those who are active and growing in the wearing duties of the Church. Elderly persons can live comfortably on less than the young and middle-aged. Besides, the superannuate has more leisure for saving or turning an honest penny, by attending personally to home chores, caring for cow, chickens, or other stock, and cultivating the garden, which will relieve the painful tedium of increasing seniority, and will contribute much to the luxury and comfort of the patriarch's home. None can be supported in idleness.

The time of an aged preacher is just as sacred as that of the pastor, and the Conference claimant is expected to supplement his stipend, as far as practicable, by preaching, writing, colportage, manual labor, or other useful and elevating employment. But when a claim has been once established it should be scrupulously settled. All these conditions are of similar force in their application to the widows and orphans who depend on the Church for subsistence.

For this very considerable undertaking large sums of money must be obtained, and the question naturally arises, How are they to be raised? Methodism so far has proved equal to emergencies, and if this ideal is accepted as obligatory, the means will be forthcoming.

Two methods are possible, taken together or separately. (1) The claim of the Conference beneficiaries may be pooled with the estimates for pastor, presiding elder, and bishops, and collected in the general expenses of the charge. (2) A direct collection, as is customary now, for this specific purpose may be taken, a course which has been adopted in many places to secure the quotas of the district and general superintendents. The first has the argument of analogy in its favor. The second is the more popular, and possibly more practicable. At any rate, a public appeal for this cause should be made annually. For this many are inclined to give when they would refuse to contribute for other purposes. A sense of gratitude prompts them to remember some of the beneficiaries as having ministered unto them in spiritual things, breaking the bread of life, and leading them into the knowledge of that truth which has been the source of great earthly as well as heavenly good. It is universal testimony that the "fifth collection" is raised with less embarrassment than any other fund, benevolent or beneficiary.

Endowments, from either the Book Concern or the various preachers' aid societies, may serve to supplement the work, but should not be allowed to displace the annual presentation. The case of the superannuates, both for the sake of the people and their own sake, should be submitted directly to the consideration of the Church. Our aged preachers and lonely widows endure a hard lot at the best, and it would be all the more trying if they should seem to be lost sight of in the

periodical distribution. Not as a charity, but as the payment of wages at stated times, must the settlements be made, so that the Church may be reminded constantly of its relation to the workers of former years. Enough money ought to be raised by ordinary methods to meet the claims of all the preachers, so that legacies and endowments might be applied to special cases or emergencies, or for those institutions which can never command a universal popular support, such as the colleges, biblical schools, hospitals, and other benevolent enterprises of a local or limited character.

To the younger preachers is this work largely committed. Gratitude demands that those who have laid the foundation shall be invited to the comforts of the shelter. He who has planted a tree has a right, if he lives, to share in its fruits. Our fathers did noble work in the establishment of a prosperous and liberal Methodism, and those to whom the management has been intrusted would be guilty of a great wrong if they allowed the founders to suffer in neglect. We are a family. Surely the stalwart boy, who earns a little more than his bread and clothes, does not begrudge the older invalid sister or decrepit grandsire that portion which is accorded for the honor of the home, as well as of humanity. Good mothers do not estimate by weight or measure the toil and sacrifice cheerfully rendered for their children. Lovers of their race plant for other ages, and we owe to the former as well as to coming generations. One may now receive the good and another the evil things, but soon the order may be reversed. It is a part of prudent stewardship to lay a foundation of good works for the time to come. Besides, this grand possession of Methodism is not the exclusive property of the ministers now in charge. If the present pastor receives a larger stipend than another, his salary is in the nature of a commission more or less profitable as it is successfully administered, but there are other proceeds to be carefully husbanded and judiciously distributed.

Sentiment plays an inferior part in so important an enterprise. An itinerant ministry can be supported only by rigid adherence to system, and similar methods must be employed in behalf of those who have been retired from active service; but to protect those who are conscientiously faithful, unworthy

applicants must be rejected at any time when their lack of merit is clearly proven. Mutual rights are to be respected, and barnacles must not be allowed to sink the ecclesiastical ship. Let not the claimants betray too much anxiety in regard to their estimates, for excessive and ill-founded demands may lead to utter repudiation. Those who have heretofore gone to the battle may now be content to remain on the walls, and raise the shout in Zion. They may be useful still, and happy, as they cheerfully lend a helping hand or speak a hopeful word. To others is assigned the duty of bringing in the spoils. Absorbing cares preoccupy younger minds, and they may seem to be devoid of the sympathy desired or expected, but they dare not depend on spasms of gush for the succor of the declining and helpless. It is our present business, not only to create and preserve a proper sentiment in regard to ministerial support, but also insure a safe and satisfactory adjustment for the future.

ART. VI.—THE OPIUM TRAFFIC IN CHINA.

[FIRST ARTICLE.]

British Opium Policy, and its Results to India and China. By F. S. TURNER, B.A. London. 1876.

The Poppy Plague and England's Crime. By J. F. B. TINGLING, B.A. London. 1876.

The Opium Question. By Rev. ARTHUR E. MOULE, of the Church Missionary Society, Ningpo. London. 1877.

The Opium Trade. By NATHAN ALLEN, M.D. Lowell, Mass.

Our Opium Trade with China, and England's Injustice toward the Chinese. By W. E. ORMEROD. London.

The Friend of China. The Organ of the Anglo-Oriental Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade. Vols. I to VI. London.

The Chinese Recorder. Foochow and Shanghai. Vols. I to XI.

The Middle Kingdom. By S. WELLS WILLIAMS, LL.D. Harper Brothers.

The Traffic in and the Use of Opium in our own and other Countries. A Document by the Representative Meeting of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England for 1881–82. Providence. 1882.

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I. HISTORY OF THE TRADE.

IT is not possible to state with certainty when opium was first introduced into China. We know that it was to be found

there as early as the seventeenth century; and there are some who think that the probable date of its introduction is about the eighth or ninth century, at which time China had a very extensive and constant intercourse with Western Asia. The Portuguese were the first among European nations to trade in the drug; but the traffic was of very small proportions, seldom exceeding 200 chests per annum, up to the year 1769. For many years subsequent to that date the maximum annual importation was 1,000 chests. It was undoubtedly imported and used originally as a medicine; but it is possible that the increase in the trade under the Portuguese indicates that the drug had already begun to be used as a stimulant.

It is necessary, in carrying out the purpose of this article, to review the course of the East India Company in its management of the production and sale of opium in India; and it is in place to notice the fact that, prior to sending the drug to China, the company had assumed the monopoly of the trade in India, and had entered upon a course of great oppression toward the land-holders in Bengal, in compelling them to plant their fields with poppies. The outrageous conduct of the company's representatives in these matters came under the review of Parliament in 1783; and the Committee of the House of Commons in that year stated that "very shocking rumors had gone abroad, and they were aggravated by an opinion universally prevalent that, even in the season immediately following the dreadful famine which swept off one third of the inhabitants of Bengal, several of the poorer farmers were compelled to plow up the fields they had sown with grain in order to plant them with poppies for the benefit of the engrossers of opium. This opinion grew into a strong presumption when it was seen that in the next year the produce of opium (contrary to what might naturally be expected in a year following such a dearth) was nearly doubled."

Reasons were found in the inconvenience of making remittances to China in bullion at a time when the treasury at Calcutta was very heavily drawn upon for home necessities, and in other circumstances, for monopolizing the opium trade in China. A certain Colonel Watson seems to have the bad preeminence of making the suggestion to the East India Company, in a letter to the Board of Revenue, dated March 29, 1781,

in which he says: "I take the liberty likewise to suggest the expediency of this government now taking the opium trade to China under its own management, and consigning the whole quantity that may be required for that market to the company's supercargoes at Canton." This proposal was accompanied by an offer of his ship, the "Nonsuch," to take the opium to China. His offer was accepted, and soldiers, cannon, and medical stores supplied by the company. A contract was also made with one Mr. Thornhill, the same year, to take 1,490 chests of opium to the Straits of Malacca and to China, and he sailed in advance of Colonel Watson, with 22 guns (six-pounders) and 100 men. These were nothing less than bold smuggling adventures, deliberately entered into by the government of British India; for said government was then entirely in the hands of the East India Company, the officials at Calcutta receiving their orders from the directors of the company in England.

This smuggling enterprise was, however, very unsuccessful. One of the vessels was seized by the French, and the cargoes which reached China became the source of great embarrassment to the company's supercargoes there, who say to their superiors in Calcutta, "The importation of opium being strongly prohibited by the Chinese Government, and a business altogether new to us, it was necessary to take our measures with the utmost caution." They then show how they were obliged, after protracted secret negotiations with two of the hong merchants, to accept the low price of $210 a chest. The Court of Directors in London, very properly, condemned the expedition, saying, "Under any circumstances it is beneath the company to be engaged in such a clandestine trade; we therefore hereby positively prohibit any more opium being sent to China on the company's account." The Governor-General of India at the time was the notorious Warren Hastings, and this opium-smuggling enterprise was under his direction. Among the charges on which he was tried by the House of Commons in 1786 was one on this subject, accusing him of causing a loss of $100,000 to the company; and affirming

> That every part of this transaction, from the monopoly with which it commenced to the contraband dealing with which it concluded, criminates the said Warren Hastings with willful

disobedience of orders and a continued breach of trust; that every step taken in it was attended with heavy loss to the company, and with a sacrifice of their interest to that of individuals; and that if, finally, a profit had resulted to the company from such a transaction, no profit attending it could compensate for the probable risk to which their trade with China was thereby exposed, or for the certain dishonor and consequent distrust which the East India Company must incur in the eyes of the Chinese Government by being engaged in a low, clandestine traffic prohibited by the laws of the country.

This first stage of British opium monopoly is a dark and damning page in the history of the times. It was "conceived in sin and born in iniquity;" and it had such a career as might be expected from its origin. It sullied the reputations of all who were connected with it, and brought deep and lasting disgrace to the British name. Would that there had been wisdom and piety enough to see the disgrace, and to atone for it by subsequent righteous dealing! But later years have only intensified the iniquity of earlier times, and shrouded in deeper darkness the historic page.

The records show that the Governor-General, the company's representatives in India, and the Court of Directors in London, all bent their energies to increasing the production and sale of the baleful drug. No questioning as to its destructive effect upon their fellow-men, or as to their moral responsibility for the evils of the traffic, seems to have entered into their counsels. They gloat over the increasing demand with intense satisfaction, and lay their plans for pushing sales in new regions with an earnestness and vigor worthy of a better cause. In 1787 the Governor-General, Hastings, congratulates the company on the success of his plans, as shown by the fact that "the price has progressively risen at the company's sales from year to year, while the quantity has almost doubled, an evident proof that it is either become an article of more general consumption than formerly, or that new markets have been opened for it."

China was looked to, with increasing interest, as the most inviting field for a large increase in the traffic. The unscrupulous Governor-General proposes to the directors to employ an agent in some suitable port who should be "intrusted to act in concert with the company's supercargoes in China in settling the contract for the annual quantity of opium to be

delivered at Macao to the Portuguese or to the Chinese." He knew that the whole trade was illicit, and that not a pound of the drug could be got into China except by smuggling and in defiance of the laws of the empire; and yet he deliberately proposes a system by which the company shall find a market in China, and thus increase its ill-gotten gains. The directors, in their reply, take the precaution to observe at the outset that they "would on no account wish to be concerned in an illicit trade;" and then, with that peculiar sort of consistency that characterizes their entire history, they continue:

> Were we once possessed of a firm establishment to the eastward, there would be little doubt of the success of the undertaking. We might meet there with a market for the whole produce of our opium farms, to be paid for in dollars, or in tin and pepper, and such other articles as might be very profitably disposed of at Canton. And whatever opium might be in demand by the Chinese, the quantity would readily find its way thither without the company being exposed to the disgrace of an illicit commerce.

The purpose of the directors to stimulate the traffic as much as possible, to make it a source of increasing revenue, and yet to shield the company from any charge of directly violating the laws of China, is here clearly set forth; and on this policy they acted as long as the company retained control in India. Externally, they conformed to the law. In reality, they encouraged and promoted smuggling in various ways. Toward the close of the last century we find them prohibiting any of their servants, on penalty of immediate dismissal, from carrying the drug to China. Their authority over British subjects in China was such that they could thoroughly enforce any order they chose to issue. Their power was vested in the supercargoes, who constituted a sort of council, or band of officers for the company, always resident at Canton. Every officer of a British vessel sailing to China was obliged to sign a bond that he would obey their orders. They had equal control over British subjects in India. No British ship could trade with China without a license from them, and the license became void in case of any failure to obey the orders of the supercargoes. Never had any body of men more complete power to prevent smuggling than had the East India Company. Yet

at the same time that they were prohibiting it by their public orders they were continuing to grow opium for the Chinese market, and to sell it to the smugglers, whom they freely licensed to trade with Canton. They ascertain, in 1829, that a great preference is shown in China for the Behar opium, and they immediately order an inquiry to discover what are the qualities that have obtained for it this preference, with the purpose of adapting their opium to the taste of their Chinese customers. The payments made to the poppy growers in India were increased from time to time, with the avowed purpose of inducing them to extend its cultivation; and Sir George Staunton refers to measures of this kind taken by the company about 1831 as suddenly almost quadrupling the supply.

Much of the illegal trade was carried on for many years through the Portuguese settlement of Macao; but eventually the Portuguese, thinking that the British were making too much money through the use of their port, took measures to confine the trade of that port to Portuguese subjects. The British merchants then tried to establish their trade at the port of Whampoa; but the attempt was unsuccessful, as the virtuous Chinese officials stoutly resisted the introduction of the forbidden drug, while the vicious ones demanded exorbitant bribes. At the mouth of the Canton River lies the island of Lintin. Its ample harbors afford a safe anchorage at all seasons of the year. Ships would be safe both from the vicissitudes of the weather and from the attacks of Chinese mandarins. So Lintin became the home of the "opium fleet." The receiving-ships stationed there were strongly armed, and increasing quantities of opium stored in them, until, in 1834, the amount had risen to more than twenty thousand chests. The vessels that brought supplies to these store-ships were the finest clippers that floated on the sea; and the ships of rival houses frequently raced from India to China, often making over three hundred miles a day, winged messengers of beauty, but carrying death and destruction to China.

The method of carrying on the trade was as follows: Natives wishing to make purchases would apply through brokers to British merchants at Canton, who would issue orders on the receiving-ships. Carrying boats armed with guns, and manned by crews of desperate character, plied between Lintin

and the city. They were popularly designated "fast crabs," or "scrambling dragons." These boats, with more or less connivance by the Chinese authorities, delivered the illicit drug to the purchasers at Canton. The illegal traffic was not allowed to progress, however, without frequent and vigorous protests. Honest and patriotic officers would frequently take strong measures for its suppression, and on various occasions imperial edicts were issued against it. Among these, a notable instance is that of the Emperor Tao-kwang, in 1821, on the occasion of the confiscation of certain cargoes at Canton because of opium smuggling. In his edict, referring to the export trade in tea and other articles as beneficial to foreigners, he says:

> Yet these foreigners feel no gratitude, nor wish to render a recompense, but smuggle in opium, which poisons the empire. When this conduct is referred to the heart, it must be disquieted; when referred to reason, it is contrary to it. In broad day on earth there is the royal law; in the shades after death are gods and demons. These foreign ships pass an immense ocean; they likewise go through gales of wind, boisterous seas, and unknown dangers, entirely preserved by the condescending protection of the celestial gods; and, therefore, they should hereafter rouse themselves to zealous reflection, to bitter repentance, and to reformation, and alter their inhuman, unreasonable conduct.

Subsequent history, up to the time when the British Government abolished the control of the East India Company over British subjects in China, in 1834, is but a repetition of that already given. It is a history, on the one hand, of a company of professedly high-minded English gentlemen, vested with extraordinary powers, proclaiming in their public documents hearty acquiescence in the laws against opium, and ostentatiously forbidding all connection with it on the part of their agents, while secretly stimulating and encouraging the traffic in every possible way, and complacently pocketing the enormous gains of the nefarious trade. Before the traffic passed from the control of the company, opium had cost China $11,618,167, while she received for her tea supplied to the whole of Great Britain only $9,133,749.

In 1834 the British Government abolished the East India Company's monopoly of trade in China, and threw it open to all British subjects. The company, in retiring from China, tried to quiet their consciences by saying, "Were it possible

to prevent the use of the drug altogether, we would gladly do it, in compassion to mankind." To this they added the preposterous and hypocritical declaration that their object in retaining the opium monopoly was rather to restrain the habit than to obtain revenue! They showed the sincerity of this declaration by selling larger quantities of opium than ever to any body who would pay them for it.

Under the new arrangement, Lord Napier was sent as the first British Superintendent of Trade to China; but the Chinese Government, which had been dealing for a century with a trading company, refused to have any thing to do with "the petty English nation;" and the only official notice taken of his lordship's arrival was a tide-waiter's report that "three foreign devils have arrived." The increasing traffic, and its increasing irregularities, led the Chinese Government to take more energetic action for its suppression. In 1836 an edict was issued, mentioning by name nine prominent opium merchants, and demanding their expulsion. Captain Elliot, who was then Superintendent of Trade, did not comply with this demand. In January, 1839, a proclamation was issued, requiring that the receiving-ships be sent away, and threatening hostile measures in case of non-compliance. Commissioner Lin was sent to Canton, clothed with extraordinary powers to deal summarily with the matter. He demanded three things: (1) That all the opium on board the ships should be handed over to the government to be destroyed. (2) That the owners of the vessels should give a bond that they would never again bring opium to China. (3) That if afterward any was brought it should be confiscated, and the smugglers should be punished with death. These terms were concise, and easy to be understood; and they were evidently propounded in downright earnest. If not acceded to, the lives of foreigners were threatened. The foreign residences were surrounded, and many British subjects put in great peril. Under this pressure Captain Elliot, promising indemnification by the British Government to the merchants, collected over twenty thousand chests of the drug and handed them over to the Chinese commissioner, who proceeded with great heartiness to the work of destruction, which occupied twenty days—a thousand chests being destroyed each day, (in June, 1839.)

It is not contended that in all the conflicts which led to this result the Chinese were in every particular right and the British wrong; but as to the essential justice of this act of Commissioner Lin, many a just and true Englishman will join with Mr. Ormerod in saying:

> I hold that Commissioner Lin served us just rightly when the opium that was to have carried on the destruction of his fellow-countrymen was, instead, destroyed by him; and I honor the patriotism and admire the pluck of the brave and spirited commissioner who dared to step forth in defense of his country, and, in the interests of simple justice and of common humanity, to make a firm stand against a nation so great and powerful as our own.

Even after this, opium clippers came to China, and sought to land their cargoes. A crisis was precipitated by a riot between American and English sailors and some of the Chinese, in which a Chinaman was killed. Lin laid the blame upon the English, and although Captain Elliot made reasonable overtures, Lin refused to accept them, moved with two thousand men to the neighborhood of Macao, where the English had taken refuge, demanded that an Englishman should be given up for execution, and cut off the supply of food. His demand was refused, and the English took to their vessels. The Chinese then massacred the crew of an English schooner, and insisted on the signing of the opium bond, or the departure of all British vessels within three days. This brought on an engagement, in which the Chinese were worsted; and soon after the British were denied the privilege of trading with China.

Events were thus drifting inevitably toward war. The debates in Parliament following these transactions distinctly reveal the motives which controlled the action of the British Government. Sir John Hobhouse stated concisely the reason why the government had done nothing to put down the opium trade, when he said that it was because the trade was profitable. Lord Melbourne said, "We possess immense territories peculiarly fitted for raising opium, and though I would wish that the government were not so directly concerned in the traffic, I am not prepared to pledge myself to relinquish it." Lord Ellenborough made a strong point of the fact that the opium trade brought in a revenue of a million and a half

sterling, "derived from foreigners," and that if it were given up, this revenue would have to be sought elsewhere. The war was not advocated by any one on the ground of the seizure of the opium; but the whole history of the times and the tenor of debates in Parliament show conclusively that the opium traffic was the cause of the war, and that without it no conflict would have taken place. No formal declaration of war was made by Queen Victoria; but an order in council was issued to the Admiralty, decreeing that "satisfaction and reparation for the late injurious proceedings of certain officers of the Empire of China against certain of our officers and subjects shall be demanded from the Chinese Government." The chief object of this order was to give directions in regard to the disposal of such ships, vessels, and cargoes of the Chinese as might be seized.

Soon the melancholy spectacle was presented to the world of a Christian nation making war upon a heathen nation in the interest of an abominable, death-dealing traffic. Other causes have been assigned—such as "insults to the flag," and maltreatment and murder of British subjects; but these things grew directly out of and were intimately connected with the iniquitious trade that was at the bottom of the whole difficulty. The public opinion of the world and of the British people themselves has designated the war of 1840 "the Opium War," and it would be impossible to label it more accurately or truthfully.

Sir Gordon Brewer arrived off Macao June 22, 1840, and immediately announced the blockade of the port of Canton. On the 6th of July he took possession of the island of Chusan, and soon after established blockades at Amoy, Ningpo, and the mouths of the rivers Min and Yangtse. Other active measures followed; and during the entire year the Chinese were unable to do any thing by way of retaliation, except to capture a few British subjects, as at Ningpo, where the widow of the captain of a wrecked vessel and some other persons were seized and carried in little cages to the city; and at Macao, where a solitary Englishman was captured by a marauding party and taken to Canton, where Lin at first intended to offer him as a sacrifice to the god of war, but on learning that he had never been engaged in the opium trade relinquished

the design. Various futile attempts at negotiations were made; and in January, 1841, Commodore Brewer proceeded up the bay toward Canton, attacking and taking possession of two forts. A treaty was then negotiated by Capt. Elliot and Kishen, providing for the payment of an indemnity of six millions of dollars, and the cession of the island of Hong-Kong to the British, with the restoration of Chusan to the Chinese, and the release of all prisoners. When this treaty reached the two sovereigns it was rejected by both—by Tao-kwang because it granted too much, and by Victoria because it conceded too little.

The emperor issued orders to "destroy and wipe clean away, to exterminate and root out, the rebellious barbarians," whom he characterized as "beings that the overshadowing vault and all-containing earth can hardly suffer to live," and "obnoxious to angels and men." These were comprehensive and emphatic orders, which, if executed, might have brought the opium traffic to a summary end; but there were serious obstacles in the way of their execution.

On the 26th of February Commodore Brewer, with nine ships of war and five hundred men, attacked and captured the eight Bogue forts, which were defended by three thousand troops, and supposed by the Chinese to be impregnable. The next day the British fleet encountered a long fortification on the river bank, with an intrenched camp of two thousand troops and one hundred cannon, and a strong raft thrown across the river. A hot contest ensued, in which Chinese courage was conspicuous, though discipline was lacking. One fourth of the Chinese soldiers were killed, the fort was captured, and a truce proclaimed. When the truce expired the British proceeded on their course up the river, removing every obstacle, and capturing every fort and battery on their way, until they reached Canton. On the 24th of May twenty-six hundred British troops invested the city; and, the next day, successfully attacked the forts and camps behind it. On the 26th they were prepared to open destructive fire on Canton; but negotiations ensued, providing that the forces should remain in the position they then held until a ransom of six millions of dollars should be paid, and the Chinese troops be marched sixty miles away from the city. Within a week the troops, about

fifty thousand in number, evacuated the place. After this, trade went on at Canton without particular interruption during the war, duties and charges being paid just as if the nations were at profound peace. Amoy was taken on the 27th of August, Chinhai on the 10th of October, and Ningpo three days later. Shanghai was taken in June, 1842; Chinkiang, the present head-quarters of our Central China Mission, on the 20th of July. Some of the most terrible scenes of the war were here witnessed. The Tartar troops defending the city, when they found that they were to be conquered, butchered their women and children to prevent their falling into the hands of the British. Sir Hugh Gough, the British commander, says in his dispatches, "Finding dead bodies of Tartars in every house we entered, principally women and children, thrown into wells, or otherwise murdered by their own people, I was glad to withdraw the troops from this frightful scene of destruction." Manchus could be seen inside their houses cutting the throats of their women, and destroying their children by throwing them into wells. In one house fourteen dead bodies, principally of women, were found. Out of a Manchu population of four thousand in the city, not more than five hundred survived. Nanking, the ancient capital of the empire, was closely invested, and every preparation made for assaulting it early in the morning of August 15, when, on the night of the 14th, the Chinese commissioners addressed a letter to Sir Henry Pottinger, requesting an interview for the purpose of arranging terms of peace. This resulted in an arrangement for a meeting between the commissioners of the two nations on the 26th, when a treaty was agreed upon, embracing the following provisions: (1) Lasting peace between the two empires. (2) The Chinese Government to pay twenty-one millions of dollars by the end of 1845, twelve being for the expenses of the war, three for debts due English merchants, and six for the opium destroyed. (3) The ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai to be thrown open to British trade and residence, and trade conducted according to a well-understood tariff. (4) The island of Hong-Kong to be ceded to the queen. (5) All British prisoners to be unconditionally released. (6) All Chinese in the service of the English to be pardoned and held guiltless. (7) Correspondence

hereafter to be conducted on terms of perfect equality. (8) When the treaty receives the emperor's assent, and six millions of dollars are paid, the English forces to withdraw from the river and other places occupied, except Chusan and Kulangsu, which shall be retained until all the treaty stipulations are fulfilled.

After the treaty had been arranged, Sir Henry Pottinger introduced the subject of the cause which led to the war—namely, the opium traffic and the disturbances growing out of it. The Chinese commissioners declined to enter upon the subject at all, until they were assured that it was introduced merely for private conversation, when they manifested great interest, and asked why the British would not act righteously toward them by prohibiting the growth of the poppy in the British Empire. Sir Henry replied that this could not be done under the constitutional laws of Great Britain; and tried to convince the Chinese commissioners that the evil was due to their own people and officers—to the former for using opium, and to the latter for allowing it to enter the country. He urged that the people would obtain the drug in spite of every enactment, and that it would be the better course for the government to legalize its importation, and derive a regular revenue from it. To strengthen this suggestion, he alluded to futile efforts of governments to exclude objects of popular desire—as, for instance, tobacco, from the legalized traffic in which Great Britain obtained a large revenue—while, as he asserted, the article was used with greater moderation in England than in other countries.

So we find the war ending with an indemnity for the justly confiscated opium, and with the representative of Christian England pleading with the pagan commissioners in favor of the legalization of a traffic which their reason, their consciences, and their humanity alike demanded should be forever contraband. It is true, as has been often stated, that this war opened China to Christian missions and to the influences of Christian civilization; but this fact constitutes no reason for gratitude to the British Government, nor any justification of its action. Joseph's career in Egypt and his deliverance of Jacob's family from famine did not justify the speculation of his brethren in selling him to the Ishmaelites. God overrules the action of

bad men to the securing of good results; but the bad men and their acts remain bad. The just pages of history must forever brand with infamy the course of Great Britain in this most unrighteous war. Stimulating the production of opium in India, encouraging and promoting the contraband trade in China, going to war when the noxious drug was confiscated, and exacting an indemnity for it, the government appropriately ended its iniquitous conduct in the matter by cheating the merchants on whose behalf it had demanded the indemnity. Dr. Williams, in "The Middle Kingdom," says:

> The six millions of dollars received from the Chinese, instead of being divided in China among those who were to receive it, which could have been done without expense, was carried to England to be coined, which, with the freight, reduced it considerably. Then, by the manner of ascertaining the market value at the time it was given up, and [? on which estimate] the holders of the opium-scrip got their pay, they received scarcely one half of what was originally paid to the East India Company, either directly or indirectly, thereby reducing it nearly a million sterling. Furthermore, by the form of payment, they lost nearly one fifth even of the promised sum, about £240,000 more. Then they lost four years' interest on their whole capital, or about £800,000 more. While the merchants lost the government profited. The company gained, during these four years, at least a million sterling, by the increased price of the drug, while Sir Robert Peel also transferred that amount from the pockets of the merchants to the public treasury.

We cannot better close our review of this war of 1840 than by quoting the strong and truthful words of Mr. Gladstone, uttered in his place in Parliament in that year:

> They gave you notice to abandon your contraband trade. When they found that you would not, they had a right to drive you from their coasts on account of your obstinacy in persisting in this infamous and atrocious traffic. You allowed your agent to aid and abet those who were concerned in carrying on that trade; and I do not know how it can be urged as a crime against the Chinese that they refused provisions to those who refused obedience to their laws whilst residing within their territories. A war more unjust in its origin, a war more calculated to cover this country with permanent disgrace, I do not know, and I have not read of. The right honorable gentleman opposite spoke of the British flag waving in glory at Canton. That flag is hoisted to protect an infamous contraband traffic; and if it never were hoisted except as it is now hoisted on the coast of China we

should recoil from its sight with horror. Although the Chinese were guilty of much absurd phraseology, of no little ostentatious pride, and of some excess, justice, in my opinion, is with them; and while they, the pagans, the semi-civilized barbarians, have it on their side, we, the enlightened and civilized Christians, are pursuing objects at variance both with justice and with religion.

The history of the traffic since the close of the war so vigorously condemned by the present Premier of Great Britain is of a character corresponding to its earlier days. For sixteen years after that war ended the trade in opium was still contraband in China. Still the East India Company stimulated the production of the drug in India, and still the smuggling into China was encouraged and promoted, with this great additional advantage, that Hong-Kong had become British territory and an exceedingly convenient store-house for the drug, which could thence be easily smuggled into China. Receiving-ships were stationed at the entrances of the open ports, to which cargo boats would make their frequent visits, returning generally at night, under cover of the darkness, and bringing large quantities of the drug to clandestine purchasers. Not unfrequently difficulties arose; and these finally culminated in another war. The immediate occasion of this war was the seizure by the China authorities at Canton, in October, 1856, of a vessel named the "Arrow," which had been armed by pirates, and engaged in opium smuggling, but which subsequently had sailed by permission under the British flag, and made its way to Canton. It was boarded by the Chinese officials on the plea that one of the crew was a pirate, and all of the crew excepting two men were carried off. The vessel had no right to the British flag, as its license to sail under that flag had expired some time before. Notwithstanding this fact, the Chinese were required to make reparation and apology. This demand was followed by the destruction of a fleet of war junks in the harbor, and subsequently by the bombardment and capture of Canton, in which the English were assisted by the French. The allied forces then made a demonstration toward Peking, taking the forts at the mouth of the Peiho, and occupying Tientsin, where a treaty was negotiated by Lord Elgin, June 26, 1858; but when Sir Frederick Bruce came, a year later, to exchange the ratifications of the treaty, the Taku forts stubbornly resisted his passage, and the fleet was driven back.

A new expedition was sent out; the French and English forces captured the forts, marched triumphantly to Peking, sacked the emperor's summer palace, and secured the ratification of the treaty of Tientsin, with additional articles, known as the "Convention of Peking," on the 24th of October, 1860.

Just previous to the departure of Lord Elgin from England, in 1857, the Earl of Shaftesbury moved in the House of Lords that two questions be submitted for the opinion of her Majesty's judges: (1) Whether it be lawful for the East India Company to derive a revenue from the cultivation of opium? and (2) Whether it be lawful for the company to prepare opium for the purpose of being smuggled into China? His motion was withdrawn, but the government undertook to get a decision on these questions from competent legal authority, and accordingly submitted them to the Queen's Advocate, the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, and the Standing Counsel of the East India Company. Their answer to the first question was to the effect that there was nothing that contravened English law in the mere sale of opium by the company; but in answer to the second question these four eminent legal authorities say:

> We think, now that opium is made contraband by the law of China, and that its importation into China is made by Chinese law a capital crime, the continuance of the company's practice of manufacturing and selling this opium in a form specially adapted to the Chinese contraband trade, though not an actual and direct infringement of the treaty, is yet at variance with its spirit and intention, and with the conduct due to the Chinese Government by that of Great Britain as a friendly power, bound by a treaty which implies that all smuggling into China will be discountenanced by Great Britain.

That is to say, that these legal authorities, including the counsel of the company, found the East India Company to be accomplices of smugglers, and their conduct such as had a direct tendency to involve England and China in war. Most justly and truthfully does the Rev. F. S. Turner say:

> If China had possessed the physical force of the United States, and could have got her grievances submitted to a Grand Court of Arbitration at Geneva or elsewhere in any year between 1842 and 1858, she might have recovered damages compared with which the Alabama compensation would have looked small.

But China was weak and ignorant, and the Earl of Shaftesbury's motion for legal inquiry ended in the condemnation of England and India by their own self-chosen judges, without the slightest step being taken to restrain them in their course of injustice.

Although Lord Elgin, when he sailed from England, bore with him instructions from the Earl of Clarendon "to ascertain whether the government of China would revoke its prohibition of the opium trade," the subject was not mentioned in the treaty which he signed at Tientsin—very possibly because he was ashamed to mention it, as our minister, Mr. Reed, said in a letter to him about that time, "I have more than once understood your Excellency to say that you had a strong, if not invincible, repugnance . . . to introduce the subject of opium to the Chinese authorities." Two months later he gladly signed the first treaty between England and Japan, which contained a clause expressly prohibiting the importation of opium.

During the negotiations preliminary to the exchange of ratifications of the treaty of Tientsin, the United States Minister, the Honorable William B. Reed, addressed a letter to Lord Elgin, urging that the British Government ought either to abandon the opium trade or secure its recognition by China. Which of the two courses Mr. Reed regarded as the right one may be inferred from the following extract from his letter:

> But two courses are open for us to suggest and sustain—that of urging upon the Chinese authorities the active and thorough suppression of the trade by seizure and confiscation, with assurances that no assistance, direct or indirect, shall be given to parties, English or American, seeking to evade or resist the process; adding to this what, if your Excellency agrees with me as to the expediency of measures of repression, I am sure will be consonant with your personal conviction of what is right—the assurance of the disposition of your government to put a stop to the growth and export of opium from India. I may be permitted to suggest that perhaps no more propitious moment for so decisive and philanthropic a measure could be found than now, when the privileges of the East India Company, and what may be termed its active responsibilities, including the receipt and administration of the opium revenue, are about to be transferred to the Crown. I am confident my government would do ready justice to the high motives which would lead to such a course, and rejoice at the result.

But this proposition, so eminently consistent with Christian teaching and with humane impulses, implied a degree of virtue far in advance of the sentiments of the British cabinet; and Lord Elgin sought the legalization of the traffic. The Chinese, feeling themselves helpless before their conquerors, reluctantly consented. They proposed a duty of sixty taels (over $80) a chest; but the English commissioners would agree to no higher rate than thirty taels, which was therefore the rate adopted and inserted in the tariff. When the treaty was under revision in 1869 Sir Rutherford Alcock agreed to raise the duty to fifty taels; but the British Government refused to ratify the treaty, and the original treaty of Tientsin remains in force.

Thus at last the opium traffic was legalized in China; but it did not thereby become one whit less abhorrent to God and to all righteous men. Legalized iniquity is iniquity still; and it is not in the power of legislative enactments or treaty stipulations to lessen the crime of an accursed traffic, or to shield its abettors from their responsibility to a just and holy God. The Emperor Tao-kwang had said to Sir Henry Pottinger, when the latter proposed the legalization of the traffic: "It is true, I cannot prevent the introduction of the flowing poison; gain-seeking and corrupt men will for profit and sensuality defeat my wishes; but nothing will induce me to derive a revenue from the vice and misery of my people." His successor was obliged to do that which he so sturdily had refused, but the vermilion pencil never moved so reluctantly as when it sanctioned the legalization of the opium trade.

For the last quarter of a century the British Government has been directly responsible for the whole iniquity, from the growth of the poppy in India to the sale of the drug in China. Almost at the very time that British cannon were thundering in Chinese ports to secure the treaty which legalized the opium traffic, the governing power in India was taken away from the East India Company by act of Parliament, and the Crown assumed direct control. Since 1858 the British Government has been the great opium grower of the world. Before that date the production of opium in India was a monopoly of the East India Company. To this precious privilege, as well as to all other rights of the company, the Crown succeeded. What a convenient coincidence that the legalization of the traffic was

effected just as the government went directly into the business of opium raising, and took control of India! It would not have looked well for the British Government to be directly promoting a contraband trade. When its responsibility was filtered through the East India Company the iniquity could not be brought so close home; but now that the government was going into the business, it was respectable and seemly to have legal sanction to the trade.

As an opium monopolist, it is not too much to say that the British Government has not only emulated the example of its predecessor, the East India Company, but has gone far beyond it!

The official correspondence of the administrators in India with the home government yields abundant proof of the determination to make opium a source of gain, and to push the trade to the utmost. Thus the Honorable J. Strachey writes, in 1869:

> Immediate measures of the most energetic character ought to be taken with the object of increasing the production of opium. . . . I think that the very least which we ought now to do is to endeavor with the least possible delay to bring up the total area under opium cultivation to seven hundred and ninety thousand five hundred beegahs, the extent declared by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to be necessary for the production of fifty-four thousand five hundred chests. I believe myself that we might with propriety go much farther, but any thing less than this will, I think, be certainly too little.

The Honorable W. Grey, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, writes to C. H. Campbell:

> Are you quite satisfied that the fullest possible extension is being pushed in the Benares Agency? . . . If Carnac should see his way to doing any thing more than he has done already to extend the cultivation for next season you need not hesitate to sanction it at once.

Sir R. Temple writes:

> I am clear for extending the cultivation, and for insuring a plentiful supply. If we do not do this, the Chinese will do it for themselves. They had better have our good opium than their own indifferent opium. There really is no moral objection to our conduct in this respect.

Sir Rutherford Alcock agreed in 1869 to a revision of the treaty of Tientsin, as we have seen, which embraced an

increase of the duty on opium. He went from Peking immediately to Calcutta, and held a conference with the members of the Indian Government in February, 1870. He urged them not to oppose the concession he had made, and set forth in strong terms the moral objections to the trade. He expressed his belief in the genuine character of the Chinese opposition to the trade; but also assured them that there was danger that the Chinese would in self-defense develop opium cultivation in China, and drive the Indian drug out of the market. On the other hand, if Great Britain would give up the opium revenue, and suppress the cultivation in India, he believed the Chinese Government could and would suppress the growth in China, except in Yunnan, where its authority was in abeyance. Sir R. Temple asked whether, on condition that the Indian Government would fix a limit to the amount of opium sent to China, the Chinese Government would agree to repress the growth of the poppy in China; to which Sir Rutherford Alcock replied affirmatively, and again expressed his strong desire that the British Government would agree to some effective measures to discourage the consumption of opium in China. Now mark the reply made to this honest and frank effort of the British Minister to China. In two months after his conversation with them the Indian Government adopted the following resolution:

No. 2090, *dated 25th March*, 1870.—*By the Government of India, Financial Department.*

Resolution. The Government of Bengal shall be informed that the Supreme Government has resolved to increase the annual provision of opium in Bengal for export to China to sixty thousand chests, gradually indeed, but still with as much promptitude as may be conveniently practicable, and will be prepared to sanction any expenditure that, on full consideration, may appear necessary for this object. It is not deemed needful at present to raise the price paid to the cultivators to five rupees a seer, but the Supreme Government recognizes the probability that this concession must soon be made, and will be prepared to consider favorably any recommendation made by the Government of Bengal for such an increase, if it be found by experience that effect cannot otherwise be given to this resolution.

Ordered, That the foregoing resolution be communicated to the Government of Bengal for information and guidance.

Such was the answer of the Indian Government to the earnest plea of the British Minister to China—a resolution to

increase the production of opium, and carry on the iniquitous trade on a larger scale than ever! In the thirteen years following, the traffic has been pushed as vigorously as at any previous period. In 1876 a new convention with China was made by Sir Thomas Wade, known as the "Convention of Chefoo," the third article of which is as follows:

> On opium, Sir Thomas Wade will move his government to sanction an arrangement different from that affecting other imports. British merchants, when opium is brought into port, will be obliged to have it taken cognizance of by the customs, and deposited in bond, either in a warehouse or a receiving hulk, until such time as there is a sale for it. The importer will then pay the tariff duty upon it, and the purchasers the *li-kin*. In order to the prevention of the evasion of the duty, the amount of *li-kin* to be collected will be decided by the different Provincial Governments, according to the circumstances of each.

The *li-kin* is a special internal tax, which may be raised or lowered at the discretion of the provincial governors, and the object of making this tax collectable by the customs was practically to put the traffic within the control of the Chinese Government. Sir Thomas Wade was quite ready to do this, as might be expected of a minister who said in an official dispatch to his government: "It is to me vain to think otherwise of the use of the drug in China than as of a habit many times more pernicious, nationally speaking, than the gin and whisky drinking which we deplore at home;" and who also said:

> The concessions made to us have been from first to last extorted against the conscience of the nation—in defiance, that is to say, of the moral convictions of its educated men—not merely of the office-holders, whom we call mandarins, and who are numerically but a small proportion of the educated class, but of the millions who are saturated with the knowledge of the history and philosophy of their country.

But to this day the British Government has refused to ratify the Convention of Chefoo, and has left the opium trade just as it was, while assuming the advantages conferred by those articles of the convention favorable to British trade.

It is a little over a century since the East India Company began to export opium to China. In the sixty years which elapsed before the monopoly of British trade in China was taken away from that company, (1773–1834,) the amount of

opium imported into that country was run up from 200 chests to 21,785 chests, valued at $14,454,193. [A chest contains about 133⅓ pounds.] The company then lost its monopoly of trade in China, but retained its monopoly of production in India, and in 1858 had run up the total export from India to 74,738 chests. The British Government then took its place, and by 1872 had increased the export to 88,789 chests. Its net revenue from opium then amounted to $38,286,065. In 1879 the amount of opium imported into China from India, under monopoly of the British Government, was over 83,000 chests, (more than eleven millions of pounds, or *over five thousand tons!*) It is estimated that about 22,000 chests were smuggled from Hong-Kong into China the same year—which would make the whole amount about fourteen millions of pounds, or *over six thousand tons!* The value of the regularly imported drug was $50,700,000; while the value of all the tea exported was only $46,000,000—so that, after China had given up her entire crop of two hundred and sixty-five millions of pounds of tea, she still had to pay $4,700,000, to make up the amount due for opium!

No wonder the Archbishop of York felt moved to say:

> The state of the matter is this: that the Christian nation of England has been in the past continually engaged in enforcing an unwilling nation to purchase great quantities of poison, which it has given to them; and has not scrupled to go to war even to enforce what I must call an iniquitous trade. Now, that being so, I do say that we cannot hold up our heads among the nations of the world if, when attention has once been directed to this matter, we allow it to slumber and sleep. . . . It makes the Queen herself, who is now the sovereign, the Empress of India, responsible . . . for poisoning the people, for destroying them physically and morally, and for corrupting a whole nation that is ready to protest against the corruption. . . . We say that it is a wrong thing from first to last. We say that it is a disgrace and a shame to this country that a heathen people should have to ask us to hold our hands and not to force the opium upon them, and that we as a Christian people should refuse to hold our hands, and with fire and sword make them take this deadly drug.

It is hardly possible fully to realize, or to characterize in adequate terms, the awful iniquity of this death-dealing traffic. The spectacle presented is not that of a government reluctantly

protecting some of its unworthy subjects in a trade abhorrent to itself; but that of the Christian government of one of the greatest, most powerful, and most enlightened nations of the earth deliberately entering into the growth, manufacture, and sale of a nóxious drug, stimulating its production, complacently gloating over the increasing demand, anxiously watching for new openings, refusing to listen to the pleadings of a pagan emperor and his officials against so ruinous a traffic, demanding with sword and cannon the payment of indemnity for contraband opium righteously destroyed, forcing the legalization of the traffic, and continuing to push the trade with unscrupulous vigor, and to pocket its ungodly revenue for the benefit of its lavish and luxurious Indian Government. Surely the curse of heaven must rest upon this dark and damning traffic and upon its most unholy gains. The Christianity and humanity of England ought to rise up with united voice, and compel the government to cut off all connection with the production of the drug in India, and to assist the Chinese Government in the entire extirpation of the abominable and destructive trade. And the humane and Christian people of all other nations ought to give their united and hearty support to those in England who are battling for the right against heavy odds, in the face of guilty indifference and active opposition.

The consideration of the effects of the trade on the victims of the drug, and on the missionary cause, of Chinese opinion and action on the subject, and of the efforts made for the suppression of the traffic, must be left for a subsequent article.

Art. VII.—LATIN PRONUNCIATION.

Many teachers and scholars have thought that the pronunciation of Latin was a matter of no importance; that, as it was no longer a living tongue, it would make no difference how it might be uttered. And yet there has been a desire, for several years, on the part of the most eminent Latinists of Europe and America, for a uniform system of orthoepy.

It is evident to every student of language that the English

system never can become universal. Indeed, it is impossible to suppose that any of the nations, besides those that are English-speaking, would ever adopt it in any of its features; for the English sounds are so flat and sharp that they cannot adequately express the rotund and sonorous inflections and intonations that swelled forth in the native tongue of Cicero and Cæsar. No Italian, Spanish, French, or German scholar could be persuaded to adopt the English method; for these languages are more directly from the Latin than the English, and these nations know that the sounds of vowels and consonants which they have heard from infancy must more nearly express the old Latin sounds than any system of Anglo-Saxon origin.

Indeed, we may venture to assert that no critical English philologist ever expects, or even desires, the general adoption of the English system. And many of the most scholarly men in the United States and in Europe, who have been for years accustomed to this method, are longing for the prevalence of a more rational mode of pronouncing Latin. The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, in his preface to "Homer and the Homeric Age," speaking of several classical matters, makes this incidental reference to the English method of pronouncing Latin and Greek:

> I should gladly see the day when, under the authority of scholars, and especially of those who bear rule in places of education, improvement might be effected, not only in the points above mentioned, but also in our solitary and barbarous method of pronouncing both the Greek and Latin languages.

And this I believe to be the general sentiment of those who are conversant with the tongues of Southern Europe, and who are able to imagine what must have been the pronunciation in Italy when Rome was in her power and grandeur.

But can we adopt the Continental method? If we investigate we shall find that there are several Continental methods. Each nation of Europe may be said to have its own system. And there is little hope that that of the Germans will be adopted in France, or that of the Italians in Spain. For though they all agree, to a great extent, on vowel sounds, they differ on many consonant sounds, and there are national peculiarities belonging to each. So that, if we should seek to introduce, all over the

world, any one of these, even that of Italy, we could not hope for general acceptance.

But why should there be such difference of opinion concerning the pronunciation of Latin? The original orthoepy should not be lost; for in the palmy days of Latin literature there were grammarians who wrote extended treatises. In these they discussed the sounds of all the letters, and the variations between the long and short sounds of the vowels. And some of these writers even went so far as to describe the exact position of the organs in uttering each letter. Of late years the writings of these ancient authors have been hunted up. The eminent Schneider, in his "Elements of the Latin Language," gives the results of his elaborate investigations, and makes quotations from fifty different authorities. Thus we can go back to the root of the matter, and *know* what was the pronunciation of Rome's great orators and sublime philosophers. Thereby the true and original system has been resurrected from the *débris* of the past, and is brought before us of the nineteenth century as the *Roman method.* And it seeks to displace all other systems and to find universal acceptance.

Before considering the merits of this system, let us inquire how it came to be lost. It could not be otherwise than by the gradual corruptions, introduced from time to time, by teachers in the different countries.

In the course of thirteen centuries it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that many changes might be made by those teachers who thought they might improve the Latin, or assimilate it to their native tongue, and thus give what, in their opinion, was a more natural pronunciation. The scholar of Berlin or of Paris is amused at the corruptions made by the American or the Englishman in his pronunciation of German and French. And we, in turn, laugh at the brogue of the German and the Frenchman; and yet we are willing to anglicize the Latin without any hesitation, and expect to be regarded as *scholars* even when we do this. How *inconsistent* and *unscholarly* is such a practice!

By examining into the history of this matter we find that the old pronunciation of Latin, introduced into England long before the Norman conquest, was retained for several hundred years, and substantially existed in the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries; and that about this time there was an effort made to corrupt it which was deplored and denounced by many of the Latinists of England.

Milton, the most eminent classical scholar of his day, the Latin secretary to the council, in a letter to Mr. Hartlib on the subject of education, makes some suggestions to him about teaching the scholars of his model school:

> Their speech is to be fashioned to a distinct and clear pronunciation, as near as possible, to the Italian, especially in vowels. For we Englishmen, being far northerly, do not open our mouths in the cold air wide enough to grace a Southern tongue, but are observed by all other nations to speak exceeding close and inward; so that to *smatter Latin with an English tongue is as ill a bearing as low French.*

Mr. Phillips, the tutor to several of the princes royal, and one of the ablest scholars of the eighteenth century, in his work on "Methods of Teaching," published in 1750, complains of the "very faulty and unpleasant manner in which the Englishmen were beginning to pronounce Latin." Dr. Foster, contemporaneous with the latter, in his "Essay on Accent and Quantity," complains of the "violence done to the quantity of the ancient languages by the English pronunciation." Mitford, in his "Inquiry into the Principles and Harmony of Language," published at the close of the eighteenth century, points out the "absurdity of introducing into Latin the eccentric pronunciation of the English." He represents its incompatibility with the true quantity of syllables, and proposes the restoration of the ancient sounds of the vowels as in the Italian. But it is only of late years that any special effort has been made to re-introduce the old system. The advantages claimed for the Roman method are substantially as follows: First, it is the *true* system, and hence in perfect harmony with the genius and structure of the language. Second, it is the only one that we may expect will ever be generally adopted, because it is not mixed and corrupted with other nationalities, but stands out alone and unique. And all can adopt it without compromising any national peculiarities. Third, it always distinguishes words of different orthography and signification by their sounds, while the English very often does not. Take, for example, the following words: *Censeo, censio,* and *sentio;* or *cervus* and *servus;*

or *cicer* and *siser; cella* and *sella; citus* and *situs; scis*, and *sis*, and *cis; amici* and *amisi;* or *circulus* and *surculus.* By the Roman method *every one* of the preceding words are uttered with an individual pronunciation, so that when you say *censeo* it cannot be misunderstood for *censio* or *sentio.* And when you speak of a *servus* it cannot be thought to be a *cervus.* And certainly this is an advantage in any language. Fourth, this system throws much light on the subject of Latin versification, and is the only one on which Latin poetry can be correctly read. As well might we undertake to recite the poems of Shakespeare and Milton, Bryant and Longfellow, according to French principles of pronunciation, as to read the Odes of Horace or the Eclogues of Virgil with purely Anglo-Saxon sounds. Let some French scholar try this, and he will see how he would thus *spoil*, yes, *ruin*, English poetry. Why, then, shall we persist in butchering the Latin poets? Fifth, it facilitates the study of comparative philology. The corruption of Latin pronunciation has isolated the Latin from its kindred languages. To see this plainly, let us compare the Latin and Greek. Various words in the two languages are substantially the same in spelling and in meaning. Take, for instance, the following Latin words, with their English pronunciation, and compare them with the corresponding Greek words:

Accetis (a-see-tis) ακοιτις.	Cicero (sis-ser-o) Κικερων.
Cici (sai-sai) κικι.	Scipio (sip-i-o) Σκιπιων.
Cercurus (sur-cu-rus) κερκουρος.	Oceanus (o-shee-a-nus) Ωκεανος.
Cœna (see-na) κοινος.	Cilicia (sil-ish-i-a) Κιλικια.

All the above Latin words, pronounced by the Roman method, would be recognized by the Greek scholar as of kindred origin with the Greek word on the same line. In fact, all the vowels, diphthongs, and consonants in the above words are, by the Roman method, uttered just the same in both languages.

But let us inquire into the Roman method more particularly. Many of the consonants have the same sounds as in English. There are, however, some peculiarities. No consonant has more than one sound. The digraph *qu* has the sound of *k* in *king; c* and *k* always have the same sound as *k* in king; *g* is uttered as in *get; j* as *y* in *yet; s* as *s* in *son; t* as *t* in *time*, and

v as *w* in *we*. All of the vowels have two sounds, and two only. They are as follows:

ā as a in father.
ă as a in idea.
ē as e in they.
ĕ as e in net.
ī as i in machine.
ĭ as i in holiest.
ō as o in holy.
ŏ as o in obey.
ū as u in rule.
ŭ as u in full, and
y has the i sound when used as a true vowel.

There is thus but really *one* sound to each vowel and *two lengths* of it. In ā the sound is prolonged, in ă it is clipped. No merely English scholar will be surprised at these sounds, for they are of every-day use in pronouncing our native tongue; the peculiarity consists in *limiting* these letters to these sounds. For we have in English seven sounds of a, five of e, four of i, eight of o, five of u, five of c, and two of g, s, and t. How much more simple, euphonious, and beautiful is the old Latin than the modern English!

But when we come to speak of the diphthongal sounds we fancy the unclassical scholar will rebel. They are as follows:

ae and ai as the English pronoun I.
au as ow in now.
oe and oi as oi in boil.
ui as the pronoun we.
ei as ei in veil.
eu as eh-oo, two sounds, yet uttered very nearly at once.

All these are in use to-day in the languages of southern Europe—those most closely connected with the tongue of Cicero. Yet we English people say that the Roman method is harsh and rough in its sounds. Perhaps we may find this to be largely a *judgment of the imagination*. William Cullen Bryant, one of the finest classical scholars that the New World has produced, in an article published as an editorial some three or four years ago in the New York Evening Post, makes an incidental reference to this matter in the following words:

> The whole force of reason lies on the side of this Roman method of pronunciation. . . . Once generally adopted, its harshness—which, after all, is no greater than that of Greek—will cease to be thought of. The absurdity of objection on this ground will appear to any one whose ear has ever caught the mellifluous flow of Homer's grand old Greek, or of Anacreon's lyrics, polished, perfect, and musical.

One of the most prominent Latin teachers that ever occupied a college chair, Professor J. F. Richardson, of Rochester

University, New York, says to those disposed to ridicule the peculiarities of the Roman method:

> As well might a rude Thracian have laughed at the polished discourse of the sage of the Athenian academy, as well might a driveling, reeling inebriate, meeting a sober and upright man, fancy him to be the stammering staggerer and sneer at his really clear speech and steady gait, as for an English Latinist to cast ridicule upon the pronunciation of a Roman Latinist.

Another able scholar, the late Robert Kelly, LL.D., in referring to the Roman pronunciation, uses very strong language:

> 'Tis better to give to Scipio and to Cicero the names by which they were known in the flesh, and which they have invested in immortal glory—far better all these changes—than to turn the Roman senate into a mass of hissing serpents.

He thus refers to our pronouncing Scipio *sip-i-o*, Cicero *sis-er-o*, and Cæsar *see-zar*, which names these great Romans never would have recognized as their own as they are pronounced by the English scholar of to-day.

But is there any probability that this Roman system will be generally adopted? We believe it is only a question of time. It is already used to quite an extent on the continent of Europe and in England. One of the professors of Latin at Oxford has prepared a "Syllabus of Latin Pronunciation," in which he has introduced this system.

The Rev. E. B. Mayor, M.A., Professor of Latin in the University of Cambridge, tells to what extent the new (if we may call it *new*) pronunciation is used, and how esteemed in that great English institution:

> There is, I think, no great difference of opinion here in regard to the principles of Latin pronunciation; even the *w* sound of *v* is secure from ridicule. In practice there is great diversity. Many schools adopt the new pronunciation in the higher forms only, which seems like beginning at the wrong end. However, the result is that the proportion of those who are familiar with the new pronunciation on entering the university is continually increasing. The old *mumpsimus*, both in respect to orthography and pronunciation, is doomed, and no longer ventures to put in a plea in arrest of execution. If American scholars accept the reform, we may hope that, in the next generation, all English-speaking Latinists will be intelligible to their colleagues all over the world.

But let us inquire how this Roman method is being received in this country. My distinguished friend and former college-mate, Dr. John W. White, (a professor in Harvard University,) says, in a recent letter:

> The Roman method is used here, and has been for several years. It is just going in at Yale with their new professor, Peck, who comes from Cornell, (New York,) and is an enthusiast on the subject. It is used at Cornell by his successor, one of our graduates.

We have investigated pretty thoroughly, and find that this system has been already introduced into about seventy universities and colleges of this country, among which, in addition to the three mentioned above by Dr. White, are the following institutions: University of California, Columbian University, (Washington, D. C.,) Illinois Wesleyan University, Indiana State University, Indiana Asbury University, Upper Iowa University, Cornell College, (Iowa,) University of Kansas, Kentucky State University, Kentucky Wesleyan University, Louisiana State University, Boston University, University of Michigan, University of Mississippi, University of Missouri, Rutger's College, Columbia College, (New York City,) University of City of New York, University of Rochester, (New York,) Union College, (New York,) Ohio University, Ohio Wesleyan University, Hiram College, University of Lewisburg, (Pennsylvania,) University of Virginia, Bethany College, (Virginia,) State University of Wisconsin.

But what of the success of the new pronunciation?

So far as I have been able to learn, it has been received with favor in every place where it has been used more than a year. I have known of but two teachers who were not satisfied with it. And they, I think, did not give it a fair trial. The eminent Professor Richardson, to whom I have already referred, expresses his experience in language that can substantially be adopted by those teachers of Latin who have used the English and Roman systems:

> I am persuaded, from the experience of twenty-four years in teaching Latin, seventeen on the English and seven on the Roman system, that I can teach the important principles of the language far more successfully with the true than with the false system of pronunciation. I have given the two systems a fair trial, with

no interest but to ascertain the truth; and I not merely *think* but *know* that, by the daily use of the *true* pronunciation, I can secure, on the part of the student, a much more intelligent and lively interest in questions pertaining to the etymology of the language, to its various inflectional forms and laws, to its quantities, and, above all, to its metrical system and to its relations to kindred languages.

And we think, if this system is fairly tried, it will meet with universal favor; and within another generation the *original* method may be used by all the Latinists of the world.

ART. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Reviews.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN AND ORIENTAL JOURNAL, July, 1883. (Chicago, Ill.)—1. A Part of the Navajo Mythology; by W. Matthews. 2. Village Defenses; or, Defensive Architecture in America; by Stephen D. Peet. 3. Ancient Mexican Civilization; by L. P. Gratacap. 4. The Religion of the Omahas and Ponkas; by J. O. Dorsey.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1883. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Catholic Doctrine on Marriage; by Rev. Henry A. Brann, D.D. 2. The Church of France and the Revolution; by Kathleen O'Meara. 3. An Old Biblical Problem Solved at Last; by Rev. Simon Lebl, D.D. 4. Father Felix Varela, Vicar-General of New York from 1837 to 1853; by J. I. Rodriguez. 5. Capital and Labor; by Rt. Rev. James O'Connor, D.D. 6. English Administration in Ireland To-day; by Bryan J. Clinche. 7. Converts: Their Influence and Work in this Country; by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. 8. The Alleged Fall of Pope Liberius; by Rev. P. J. Harrold. 9. The New Sovereignty; by A. F. Marshall, B.A.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, August, September, 1883. (Cincinnati.)—1. Comparative Religion; by Rev. O. P. Eaches. 2. Herbert Spencer in the Light of History; Prof. William C. Morey, Ph.D. 3. Wilkinson's Webster Ode; by William C. Conant. 4. Some Christian Testimony from Herbert Spencer; by Rev. Alvah S. Hobart. 5. Mr. Howells and the Scholastic Element in Novel Writing.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, July, 1883. (Andover.)—1. The Brahma Samaj; by Rev. C. W. Park. 2. On the Origin of the Primitive Historical Traditions of the Hebrews; translated from the German of August Dillman, D.D. 3. The Theology of Calvin—Is it Worth Saving? by Rev. E. A. Lawrence. 4. The Doctrines of Universalism; by Rev. A. A. Miner, S.T.D., LL.D. 5. A Symposium on the Antediluvian Narratives—Lenormant, Delitzsch, Haupt, Dillmann; by Prof. Samuel Ives Curtiss, D.D. 6. Schleiermacher's "Absolute Feeling of Dependence," and its Effects on his Doctrine of God; by Rev. P. H. Foster, Ph.D. 7. Religious Instruction in Prussian High-Schools; by Prof. Hugh M. Scott.

NEW ENGLANDER, July, 1883. (New Haven.) — 1. The Salvation Army: by Rev. C. P. Osborne. 2. The Study of Elementary Geometry; by Prof. Eugene L. Richards. 3. Some Neglected Factors in Congregational Fellowship; by Rev. A. Hastings Ross. 4. Bancroft and Doyle on Colonial Maryland; by

Rev. President G. F. Magoun. 5. The Decline of the Congregational Church; by Rev. Charles F. Thwing. 6. The Present Claims of the Clerical Profession on Christian Young Men; by Rev. J. W. Backus. 7. The Revised Version and the Future State; by Rev. O. A. Kingsbury. 8. Herbert Spencer's Ultimatum; by Rev. I. E. Graeff.

September, 1883.—1. The Relation between Christianity and Heathen Systems of Religion; by Rev. D. Z. Sheffield. 2. Evolution as Bearing on Method in Teleology; by Rev. H. S. Stanley. 3. The Metaphysical Basis of Belief in God; by Rev. W. D. Hyde. 4. Apriorisms as Ultimate Grounds of Knowledge; by Prof. Henry N. Day. 5. The Modern Novel; by F. H. Stoddard. 6. Pantheism; by Rev. E. Janes. 7. The Present Outlook for Old Testament Study; by Prof. F. B. Denio. 8. The Revision and its Cambridge Critic; by Prof. C. J. H. Ropes. 9. A Lesson in Figures, or a Chapter from Numbers; by Rev. John Winthrop Ballantine.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, July, 1883. (Boston.)—1. Memoir of Stephen Whitney Phœnix, Esq.; by Jacob B. Moore, Esq. 2. Genealogical Gleanings in England; by Henry F. Waters, A.B. 3. Huguenot: Origin and Meaning of the Name; by Hon. George Lunt. 4. Widow Ann Messant, *alias* Godfrey; by Charles E. Banks, M.D. 5. Portraits of New Hampshire Public Men; by Hon. Benjamin F. Prescott. 6. The Garfield Family of England; by William P. W. Phillimore, A.M., B.C.L. 7. Marriages in West Springfield; by Lyman H. Bagg, A.M. 8. Edward Randolph; by G. D. Scull, Esq. 9. Marriages in Warwick, R. I.; by Benjamin W. Smith, Esq. 10. Peter and John Brown; by Frank B. Sanborn, Esq. 11. Soldiers in King Philip's War; by Rev. George M. Bodge. 12. Braintree Records; by Samuel A. Bates, Esq. 13. Descendants of Thomas Deane; by John Ward Dean, Esq. 14. Register Plan for Genealogical Records. 15. Records of Winchester, N. H.; by John L. Alexander, M.D. 16. Name and Family of Broughton; by Henry E. Waite, Esq.

PRINCETON REVIEW, July, 1883. (New York.)—1. The most recent Phases of the Tariff Question; by David A. Wells, LL.D., D.C.L. 2. Anthony Trollope; by Bayard Tuckerman. 3. The Alleged Conflict of Natural Science and Religion; by George P. Fisher, D.D., LL.D. 4. On the Education of Ministers: A Reply to Pres. Eliot; by Prof. Francis L. Patton. 5. Recent Researches in Cerebral Physiology; by William B. Scott, Ph.D. 6. The Political Situation in France; by Edmond de Pressensé.

September.—1. "A College Fetich;" by President Porter. 2. Our Iron, Woolen, and Silk Industries before the Tariff Commission; by Herbert Putnam. 3. Incineration; by Rev. John D. Beugless. 4. The Artist as Painter; by John F. Weir, N.A. 5. The Antecedent Probabilities of a Revelation; by David J. Hill, Ph.D. 6. Recent French Fiction; by J. Brander Matthews.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, July, 1883. (Boston.)—1. Episcopacy; by I. M. Atwood, D.D. 2. Scripture Exposition Reviewed; by the Rev. W. R. French. 3. Robert G. Ingersoll *vs.* Christianity; by Thomas J. Vater. 4. Questions in Relation to Sin and its Consequences, Salvation and Destiny; by Hon. L. W. Ballou. 5. The Romance and Religion of Geology; by S. H. M'Collester, D.D. 6. The Restoration of Humanity; by Rev. G. M. Harmon. 7. New Testament Mysteries; by Rev. H. R. Nye. 8. Usage *vs.* Rights; by A. A. Miner, D.D. 9. The Critic Criticised; by O. D. Miller, D.D.

PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, July, 1883. (New York.)—1. Modern Miracles: by Rev. Marvin R. Vincent, D.D. 2. The Doctrines of the Buddha and the Doctrines of the Christ; by Professor S. H. Kellogg, D.D. 3. Infant Salvation and its Theological Bearings; by Professor George L. Prentiss, D.D. 4. Spencer's Philosophy and Theism; by Oscar Craig.

The article on INFANT SALVATION is well worth the perusal of our most thoughtful Methodists for its candid survey of the historical ground and its irenical spirit. It fully recognizes the

supreme predominance of the dogma of infant doom among the Calvinists of past centuries, the revolution of Calvinistic sentiment at a very late date in this century, and gives honorable credit to those whose agency brought into his theology the milder view. Though it gently apologizes for his traditional fathers in a most natural and excusable, though sometimes in what would appear to us Arminians unique, way, he disguises no truth of history. He gives in foot-note a letter from the eminent Dr. Henry B. Smith to an eminent Methodist minister, presenting the desirableness of increased accordance between Presbyterianism and Methodism, and the real accordance that now underlies the two. So cordially are these presentations made that they revived in our mind the query raised years ago in our Quarterly, (in our foot-notes to Dr. Aikman's article,) whether the questions debated between Presbyterianism and Methodism could not be relegated to the region of metaphysics, and banished from our theology. This hope very much faded away as we perused the latter part of Dr. Prentiss' article, in which he states the "theological consequences" of the acceptance of the belief of universal infant salvation. In the most unconscious way Dr. Prentiss quietly assumes dogmas that to the Methodist mind are essentially one in appalling nature and substance with infant damnation. He does not sufficiently recognize that the change in the Calvinistic mind is not a logical, but a *sentimental*, one. That change or yield springs from a back-lying propulsion of popular *feeling* compelling the theological submission. The stern old predestinarian theologians unflinchingly refused to allow popular "gush" to interfere with their structural system of theologic truth. But so powerful is now that tide of "gush" that it sweeps away the barrier and compels the adoption of a new logic and a new exegesis borrowed from Arminianism. It is "the beginning of the end." Infant damnation and adult irrespective reprobation are of a piece, and both "must go." What is the humane difference between consigning to a predestined perdition a child eighteen inches in length and six months old, or an adult five feet ten and sixty years old? The former may be painted, especially to the maternal heart, in more melting strains—the ghastly fatality may be more *felt*—but the true logical injustice is not more positive and clear. Yet how unconscious of this identity a mind

so amiable as Dr. Prentiss' is may be seen from the fact that he imagines that it was a great mitigation by Calvin when he maintained that infant damnation arises, not from absence of baptism, but from direct reprobation by God! From this want of appreciation how in this revolution the maternal heart has conquered the theological head, how sensibility (and, we may add, human right feeling) has prostrated dogma, Dr. Prentiss' appreciation of "theological consequences" in the last half of his article is a signal failure. It penetrates but the surface of a very deep sea.

It was a good many years ago when grand old Lyman Beecher published in a Congregational periodical, called "The Spirit of the Pilgrims," an extended denial that the Calvinistic fathers held to the doctrine of infant damnation. This called forth from the Unitarian side a learned response, going over the historic ground and giving plentiful quotations from those venerable fathers, which showed very sweepingly Dr. Beecher's unacquaintance with their literature, and administered to him a Waterloo defeat. Within a decade or two Dr. Hodge made some similar adventures, which called out Dr. Krauth, of the Lutheran Church, who, with a still richer erudition, marshaled a body of old literature and spread it so broadcast before the public that never will there be a third respectable denial. Dr. Prentiss' article is a brief, candid, conceding survey of this state of the battle-field. It is graceful surrender on that point.

From even this brief survey we may draw some facts not sufficiently known, perhaps, by even Methodist thinkers. The doctrine of infant damnation was a part of the irrespective reprobation scheme introduced by Augustine into the Western Church. At the Reformation it came in with the still severer irrespectivism of Calvin and other reformers, either as subjecting salvation to the accident of baptism or to the absolute decree, irrespective of free agency or "any thing in" the finite being. And here we may note two things:

First, the dogma of infant damnation spread through the Reformation Churches, including the Augsburg and the Anglican. It appears in the *desert* of "God's wrath and damnation" upon every one "born of Adam" of the ninth of the English Thirty-nine Articles. How narrowly our own Wesleyan Methodism

escaped this dogma, by a few providential strokes from the pen of John Wesley! And how lamentably strange it is that the latest great system of theology published by an eminent Methodist scholar affirms that this erased passage is believed by every Methodist; that, indeed, the whole thirty-nine, the predestinarian seventeenth included, is standard with Methodism; and that this statement, without modification or annotation, is installed in "The Course of Study" of our American Methodist Episcopal Church! Very plausibly it might be argued from such high authorities that Methodists themselves are maintainers of the rightfulness of Infant Damnation!

Next, it is clear that *infant regeneration* has been extensively held by the Protestant Churches from the time of the Reformation until now. A limited infant salvation was based upon infant regeneration, and that upon infant baptism. And infant baptismal regeneration was as truly held by the Puritan as by the Churchman. This may be illustrated by the title of a book given by Dr. Prentiss, published at Oxford in 1629: "BAPTISMAL REGENERATION OF ELECT INFANTS, Professed by the Church of England, according to the Scriptures, the Primitive Church, the present Reformed Churches, and many particular divines apart. By Cor. Burges, Dr. of D., and one of his Majestie's Chaplaines in Ordinary. According to his mercy he saved us with the laver of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost." It closes with a Latin quotation from Augustine to the effect that "*Sacraments effect what they symbolize in the elect alone.*" That the Presbyterian Church holds to *infant regeneration* is conclusive enough from the following passage in the "Confession of Faith:" "Elect infants, dying in infancy, are *regenerated*, and saved by Christ through the Spirit, who worketh when and where and how he pleaseth." This corrects the error of those Methodist thinkers who, a few years ago, supposed that *infant regeneration* is an intrinsic absurdity and a heresy hitherto unknown in the Church. And when Gilbert Haven broached that doctrine in our Quarterly it was humorously retorted in one of our "Advocates" that his initials, G. H., stood for Great Heretic. Wesley, it is said, believed originally that baptism regenerated; but whether he ever held that it regenerated internally and efficiently, or only externally and declaratorily, we are not so clear, not having

thoroughly examined the record. In his earliest tract on baptism we believe that it will be found that he expressly declares that God's grace is not tied to ordinances. But certainly he did believe in infant regeneration.

We might well call our readers' attention to the dissertation in the latter part of Dr. Prentiss' article on PROBATION. It is, he says, a modern word. He finds it earliest in "that able work," Dr. Daniel Whitby's treatise on the "Five Points." A little more than a quarter of a century later Bishop "Butler employs it as a key to the moral government of God in the world." But Dr. Prentiss maintains that the idea of *probation* belongs to natural religion, and not to the Bible. To the elect, whose salvation is eternally secured, he tells us there is no *probation*, no conditional trial, but only a "training" to a fixed result. To the reprobate, whose wills are fore-ordainedly and administratively secured to final impenitence, there is no opportunity, no trial, no chance, no hope!! They are damned before born, without a possibility of escape! Of course, for both classes, and equally, there is no *probation*. We need not say how thorny would be the pew-cushion of most Methodists in listening to such a Gospel! There is no chance of damnation for the pre-eternally elect; there is no chance of salvation for the pre-eternally fore-ordained reprobate. This reprobate's will is sealed to unrepentant sin. And thus, with all the doctor's irenics, no doubt perfectly sincere, we have the old fatalistic story. It is just as Wesley concisely expressed it: "The elect will be saved, do what they will; the reprobate will be damned, do what they can." To a Methodist, PROBATION—not the word, but the thing—forms the very soul of the whole Bible. It begins with Adam, and ends with the closing eschatology of the Apocalypse. *Obey and be saved, disobey and be damned*, is the entire biblical strain. With Adam it was the obedience of works; under Christ it is "the obedience of faith." To unfold those alternatives before the perceptions of men, and before "the autonomy" of their free, unnecessitated, undecreed will, is the work, purpose, and life of the Law and the Gospel. And this difference between the two Churches is not merely metaphysical. It makes two different Bibles. And so when our Methodist fathers came to America their success was not due, as some say, to "their preaching the doctrines

common to all evangelical Churches." They every-where found it necessary to sweep away predestinarianism in order to make way for the offer of a free salvation. Before that sweep predestinarianism is fading and almost ready to vanish away. More and more the public mind revolts from a fatalistic Gospel. And it is only by the banishment of that dark dogma that a free Gospel can overspread the earth.

How that dogma can be retained in the minds and hearts of great, good, and humane men, as most surely it is, is to us the most insoluble of psychological problems. And here is the only way we know to our Irenicum. We drop doctrinal differences, and we can unite with Presbyterians in every good word and work. Who doubts the profound piety in the great Presbyterian body? Who does not rejoice in their stalwart efforts to benefit the world? Who does not recognize in that Church a great bulwark of Christianity—a bulwark alike against wickedness, against infidelity, and against the man of sin? Who does not admire the ability, the piety, and the scholarship of the Presbyterian ministry?—a scholarship most richly exhibited in this Presbyterian Quarterly, to the perusal of which we heartily commend every scholarly Methodist.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, July, 1883. (Macon, Georgia.)—1. Demands and Difficulties of Infidelity; by Rev. W. Harrison. 2. Wesleyan Arminianism; by Professor Wilbur F. Tillett, A.M. 3. The Church and Education; by Rev. W. P. Lovejoy, A.M. 4. Idealism and Realism; by J. M. Long, A.M. 5. Co-Education of the Sexes; by Rev. J. O. Swinney. 6. Law: Nature and Origin; by Rev. William I. Gill, A.M. 7. Studies in Psychology—Visions; by Rev. W. J. Scott. 8. Endowment of the Ministry; by Rev. S. W. Cope. 9. God Revealed in Nature; by Rev. W. Spillman.

Among the articles of this number our attention is specially attracted by that on "Wesleyan Arminianism," written by Professor Wilbur F. Tillett, of Vanderbilt University. Mr. Tillett has within the past year been elected to the theological chair in the Vanderbilt, as successor to the late Dr. Summers. He is a graduate of Princeton, but is a firm and manly opponent of the anti-Arminian specialties of Princeton theology. His statements of our doctrines are clear, fresh, and authoritative. He bears the honored name of Wilbur Fisk, and is a true representative expositor of Wilbur Fisk's theology.

We are especially attracted by his lucid statement of the opposite views held by the Calvinian and Arminian thinkers

on the topic now prominent before the mind of the religious public, namely, the doctrine of *hereditary guilt* derived from Adam. His representation of the Calvinian view is as follows:

> As a result of this fall all of Adam's race became sinners, and as such as *justly punishable* as was Adam, the *guilt* of whose sin is imputed to them, he having acted as their federal representative. Original sin, consisting of the *guilt* of Adam's sin and the corruption of his nature, is conveyed by natural generation to each of his descendants, which renders them as justly punishable as Adam became by actual, voluntary transgression, sin meriting punishment because it is sin, regardless of its voluntary or involuntary origin. Out of this race of fallen men, all of whom merited punishment and could have been justly left to bear the just consequences of their sin, God determined to save some; the reason for the election of some rather than others, or rather than all, being entirely in the divine mind.—Page 406.

We here call special attention to the strict logic by which the justice of arbitrary election and reprobation results from hereditary guilt. If all the race are guilty of or for Adam's sin; if their being born of guilty Adam "deserves God's wrath and damnation," then it is perfectly right for God to damn them eternally, and he is under no obligation to make any provision for their salvation. It is, then, perfect fatuity to say, as Watson seems to maintain, they *deserve damnation* provided an atonement is provided to save them! That is saying they deserve damnation provided it is secured that they be not damned—which is saying nothing at all. They deserve a damnation which can never be justly executed! How absurd it is to say that, if there be an atonement provided, they do "deserve damnation," but if there be no rescuing provision, then they do not "deserve damnation!" Surely the subsequent atonement cannot affect the antecedent *desert*. Is it the atonement that makes them damnable? Can God, by any subsequent provision of his own, create a desert of damnation that did not before intrinsically exist? And would it be justice in God to doom them for a desert of his own arbitrary creating and fixing upon them where it did not in its own nature previously exist? And is it not clear that when these thinkers require an atonement to render this desert just and real they do not themselves believe that it is truly just and real? We say they only *imagine* they believe it; for the

simple reason that it contradicts our fundamental axiomatic intuition of right, than which no certainty is more absolutely certain. And is it not clear, too, that the atonement provided is just as factitious as the guilt? It must be a fancy atonement that expiates a fancy desert of damnation. Two negatives may make one affirmative, but two falsehoods cannot make one truth. And then if this universal born desert of damnation is real, the universal consignment to hell is just, and God is justly at liberty to damn the whole or save a part at his own arbitrary volition. "Hereditary guilt," therefore, involves all those particularities of Calvinistic doctrine against which Arminianism has always protested. The Arminianism, so-called, that admits "hereditary guilt" completely crosses and contradicts itself. It denies the basal axiom that free volition is necessary in order to responsibility. And as birth is, on the divine side, a mode of creation, it affirms the Calvinian dogma that *God may justly create a man bad, and then damn him for being the bad that he has created him.* Happily Wesley has saved Methodism from that damnable dogma.

And what is monstrous in this doctrine of "hereditary guilt" is the fact that it affirms the rightfulness of the infant's damnation! It

"Damns him from his mother's womb."

It damns him at birth, and damns him in the cradle, and at his mother's breast. And if it does not execute that damnation to all eternity and in hell, it affirms such damnation to be just and right. It shuts the Arminian's mouth from maintaining that the eternal damnation of the dying infant is unjust.

Professor Tillett thus states the case of Adam's offspring:

Adam having sinned thus freely, it follows: That God was under no obligation to provide for *him* a second time a way of salvation, but could justly have punished him at once with death, temporal, spiritual, and eternal. Two alternatives were now before the divine mind after Adam had sinned: either to put Adam to death at once without offspring, or to permit him to be the father of a race of fallen beings like himself, and provide some way of salvation for them. If God permitted Adam in his fallen state to beget children, sinful and corrupt like himself, then he could not justly have left them to perish, but was morally bound to provide for them some way of salvation. They did not stand their probation in Adam, and hence God neither imputes the guilt of Adam's sin to them, nor are they justly punishable for

Adam's sin, being in no sense responsible therefor. Sprung, however, from a man polluted in his whole nature by the fall, they are born with a corrupt nature inclining them to evil and that continually, which is original sin. But this original sin is not properly punishable, even as created holiness is not strictly rewardable. No man is responsible or punishable for his own original sin until, by voluntarily refusing to get rid of it in the way provided by grace, he makes it truly his own. It is indeed true that all sin is, in the abstract, justly punishable; but it is also true that no sin is justly punishable *until* it is no longer unavoidable and necessary; in short, until its origin or its continuance, as the case may be, becomes voluntary. Hence, if one die before arriving at an age of accountability, he is saved without a voluntary accepting of Christ, even as he became a sinner without any voluntary act of his own.—Pp. 408, 409.

The professor, however, omits to explain the process by which the infant is saved through the atonement. We venture to discuss that point in our book notice of Professor Burwash on another page.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, July, 1883. (New York.)—1. Dynamite as a Factor in Civilization; by Pres. J. H. Seelye. 2. The Last Days of the Rebellion; by Lieut.-General P. H. Sheridan. 3. The Increase of Public Expenditures; by William S. Holman, M.C. 4. Democracy and Moral Progress; by O. B. Frothingham. 5. Needed Reforms in Prison Management; by Z. R. Brockway. 6. Science and the Imagination; by Thomas Sergeant Perry. 7. Sanitary Drainage; by Geo E. Waring, Jr. 8. Cruelty to Children; by Eldridge T. Gerry. 9. *Church Attendance;* by A Non-Church-Goer, Rev. Dr. William Hayes Ward, Rev. Dr. James M. Pullman. Rev. Dr. J. H. Rylance.

August.—1. Moral Instruction in the Public Schools; by Rev. Drs. R. H. Newton and F. L. Patton. 2. Making Bread Dear; by Henry D. Lloyd. 3. Woman in Politics; by Dr. William A. Hammond. 4. Henry George's Social Fallacies; by Francis A. Walker. 5. Crude Methods of Legislation; by Simon Sterne. 6. The Unsanitary Homes of the Rich; by C. F. Wingate. 7. Science and Prayer; by Pres. Galusha Anderson and Thaddeus B. Wakeman.

September.—1. State Regulation of Corporate Profits; by Judge T. M. Cooley. 2. Municipal Reform; by John A. Kasson, M.C. 3. Class Distinctions in the United States; by Richard Grant White. 4. Shooting at Sight; by Judge James Jackson. 5. Facts about the Caucus and the Primary; by George Walton Green. 6. Conversations with a Solitary; by W. H. Mallock. 7. The Limitations of Freethinking; by Rev. Dr. D. S. Phelan. 8. An American Wild Flower; by Grant Allen.

In the discussion on Church attendance we think about the only wise thing in the article by "A Non-Church-goer" was his anonymous signature. So superlatively mean are some of his utterances, that we think that most respectable absentees from Sabbath worship would little care to acknowledge him as a representative. He opens with a declaration that the more respectable do not attend, and yet he seems to fear that the opinions of the respectable community are such that he prefers

to lurk under cover. Nevertheless, he mainly repeats the anti-religious twaddle of our daily press, like the article in a late number of the Sun, for instance, on the decay of "The Prayer-meeting," arising, as it avers, from the fact that that institution was mainly an organ of sanctimonious cant. The all-sweeping refutation of those malignities is furnished by statistics, in spite of which even the writers of editorials go on reiterating their exploded statements. And, in his reply to "Non-Church-goer," Dr. W. H. Ward, of the Independent, so completely overwhelms him with the census reports that we might imagine that the Doctor himself had set him up as a *vir straminius* to demolish. We have room for but a single quotation, but his whole article is full of pith and point.

> We have, then, at a moderate calculation, thirty-six of the fifty millions of our population who are recognized as regular attendants on those Churches whose faith, we are told, has ceased to attract men of culture and intelligence. Of these, ten millions are active communicants of Protestant Churches. And this immense number of communicants represents a rapidly increasing proportion of our population. In 1800 there were, according to the best available statistics, 365,000 evangelical communicants in the country, being 7 per cent. of the population, 5,308,483. In 1850 there were 3,529,988 such communicants, being 15 per cent. of 21,191,876. In 1870 there were 6,673,396 such communicants, being 17 per cent. of the population of 38,588,371. In 1880 the communicants had risen to 10,065,963, being a little over 20 per cent. of the population of 50,152,866. The increase in population since 1800 has been ninefold; that in evangelical communicants has been twenty-sevenfold—three times as great as in the population. So much for the random assertion that "only a small proportion even of intelligent or eminently respectable people are regular attendants upon religious services on Sunday," and "the proportion is increasing so rapidly that if 'A Non-Church-goer's' life should be prolonged many decades, the greater likelihood is, that he will have to hide himself away or emigrate to escape the danger of being converted.

Dr. Ward, however, aims a sharp shot at the "dilemma swingers," "the Church's silly people," who prefer Moses to Darwin. He proposes a summary dealing with such male-factors—nothing less than total massacre, figuratively speaking. "If the Church would kill off its *mallei hereticorum* there would be fewer heretics to be hammered." The "people" who are thus to be expunged and expurgated are those

who make wry faces at accepting an ape for their Adam. Now, we are more tolerant than all that. When the people of Rotterdam complained to Frederick II. that their preacher, Saurin, was really a Universalist, old Fritz replied, "If the people of Rotterdam wish to be damned, let them be damned." If Dr. W. and our other protoplasmic friends wish to be apes, let them be apes.

English Reviews.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1883. (London.)—1. The Relation of Drugs to Medicine. 2. The Religion of the Paris Ouvrier. 3. The Classification of Ideas. 4. The Tâo Teh King. 5. The Discovery of Pithom Succoth. 6. John Richard Green. 7. Some Characteristics of Mr. Green's Histories. 8. The iberation Society. 9. Political Survey of the Quarter.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1883. (London.)—1. Geological Problems. 2. Lord Lawrence. 3. The Synthetic Philosophy of Mr. Herbert Spencer. 4. Intercourse with China Fifty Years Ago and To-day. 5. Half a Century of Literary Life. 6. The Romish Theory of the Church. 7. Frederick the Great: Carlyle and De Broglie. 8. Dr. Malan on the Sacraments.

INDIAN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, July, 1883. (Calcutta.)—1. How far is the Commission of our Lord to the Seventy Disciples applicable to Modern Missions? by Rev. I. Allen, M.A. 2. Female Education in the Native Church; by a Native Missionary. 3. Self-support and Self-propagation in the Native Churches; by Rev. R. V. Modak. 4. Diary of a Tour in the Khasi Hills; by Rev. J. Jerman Jones. 5. What is Holy Matrimony? by the Editor. 6. Brahmoism—The Progressive Somaj; by R. C. Bose, Esq. 7. "Union of Christians in India;" by Rev. John M'Laurin.

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN, (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1883. Fourth Number.—*Essays:* 1. HERING, The Beneficence of the German Reformation. 2. USTERI, Bullinger on the Significance of Zwingle's Doctrine Concerning the Sacrament and Baptism. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. KLEINERT, Does the Book of Koheleth reveal Influences extending beyond the Hebrews? 2. SCHMIDT, The Meaning of the Talents in the Parable of Matthew XXV, 14–30. *Reviews:* 1. ORELLI, The Old Testament Prophecy of the Completion of the Kingdom of God in its Historical Development, by RIEHM. 2. REUSS, The History of the Sacred Writings of the Old Testament, by BAUDISSIN.

KIRCHLICHE MONATSSCHRIFT, (Church Monthly.) Vol. II, No. 9.—BAUR, 1. The Great Value of the Liberty which Luther Conquered for Christianity. 2. Dr. Nieden, General Superintendent. 3. A Life Sketch. 4. The Apostle Paul and Judaism, by KIKEBUSCH. 5. The Religious Conference of Kosen. 6. The New Hymnal in Hanover.

The Lutheran Reformation is the subject that now crowds all others into the background in the consideration of German

theologians. Its works of Christian love fill the first sixty pages of the "Theological Essays" for the current quarter. Professor Hering, of the sound old school of Halle, here gives us a most thorough and searching examination of the greatest movement of modern history in the Christian Church, going as far back as the Crusades to find a fitting basis on which to found the subsequent work that he has continued down to our era.

In the opinion of the learned author of this article, the Reformation may, with justice, be regarded as a movement inspired by the deepest religious spirit, and proceeding from the inner life of an entire age permeated with the very life-power of the original Gospel. And, as a mighty molding influence, it enters into the new historical epoch, and lends to it its cornerstone. And the fruitful character of this movement is not exhausted in teaching doctrines and establishing congregations. Its leaven operates on the popular life as a work of God, in these words of the Lord, "Plant a good tree, and the fruit will be good." Later investigations have paid more attention to these features than more ancient history, and still there remains much to be done to render full justice to the theme. And the one special point that now demands a more careful examination may be found in the loving and charitable deeds that owe their life to the Reformation. The famous painter, who has, in many instances, so graphically delineated the era of the Reformation, represented Luther, with the open Bible in his hand, preaching to his contemporaries from the text, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself;" and in this he gave an indication, even better than he then knew, of the special tendency of the absorbing work.

Such good deeds do, in great measure, absolve the debts of gratitude that we owe to the fathers of our Christian Church, and prove its labors to be those of peace. And still these very works are not possible without casting reflection on the evils and shortcomings of the Romish Church of the Middle Ages; for reform finds its justice and its significance only on the ground where conditions indicate and justify its necessity. And the duty not to pass over these facts in silence becomes the more pressing through the efforts of Romish pens to misrepresent the aims and blacken the labors of the Reformation.

But it were unreasonable, however, to define only the errors, and not declare also the great deeds, of the Middle Ages, in the line of Christian love and charity. From the earliest beginnings of the Christian Church a great number of charitable foundations has been handed down to later centuries. This is especially the case in all the region of the upper Rhine, in Germany. It was there that the cloisters founded their first hospitals for the sick, and places of refuge for weary and poor Christian pilgrims. At a later period these institutions grew, not only from the organization of cloister life, but even the bishops and canons called them into existence, with the aid of Saxon rulers. In the epoch of the Crusades commenced a new era for the foundation of institutions of charity. The great migratory movements of the nations of the Occident for centuries gave rise to the necessity of places of refuge for the sick and the needy that fell by the way-side; and thus the churches and all Christian organizations were called on to exercise a broad charity toward the wanderers from their homes. In this work the Germans were always, as they are now, in the foreground. The German cities were marked for the zeal and energy with which they responded to the calls of humanity. The noblest families, the clergy, and even the emperors took a large share in this work, and all in the Christian spirit, as is shown by the most common of all appellations, namely, the "Hospital of the Ghost." In the fourteenth century there was scarcely a German city without one hospital, and some had even more. Long after the Crusades pilgrims continued to wander to the Holy Land, and crowd the highways on their journeys to the graves of the saints Peter and Paul. And again others, in great crowds, journeyed to sacred places in their own land—the scene of pretended miracles, and the site of shrines founded in memory of the appearance of the Virgin or certain saints. These would often journey without scrip or food, depending, on their weary way, on the Christian charity of those Christians or Christian institutions that they might perchance find.

But it was reserved for Luther to sanctify and deepen this principle of Christian love, and extend it to the suffering every-where, so that the works of Christian beneficence that followed in the wake of the Reformation were numerous and

varied. They were not by any means confined to the sick and poor that were to be found on the way-side, but were extended, in a missionary sense, to those that were in ignorance of spiritual things, as well as in worldly need. No great want of the race was neglected by Luther, in the course of his marvelous career; and he is, in one sense, the founder of the numerous institutions for the training of the young. He believed in the intelligent Christian home with a wealth of religious knowledge in itself; while in possession of the Bible in the vernacular tongue, thanks to his labors. To this end he insisted on the establishment of schools for the children, and especially for the female sex, until the Reformation almost totally ignored in the matter of instruction. Hence we may see that our essayist has a very wide field in the loving works that spring from Luther's spirit.

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review,) May, 1883.—1. BERNARD, Marguerite Spoerlin. 2. SECRÉTAN, Vinet and Theology. 3. X., In Africa. 4. BIANQUIS, An Attractive Project. 5. Monthly Review, by Pressensé.

June, 1883.—1. SECRÉTAN, Vinet and Theology. 2. VALLETTE, The Gospel and Morality. 3. M. B., Sister Dora. 4. Bibliography. 5. E. DE PRESSENSÉ, Monthly Review.

July, 1883.—1. DARTIGUE, The Primary School and Laical Morality. 2. REY, About the *Salon*. 3. X., In Africa. 4. BRIDEL, Philosophical Chronicle. 5. Review of the Month by Pressensé.

In the May number of the Review, Secrétan commences an article on Vinet and his theology, which he extends into the subsequent issue. The learned and sprightly reviewer seems inclined to be an iconoclast regarding the great Christian scholar who has so long held a cherished place in the hearts of French Protestants; and he does not hesitate to bring him down from his pedestal and say some very plain things about him, which may not be acceptable to the most of our readers. But it may, at least, be profitable to know what is said regarding Vinet in the leading French religious Review to aid us in obtaining the status of the scholar as viewed by some French eyes. Dartigue reviews a recent work by Chavannes, bearing the title "Alexandre Vinet Considered as Apologist and Moral-

ist," in one volume 8vo, published in Leyden, which can be obtained of the Protestant publisher, Fischbacher, in Paris.

Alexander Vinet has left no genuine monument, neither in the order of thought nor in that of art. His style, though admirable in eloquence, exhibits very grave errors. The arrangement of his two great works is faulty, and he approaches perfection only in a few speeches and critical essays, and especially in a small number of pamphlets and journal articles. Presented at an auspicious period, his views on the part of moral conscience in religion, and the independence desirable in the Church toward the civil power, have had much influence, but they were not entirely new. And, nevertheless, during more than half a century, the name of Vinet has gone on growing. The youth of his country are now preparing to raise a statue to him, and the world will be astonished, moreover, that this duty was not performed long ago. This will honor only the *littérateur* and critic, leaving to others the task of glorifying the publicist and Christian.

And, with a few more pages in this line, as an introduction and explanation of his methods and aims, the author proceeds to treat of Vinet in a direction totally opposite to that of Astié, because, as he says, his object is a totally different one.

In regard to the "Attractive Project" of Bianquis, presented in the same number, we may say that at a little reunion of French Protestants, of which the leading members were Theodore Monod and M. Reveillaud, both now well known in this country, the subject of a sort of French Protestant head-quarters was discussed, which may eventually blossom out into a Book Concern. The French Protestants of Paris have long felt the need of some central rendezvous where they might more easily concentrate their workers and their works, and it is very natural that those who are practically acquainted with our methods should be almost unconsciously affected by them. Therefore they say, let us now establish, at least, the germ of a "House for French Protestantism," as they would call it. The great needs for such an establishment are now pressing and very potent, as we shall detail. One of the most urgent is that of a suitable location for the "Historical Society of French Protestantism." This is now located in the Place Vendôme, in quarters entirely too small, and where the greatest care will not protect from dampness the treasures which the library contains. This common library for French Protestants possesses the most precious memoirs of the whole Huguenot race and families, and should

be well guarded and preserved. This "House," therefore, should have its library lofty, spacious, airy, and well lighted, affording a worthy depository for ancient books and manuscripts, as well as a pleasant retreat for study and literary investigation.

Besides the library, this House should afford ample accommodations for all sorts of meetings in the interest of French Protestantism, reception rooms and offices for the various boards or bodies, and a large room that might answer for lectures, sacred concerts, and all the large assemblies for purposes pertaining to the general work, something like the famous "Hall of the Reformation" in Geneva. The audience-room ought, they say, to accommodate from 3,000 to 4,000 persons, and be specially adapted to attract to religious gatherings those who would not be likely to be drawn to the Protestant churches, or "temples," as they are called. And, above all, this "Protestant House" should have another important destination for the accommodation of the pastors from the provinces, as they come to the great city, in which they are often lost, and feel as friendless strangers. Here they would be sure to find some of their brother pastors of Paris, who would naturally assemble in a reading-room where all religious publications of interest to them should be on file. And all this, let us say, though perfectly natural to us, because the outgrowth of our practical life, is, or will be, almost a revelation to the ordinary French pastor, who scarcely knows what it is to confer with any great number of his colleagues, or have much in common with them. It is another instance of the introduction of our methods in harmony with the practical tendency of the times.

Pressensé, in his Monthly Review of the June number, gives some interesting revelations regarding the separation of Church and State in France. It would seem that those who talk most loudly concerning it have the least confidence in effecting it. The greatest antagonists of the Church are quite willing to listen to some means of applying a remedy to the situation. One day Hyacinthe was conversing with Gambetta about the matter, when the great orator and statesman, raising his arms, exclaimed, "The separation of Church and State! why, it would be the end of the world!" Even Hyacinthe himself, in one of his impassioned appeals, declared that if the State aid

were withdrawn from the Church the latter would need betake itself to its staff and wallet, as it, in former times, commenced. He was not opposed to this if the movement were animated by a Gospel spirit; but he would deprecate it if used to impose yet more strongly the superstitions of the Church. And he also declared that neither the Church nor the country was prepared for such a transformation, and he undertook to prove it by a series of considerations thus: "Does the separation of Church and State indicate that these two powers mutually ignore one another? Yes, in the proper sense of the term, such is the meaning of the proposed formula." But this reciprocal ignorance is, in the opinion of Loyson, a chimera and absurdity. In his view the priest has a mission in the state of which he cannot be deprived, and then he asks the question, "By what right can the state issue laws interdicting the religious marriage which is not preceded by the civil marriage?" And the orator then goes off into a series of assertions, of brilliant stage effect, closing magisterially with the famous utterance of Victor Hugo: "Pity for those who have not a heart in their breast, and in this heart a God!" To all of which we say that it is quite difficult to know what these two great men mean when they talk about their religious or anti-religious convictions. Either one of them seems quite ready to risk an inconsistency, at least, in the absorbing passion to cast off some high-sounding phrase that virtually goes up like a rocket, and falls like a stick.

This irresistible tendency of French statesmen to run off into fine phrases is again illustrated in the article of the July number by Dartigue, on the "Primary School and Laical Morality." The plain, practical meaning of all this is an endeavor to introduce into the secular primary schools a system of morality to be taught by lay teachers, instead of the religious teaching formerly imparted by the priests. The aim is a very noble one, and the measure of great import, if genuinely and practically carried out. But behind this question, so apparently secular, there lies in reality a religious one which is found in the heart of all the questions now debated by the French Chambers. This "*Religious Question*," now holding the foreground, is like a Sphinx propounding enigmas to those who are least able to solve them. What is laical morality? is not very

easily answered, and "all the world," as the French say, is unanimous in pronouncing it at least equivocal, as any question from the Sphinx might be supposed to be. Some pronounce laical morality to be the equivalent of independent morality, whatever that may be, though it is by its adherents defined to be "a morality which is fully sufficient unto itself, finding in itself alone its laws, its sanction, its authority, and its aim, without the aid of any religion or philosophy." And in giving this we do not speak of those men who make of this expression a war-cry, a political watchword, or an electioneering maneuver, but of men, serious and convinced, within the Chambers—and there are many of them—who hold this language: "Morality comprises two distinct parts—the one clear and the other obscure; the one, evident in itself, obtaining the assent of all minds, and the other which has given rise to interminable debates, and will continue to do so. The principles involved cause the division of men into parties; the applications and the results are less a cause of discord, for on these most men are in accord." The Liberals would render morality *independent;* they would separate it from religion and philosophy, and thus put an end to the conflict; that is, they would make their own morality, and thus virtually each man would be a law unto himself. History and experience reveal to us whither this doctrine would lead its adherents.

Art. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE LUTHER CELEBRATIONS.

The entire Fatherland will soon be absorbed in the "Luther Celebrations," commemorating the fourth centennial of the great reformer. Many celebrations of like kind have taken place in past time, but this promises to exceed them all, as it will absorb all classes of the community. Already have the zealous friends of the cause been at work informing the people of the significance of this extraordinary jubilee in lectures and reunions of men of manifold interests. The feature of the day is the hostility shown by the Ultramontanism to these efforts and to the grand celebration of itself. Formerly Luther was regarded as among the greatest of Germans, and Döllinger, in spite of his opposition to the Reformation, nevertheless regarded Luther as a hero of the German

nation. To-day the Catholic organ, the "Germania," ignores his wonderful service to the German language in his Bible in the vernacular, and declares that this centennial celebration will be, it hopes, but a temptation that will soon pass over.

This it will be only to those in whom a servile obedience to Rome has smothered all sense of loyalty to Germany. For the Catholics who are willing to see the historical fact, that the Reformation has exerted a wholesome influence on their own Church, this celebration may bring a clearer conception and a deeper understanding of its influence. Be that as it may, the Protestants of the Fatherland are determined not to be disturbed by the grumblings of the Catholics, and give God the greater glory that a Luther has lived.

In this great event the so-called Luther cities will lead off. Eisleben, the city of his birth, will commence with a statue on the public square, and a grand procession in costume, representing the reception of Luther in this city just before his last sickness. A call has just gone forth from Eisenach for a statue of brass in that old city. In Mansfeld, the city of his youth, his paternal mansion is to be restored and changed into a benevolent institution. In Erfurt, the university city of Luther, the corner-stone of a Luther monument is being laid as we write, which will be unveiled on the day of the great celebration. Wittenberg performs its duty in instituting a grand ecumenical Protestant reunion of Germans of all the different classes, that there, in fraternal harmony, they may thankfully acknowledge the indebtedness of all shades of German nationality to Luther. In Berlin the various committees of manifold Church and civil organizations have decided on the erection of a great monument and a new "Luther Church" in a portion of the city now destitute of one. It is the intention of several other cities to found new "Luther Churches;" this is the case in Hamburg.

The civil authorities are also indorsing the matter. In Saxony there will be on the great days—November 10, 11—a school and church festival. The ruling princes in Thuringia join in a civil festival, and above all, the King of Prussia and Emperor of Germany has ordered the Minister of Public Worship to direct the entire Protestant Church to join in thanks to God for the blessings that the Reformation has conferred on the people. Even in Catholic Bavaria the king has granted to the Superior Protestant Consistory the privilege publicly to join in the grand commemoration of Luther's birth. Verily, Luther still lives!

THE DISSENTERS IN HUNGARY.

The recent Jewish trials in Hungary and the efforts in the Hungarian Parliament to obtain special repressive legislation against the so-called "Sects" is no honor to the countrymen of Kossuth, who are unusually loud in their cries for liberty when they are the oppressed party. In December last the "Sects" were the subject of some days' discussion; then came the Anti-Semitic movement, and the Ultramontane petitions,

for the government to draw the strings more tightly on all these contemners of the "only true and saving Church."

Under the name of "Nazarenes," one of these sects has become quite strong. They are called by the natives "Quaker Baptists," and profess to be the "followers of Christ," which one would suppose would not be much of a crime in a Christian country. They reject infant baptism, decline to take the civil oath, refuse military duty, and believe a spiritual order unnecessary and superfluous. We see immediately what they are, and know them to be a zealous and harmless religious people, that would not be likely to be acceptable to haughty and warlike Hungarians.

Next comes the Baptists proper, of whom there are many. The complaint against these people is, that they are not satisfied in enjoying their own religious views quietly, but carry on a propaganda to increase their numbers at the expense of the "true Church." The authorities have long regarded their movements with comparative indifference, but now, with their propaganda, they are becoming dangerous, and have been so brazen as to establish a chapel bearing the modest inscription, "House of Prayer for Baptized Christians." The Minister of Public Worship, in the course of the parliamentary debate, acknowledged that these people seemed to be harmless in themselves, but suggested that their spirit of public rebellion against the Established Church formed a dangerous example, as no one can know where it will stop, seeing that they are alike hostile to both Catholics and Protestants as they are found in Hungary.

The result was the promulgation of a decree from the Minister of the Interior, announcing that these Baptists must not combine into congregations; they must maintain a strictly private character, and their ministers dispense with all official position toward them as a Church. They are not allowed to hold public religious meetings, and can only have reunions for lectures or addresses by permission from the police.

Having thus settled the question of the dissenting Protestants, the examination of the Jews was next in order; and this they found a matter of much more difficulty. It was soon seen that the hatred toward the Hebrews had greatly increased within a year. When the question was last brought up before the Parliament, the man who presented offensive measures against the Jews was laughed at, and his arguments were not answered; and now there is in the Parliament a battle of several days without settling any thing. So the Anti-Semitic question exists in Hungary in all its force, as in Germany. All the trouble seems to have arisen from certain emancipatory laws, in the sense of the Berlin Congress, that have not produced good results. The majority now begin to think that equal political rights are dangerous weapons in the hands of the Hebrews, who are inclined to use them with punctuality and dispatch. There would be less trouble if Hungary had to do with her own Jews alone, but the inroad of Russian and Polish Jews complicates the matter. These are alien and clannish in spirit, and do not make acceptable citizens.

GERMAN INFLUENCE IN THE ORIENT.

The German, and we may say the Protestant, influence in the Orient is growing with such rapid pace as to attract the serious attention of the Vatican. The *Moniteur de Rome*, the semi-official organ of the Pope, is filled with anxiety at the situation, and actually condescends to describe at large the German colonies in Palestine, at Jaffa, the base of Carmel, and even in Jerusalem. Said *Moniteur* acknowledges the exemplary moral character of these Germans, and the wholesome moral and social influence that they exert on their surroundings. But the trouble and anxiety are found in the fact that they are Protestants, and therefore exert a bad religious influence. Catholicism in its various phases has a bad showing in the presence of a thrifty and zealous band of immigrants, whose object is to give a practical bearing to the Protestant religion.

The special cause of this outburst on the part of the *Moniteur* is the recent announcement that the sultan has handed over to a colony of these Protestant Germans, who go thither as a religious community, the ancient ruins of the shore city of Cæsarea, with a goodly portion of outlying land for agricultural purposes. This old town that has lain so long in ruins, has something of a port or haven, a most desirable thing along the coast of Palestine which, as a whole, is almost unapproachable by large vessels. These Germans propose to restore the city and the port, and introduce agricultural methods around them, and the sultan very sensibly says "Yes," while the Vatican groans out "*No!*" This is a true case of the dog in the manger, for the Catholic missionaries have had abundant opportunity to do all this long ago, and have neglected it.

And again, the Pontiff is troubled that the Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem is not to become extinct. For a goodly period it has been supported by the combined assistance of Germany and England, and it is now announced that the Protestant work in Jerusalem will go on under the supervision of a bishop, either English or German. This, with the present feeling in the Protestant workers throughout Palestine, is indicative of still better things in the future.

Since the triumphant result of the Franco-German War, German influence has been on the increase throughout the Orient, and especially in Palestine. The German explorer of Africa, Dr. Schweinfurt, relates from his own observation the successful efforts of the Prostestant missionary work in the East. This has taken largely the character of Protestant hospitals in Alexandria, Jerusalem, Beirût, Smyrna, and Constantinople; and these only want financial aid to extend their work still farther into very needy places. The Protestant schools are making great headway. The schools for girls are something unheard of in the Orient until lately. Certain establishments for the daughters of wealthy and official persons connected with and representing foreign interests, have existed in a feeble way for some time. These have been greatly improved of late by the Germans, but the movement is now taking a

broader turn, and reaching the better classes of the natives, who are overjoyed at the opportunity of securing educational advantages for their children, and especially their daughters. The more success these enterprises secure, the more distasteful are they to the French Catholics who would smother them in embryo. But their natural foes, the Germans, see the open door, and are entering into the work of evangelizing the Orient in their way.

ART. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE so-called "Luther literature" is just now absorbing all the attention of the German theologians. At the head of these publications may be placed a famous work by Dr. König, entitled "Martin Luther, the German Reformer." This is an illustrated edition for the scholars and the people, and is inimitable in its successful delineations of the man and his surroundings. In Köstlin's great work the investigations are mainly for scholars, and still even this is a work for German youth. Never have the Germans succeeded in being more practical and popular in their efforts than on this their greatest occasion. Wilhelm Rein has, however, written especially for the young men of Germany, and given them a lively and concise book, with illustrations after Kranach. Burk has written a book, of a more independent and popular character, for the German man in the strictest sense, that is, for the patriot and lover of country above all else. This is a history of the Protestant Church among the German people, and is largely adapted for the students of the land, in the gymnasia, universities, and theological seminaries. Professor Plitt takes a prominent place among the biographers of Luther in his work on Martin Luther's life and deeds. This is very highly recommended by Professor Luthardt, to theological students, as giving the logical development of the great reformer's life, in telling how he became a reformer of the Church. And finally an extraordinary effort is being made to place the best information regarding Luther in the hands of the poor and needy. To this end the Protestant Association, of Frankfort-on-the-Main, announces the speedy appearance of a popular and cheap work by Enders; two volumes are to follow the one already appearing in the announcements. And again comes *Luther Complete*, in a full edition of all the works of Luther himself, both in German and Latin. The German works number sixty-eight, and the Latin thirty-three. These are to be sold, during the present year, for the merest trifle, that all may obtain them. In the line of a good selection from all of Luther's works, for those who cannot obtain or read them entire, the edition by Velhagen and Klasing is recommended, entitled "The Minor Writings of Martin Luther." The earlier volumes of this edition give the polemical, and the later ones the characteristic, writings.

The literary event of the moment, in Italy, is the magnificent gift of Prince Corsini, of Rome, of his very rich library and large picture-gallery to the state. This is so valuable that it cannot be computed in money. The library alone has 60,000 printed volumes and 2,600 manuscripts. The oldest go back as far as the twelfth century, and many of these are celebrated for their highly artistic miniature pictures and ornaments. Many of these manuscripts are of high value to the history of the country, referring largely to the relations of the Vatican to the princes of Europe. Among the printed volumes are some of the finest and most valuable of the ancient classics, especially the best and most celebrated of Italy; for example, an edition of Ariosto, for which a bibliophile offered 25,000 francs. To this may be added a collection of 60,000 engravings, among them some very old ones from Germany as well as Italy. The artists' names contain those of Baldwin, Botticelli, Mantegna, and Bramante. The gallery contains specimens of Vandyke and Salvator Rosa. It is considered as one of the signs of the times that a member of the highest aristocracy should make so princely a present to the New Italy, instead of passing it over to the library and gallery of the Vatican.

The philanthropists of Germany are raising the cry of warning about the demoralization of the young. Halben, of Hamburg, has just given to the public a book, bearing the title, "The Public Guardianship of Neglected Youth," quoting largely from the works of Pestalozzi, Fellenberg, and Wichern. He depicts the depth of the calamity by giving the percentage of the children that seem to have no protectors, and thus become the prey of vice and degradation. He sees the best remedy for this evil in better and more conscientious teaching, and suggests that it should not be left, in a spirit of indifference, to religious bodies or private benevolence. It is, in his opinion, rather the duty of the educational authorities of the State to perform the work, but in a way that should not bear the appearance of a compulsory reformatory character. So far as possible the children ought to be placed in families well adapted to perform this work, though under the control and inspection of the authorities. The directors of reformatory institutions should be trained and skillful teachers who could continue the work of instruction, and combine it with the reformatory methods adopted, that reform might arise from instruction.

The famous German *savant*, Richthofen, has signalized his entry into the University of Leipsic by a very interesting work on China, of a geological character. He thinks he has found some very important coal-fields that will have a great effect on the trade and commerce of the country by giving to it a facile motive power. His investigations have been somewhat hampered by the hostile attitude of the population, the people having invented all sorts of reasons for preventing him from very exhaustive explorations. These obstructions were more marked in Southern than in Northern China. He has, however, sufficient data to

aid future investigations, which cannot fail soon to be made in view of the wealth that is anticipated in this enterprise. The value of this author's work on China is being every-where acknowledged, and this is the fourth volume that now appears. Many of his finest specimens have been brought to the Museum of Berlin, and are there attracting the attentions of capitalists and scholars. And the intelligent Chinese must themselves soon see the importance of these discoveries, and continue these explorations, by force, if necessary, against the prejudice or superstition of the masses.

For twenty years there has appeared in Naples a serial publication, entitled a "Collection of Religious and Entertaining Books," and one of the latest of these is a work called "A Romish Catechism concerning Protestantism," and which proposes to inform the Catholics of Italy of the character and tendency of Protestantism in popular style. In the preface the anonymous author designates Protestantism as the invention of a barbarian, and promises to show it up in all its monstrosity. The first chapter treats of the origin of Protestantism, which is here characterized as a rebellion of conceited men against the Christ. An apostate monk, by the name of Martin Luther, was the originator of it, because the Holy Father had granted the right of issuing indulgences to the Dominicans, and not to the order to which Luther belonged. The author grants that this rebellion was caused by certain abuses in this matter, but declares that the Church was on the point of correcting these when the rebellion began as a "proclamation of liberty of the flesh," etc. It is affirmed that it is difficult to give the doctrines of Protestantism, because they vary with the moon; but, on the whole, they may be defined as terrible in theory, immoral in practice, hostile toward God and man, destructive to the entire human race, and in contradiction with common sense and natural modesty, for instance, God forces men to sin, and he is thus the originator of sin. Men do good or evil from inevitable necessity. No wonder, then, that the inquirer declares that these teachings fill him with horror, and are, in some regards, worse than those of the heathens. You are right, says the priest, neither the heathens nor the Turks have such godless doctrines as these. Naturally the men who originated such teachings were of the worst sort. Their end corresponded to their accursed lives; for Calvin died in despair of a shameful disease, being devoured by worms, cursing God, and calling on the devil. The book seems to be written mainly to influence the people in regard to the supporters of Protestantism in Italy, who are declared to be only bad Catholics, and to come from the dregs of society. Protestantism in their hands is declared to be only a means to an end, which is to introduce into Italy irreligion, libertinism, and unbelief, and thus communism and socialism. Under these circumstances it is asserted that the men that go over to the Protestants are of the worst sort, "the scum of rascality and immorality. If these men gain the upper hand Italy would become the arena of a civil war; blood would flow, and the proud monuments of the land would be razed to the ground."

The literary event of the period in France is the publication of the *Souvenirs* of Renan. Pressensé is very severe on them, and says: "I frankly confess that I feel myself a barbarian in reading such a book, except the admirable portion devoted to Brittany and St. Sulpice. I am completely insensible to the exquisite beauties of this style, more enchanting than grand, and I would willingly trample all these perfumed flowers under my feet, so much do I detest their moral poison. I can no longer resign myself to this enchanting negation of the truth and virtue, and to this philosophical legerdemain which makes to appear and disappear before our eyes the good and the true with the giddy rapidity of the jugglers playing with an orange."

In the French theological line there is a goodly number of new books announced: "Fifty Years of the Life of the Protestant Church of Lyons," by Leopold Monod. "The Beauty of the Protestant Ministry," by Lacheret, pastor at the Hague. "The Idea of the Pre-existence of the Son of God," by a member of the Theological Faculty of Strasburg. "The Republic of Christ, and the Monarchy of the Pope," by Charles Picot. "Christianity and the Experimental Method," by Lagrange, preceded by a letter from Naville.

In addition to these, we notice several English theological works announced as on sale at the Protestant book-store of Paris, showing an increasing tendency in France toward the study of English scholars in theological literature.

Art. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Relation of Children to the Fall, the Atonement, and the Church. By N. Burwash, S.T.D., Professor of Theology in Victoria University. 12mo, pp. 31. Toronto. 1882.

This *brochure*, delivered before a ministerial body as a lecture, is an important utterance; alike so from its timeliness, its theological, exegetical, and rhetorical ability, and the position of the author as a Canadian Methodist theological professor. It is a timely manifesto as containing a virtual repudiation of the questionable dogma of "Hereditary Guilt." And it is a cheering sign that we receive such a manifesto almost simultaneously from Professor Tillett and from Professor Burwash—from the South and from the North, from the Vanderbilt and from Victoria.

Dr. Burwash gives in full, from the Ninth Article of the English Church, the statement of the doctrine of original sin and its results. We wish he had placed it side by side with our own

Wesleyan-Arminian Seventh Article, that the Calvinism and the Methodism of the subject might stand face to face. We say the Calvinism of the subject, for there can be no reasonable doubt that the dogma of "hereditary guilt" was interpolated into that article by the advocates of Genevan predestination.

THE ANGLICAN NINTH ARTICLE.	OUR WESLEYAN SEVENTH ARTICLE.
ORIGINAL SIN standeth not in the following of Adam, (as the Pelagians do vainly talk,) but it is THE FAULT and corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, and, therefore, IN EVERY PERSON BORN INTO THIS WORLD IT DESERVETH GOD'S WRATH AND DAMNATION.	ORIGINAL SIN standeth not in the following of Adam, (as the Pelagians do vainly talk,) but it is the [*fault and* omitted] corruption of the nature of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, and that continually.

It will be seen, on comparison, that Wesley struck out the word FAULT, thereby repudiating the idea that our inborn nature is our own responsible FAULT. Second, he struck out, and thereby repudiated, the dogma that for being born of Adam every born descendant of Adam DESERVES GOD'S WRATH AND DAMNATION.

We may say, therefore, conclusively, that these dogmas are not Methodism; and no authority has a right to teach them as Methodism. We may say more—that Methodism does not merely ignore this dogma, but gives it a positive rejection and expulsion; so that it may be pronounced as, relative to Methodism, scarce less than a HERESY. We may say still more—that it stands in direct contradiction to the fundamental axiom of our Arminianism, that all *responsibility* and *ill desert* take their immediate or remote origin in a previous free, voluntary act, the act, namely, of the inculpated agent and no other; and it thereby nullifies all our arguments and protests against fatalistic reprobation; and, finally, it furnishes full justification for the abhorrent dogma of infant damnation.

It is true that our Twentieth Article, after the Anglican, attributes to Christ a "perfect . . . satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, both *original* and actual." And this term *original* is susceptible of both a Calvinistic and Arminian interpretation. It might be made to coincide with the universal *inborn desert of damnation* which Wesley repudiated; and that meaning is, of course, to be by us rejected. It might mean that only Adam's own and one "original sin," and not that of his posterity, was expiated by Christ's satisfaction. But, more acceptably, it may mean that this

satisfaction expiates also our original sin or corruption of nature as voluntarily made our own by our actual sin and our rejection of regenerating grace through the atonement. Thus the dogma of "hereditary guilt" is more than eliminated from Methodism.

Dr. Burwash teaches that we do derive "sin," "a *principle* of sin," from Adam. He denies that Paul asserts "that we are objects of divine wrath apart from the manifestation of our sinful nature in actual transgression." But he holds Paul as affirming this "principle of sin" to be latent in infancy. "The doctrine of these words seems to be that the existence of this principle of sin within is not manifest until we arrive at that stage of moral development which brings us into conscious contact with the law of God." Yet Professor Burwash takes decisive issue with the doctrine of infant justification or infant regeneration. The child is unjustified, unregenerate, yet untouched by the wrath of God until he commits actual sin. He does not know how infant salvation can take place. And, in accordance with this, baptism does not attest the regeneration of its personal subject. In fact "the Church is not composed only of those who have already entered into the kingdom, but *of all who are seeking it.*" "She baptizes all who are *looking for remission of sins and the gift of the Holy Ghost*"!

While seconding our professor's non-acceptance of the dogma of "hereditary guilt" very heartily, we are obliged to say that to some of his positions we must enter an earnest dissent.

Very delicately must we criticise his application of the word "sinful" to our original moral state; for it is authorized by general theological use. But it is an ambiguity pregnant with mistake. If it mean guilty of sin, *sin-guilty*, we deny its application. If it mean *sinward-tending*, we concur. And this term *sinward*, with its derivative *sinwardness*, is with us a most expressive and explicit key-word. The predicate *sinful* ordinarily means guilt; the term *sinward* means a tendency which is not in itself guilty. *Sinwardness* expresses that tendency to sin which our Seventh Article describes as our depraved moral state. "Depravity" is *sinwardness*. Nor do we like the term "principle of sin," as if there were deposited within us a positive *entity* of sin, a substance or a lump. Our depravity by the fall is, as Watson says, "a depravation by deprivation." It is an original sinwardness consequent on the original deprivation of the Spirit. Before the fall the divine Spirit, the regulator over the soul, pointed man with easy and predominant preference to the

rightful course. That divine regulator lost, man's passions become unrestrained, and run chaotically wild. Before the moral agent in this world after the fall the ways of wrong set open by selfishness and by specific sensations and passions are a *thousand*, while the way of right is *one*. Nor is this *sinwardness* a tendency to sin as to a one positive individual object; it is a tending, regardless of the divine regulator and the divine law, toward any preferred object of gratification. Sin is not necessarily chosen as sin, but it is chosen, regardless of obligation, as gratification. The object or course of action most gratifying to the individual's feelings becomes predominant, and forms a habitual "bent to sinning" in that direction. This sinwardness is rather a settled *state* of the soul than an inwardly deposited "principle."

We must, next, call the professor's attention to his extraordinary misunderstanding (p. 10) of our interpretation of the words "all have sinned" in Rom v, 12. He names us as holding that clause to mean "all have personally sinned;" which is just the reverse of what we do say. We there adduce several instances of Paul's aorist as signifying "a uniform general fact," a "normal action," very uniformly taking place when the occasion presents itself. Men do, when the probational alternatives of right or wrong present themselves, very uniformly, apart from grace, land in the wrong, soon or later. Hence there is so uniform a sinning that men are, by unsanctified natural state, called *sinners*. And so St. Paul says *all sin*, and the *many are made sinners*. This is just the sense of Wesley's words in our above-quoted Seventh Article, "of his own nature inclined to evil, and that continually."

Professor Burwash does not, like Professor Tillett, merely omit to state the process of infant salvation, but he goes further, and declares that process to be unexplainable. Like Calvinists generally, he finds in it a deep mystery. That does not seem to us an honorable Arminian ground. Our theology furnishes all the premises, and nothing is needed but a clear deduction of the solution. Let us see.

First, let us carefully note that it is one thing to be *bad*, and another thing to be *responsible* or guilty for that *badness*. If we are created by God, either immediately or through the medium of birth, depraved, we are truly depraved, but not, therefore, responsible or guilty. The infant, therefore, possesses depravity, but not guilt. That is a key-saying of Wilbur Fisk's: "Guilt is not imputed until, by a voluntary rejection of the Gospel, man makes the depravity of his nature the object of his own choice.

Hence, although abstractly considered, this depravity [sinwardness] is destructive to its possessors, yet through the grace of the Gospel *all are born free from* [judicial] *condemnation.*" As depraved, there is a contrariety of character between a holy God and the irresponsibly unholy infant being. There is a real, but not judicial, displacency of God toward him. As undeserving yet unpunishable, as unholy yet not responsible therefor, he is contrarious and naturally, but not judicially, offensive to God. That displacency holds him guiltlessly inclined to sin; which is not properly sinfulness, but SINWARDNESS. In saying that such displacency is not judicial, we mean that it can inflict no just punishment. This displacency is the "condemnation" of Rom. v, 18; that is, the natural displacency toward an evil non-free-agent; which "condemnation" is not the judicial, punitive, damnation of a guilty free-agent. If God can create a being bad and damn him for being the bad he is created to be, then he may create a world of reprobates and damn them all for being the bad he has made them.

When, next, our Arminianism affirms that Christ, by his sacrificial death, became our second Adam, and acquired the blood-bought right to reconstruct our future probationary existence, it enables us to say that thereby he, by virtue and merit of this self-sacrifice, became entitled to adjust his provisions to all the peculiarities and specialties of all classes and all individuals of the race. The born individual, thereby, though not judicially condemned, is displacent, and, as unholy, is offensive to God; and so the reconciliation of that displacency, in order that God's face may shine upon him, is a blood-bought grace. That unholiness is so expiated, and that divine displacency is, through Christ's sole merits, so propitiated, that the infant's actual guiltlessness may be divinely recognized and held by God available for his justification as truly as that unreal, but virtual, guiltlessness of the adult procured through pardon. He thereby stands in the same essential gracious position as the forgiven and justified adult. No justice, human or divine, can indeed pardon the guiltless, just because there is nothing to pardon. But pardon and *declaratory* justification are two things. Christ, by his self-oblation, is entitled, as our Advocate, to *declare* the infant's justification, unworthy though he be through his sinward nature, against all who would "lay charge" against him. "Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth," just because "it is Christ that died." And thus being

justified. and reconciled, the infant becomes fit subject for the gracious influence of the Spirit that cures that sinwardness and regenerates the nature; so that (whether we use the term *regenerate* or not) the infant is in the same essential condition as that into which the justified and regenerate adult is brought by voluntary faith. Justification effected by securing the efficacy of guiltlessness, honors the Redeemer's sacrificial work as much as justification effected by securing the pardon of sin. There is, therefore, no need of imagining a fictitious guilt in order to show a pardon which is as fictitious. The divine real recognition of guiltlessness is as gracious as the divine virtual recognition of guiltlessness through pardon. There is no more difficulty, then, in understanding how, at death, the infant spirit is received into paradise, than how the regenerate adult is; and no more difficulty in understanding how he is just as readily glorified in the resurrection, and no more difficulty in seeing how the whole process is gracious, blood-bought, in one case than the other.

In accordance with his theory Professor Burwash gives what we consider to be an incorrect account of our Church's views of holy baptism. His words are, "Now the Church is not composed only of those who have already entered into the kingdom, but of all who are *seeking it.* She baptizes all who are *looking for* remission of sins and the gift of *the Holy Ghost.*" Does our Church not, as a practice, require the profession of justifying faith as a condition to baptism? We have heard and seen it said that she does not; but in all our extended years of experience we never knew a case of baptism simply on profession of "seeking." We hope such is not the practice of Canadian Methodism. We understand that baptism is "an outward sign of an inward grace," namely, of the regeneration which it symbolizes; and we see no right or reason for the "outward sign" to be given where the "inward grace" has no existence, and never may have. Our Seventeenth Article declares that "Baptism is not only a sign of profession, and mark of profession whereby Christians are distinguished from others that are not baptized," etc. That is, baptism is a distinctive sign of the professed and accepted Christian. Baptism assumes and declares its subject to be a Christian. But "baptism," while it is that, "is not only" that; it is something more. "It is also a sign of regeneration, or the new birth." The affusion of the baptismal water pictures the descent of the regenerating Spirit. But why picture upon the subject what

has no existence there? And so, by our Baptismal Service, the congregation is exhorted to pray that the personal subject "being baptized with water, may also *be* baptized with the Holy Ghost, *be* received into Christ's holy Church, and *become* a lively member of the same." Now in this passage there is twice a *be* and once a *become*. And the twofold *be* asks the present grace, namely, the "Holy Ghost" and membership in the Church of Christ; and the *become* asks a future blessing, namely, a continued living membership of the Church. And as infant baptism is to be "retained in the Church," so it is the baptized infant that is signed and distinguished as a present Christian, while the Holy Ghost and entrance into the Church are his present gifts and graces. That this article originally avowed "infant regeneration," both by the old Church and by Wesley, we know, for we know that they held to baptismal regeneration. The regeneration of the infant was to them no novelty and no absurdity. So that infant regeneration is an old Church doctrine. (See our synopsis notice of the Presbyterian Quarterly.) And, being in this *our* article, it is *our* Church doctrine. Yet we hold, as Wesley did in later life, that infant baptism sustains, not a causative, but a declaratory, relation to regeneration. Baptism does not (except in an external sense of the word) *regenerate* the subject, but recognizes his regeneration. And the infant is entitled to baptism, not, indeed, because he has faith, but because *he is, through the unconditional power of the atonement, without actual faith, what the adult has become through faith.* For even the adult is baptized, not so much because of his faith as because he has by faith attained that regeneration of which baptism is symbol and seal. And herein is the true, impregnable ground of infant baptism. We cannot agree with our professor in saying that Wesley's words about sinning "away the grace received in baptism" "belonged not to the Methodist Arminian theology which he was founding, but to the Churchism which he was leaving behind." Most certainly our Seventeenth Article and our ritual do avow "a grace received in baptism." Are the fervent prayers of our service all a vain form, a nonentity, a heresy? Do they not ask a present divine power upon the spirit of the child? And does not apostasy sin away the grace of regeneration recognized and objectively "received in baptism?" Professor Burwash holds our view to be dangerous to Methodism. We think the danger is on the other side. Very serious, indeed, is the danger of baptizing unregenerates into the Church. Let Church-

membership become popular, and such a practice would gather into the Church the politicians, the millionaires, the respectables, and the worldly crowd, who are by no means "lively members of the same." The "sign" of regeneration should be given only to the regenerate, and the Lord's Supper only to the Lord's people. Baptism initiates the infant into the Church of Christ, but not into a particular Church organization, as the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is that organization, however, that is bound to require the full evidences of true justifying faith in its catechumen, in order to admission to its fellowship and its ordinances. In our own Methodist Episcopal Church the approved probationer is publicly examined as to his spiritual state and purposes. As a mere seeker he cannot be admitted into the Church, though voluntarily in class under her nurture. Of the probationary candidates, when coming forward for full membership, it is said: "Into this holy fellowship the persons before you, who have *already received the sacrament of baptism*, and have been under the care of proper leaders for six months on trial, come seeking admission." And then it is asked of them, "Have you saving faith in the Lord Jesus Christ? *Ans.* I trust I have." Through this probationary catechumenship and induction the worldling does not desire to pass. It would be by the relaxation of these safeguards, that is, *by the baptism and admission of mere professed seekers*, and not by the doctrine of present infant salvation, that the Church would become secularized.

Sin and Grace Considered in Relation to God's Moral Government of Man. By Rev. JAMES GRAHAM. A Lecture delivered before the Theological Union of Victoria University, May 13, 1883. 12mo, pp. 36. Toronto: William Briggs. 1883.

Mr. Graham's lecture, like Professor Burwash's, was delivered at Victoria University, and to a certain extent takes the same positions. He does not go so elaborately into the exegesis of the discussion, but states his position more clearly and explicitly, relying on the intuitive common sense of hearer and reader to ratify his judgments. He is more decisive in rejecting the dogma of "hereditary guilt." He does not, however, fully discuss the moral state of the infant, nor declare whether it is a state of justification through Christ, or regeneration. Nor does he discuss the process by which the infant through the atonement attains final salvation and heaven. We are able to commend this *brochure* to attention while it utters its clear message for itself.

The following is his clear deliverance on the leading topic:

The following questions are still subjects of discussion: "Are we legally liable to suffer for our original depravity the penalty annexed to Adam's original sinful act?" and "Are we personally guilty for the depravity of our nature as transmitted to us?" Numerous theologians have answered, and do answer, these questions in the affirmative, but I must answer both in the negative. If our depraved moral state be viewed ethically, and in comparison with the holiness of the Divine law, it may be pronounced sinful, as being in nonconformity to that law. But this transmitted sinfulness of nature forms no just ground for the charge of personal guilt for its existence as transmitted to us. Hereditary personal depravity, there may be, but hereditary guilt there cannot be. The ambiguous use of the term guilt, to designate our relation to the Divine government because of inherited depravity, has darkened and perplexed this subject. The strict sense of the term guilt is liability to punishment for free personal wrong-doing. But unfortunately it has been largely used, in the theology of Christendom, to mean liability to legal punishment, and even liability to providential suffering, through the wrong-doing of others.—Pp. 9, 10.

On *infant salvation* the following:

Half the human race is said to die in infancy. All these never were probationers. The decision of many Christian theologians on these dead children would be a matter of curiosity only for its sadness. By some, they have been sent to a limbo milder than hell, but still outside of heaven. By others, they have been consigned to annihilation, without hope of resurrection. And by others they have been doomed to an eternal hell of torment, if not among the elect. But over those hills of darkness light is breaking, calm and clear. Even the upholders of creeds which restrict the benefits of Christ's atonement to the elect number of the human race by the eternal decree of God, have ventured to hope that all dying in infancy are saved. I do not see how that hope can be rationally entertained by those who maintain such a decree; because, all the children who die could only be saved by being included in the elect number; and I do not see how any one can rationally hope that all dying in infancy are included in that elect number. . . . Our *ignorance of the mode of the administration* of the saving grace in these cases cannot make void the fact that the atonement in Christ brings salvation to all men; nor should it eclipse our faith that God will impart the saving benefits of the atonement to all who do not wilfully reject them.—Pp. 25–27.

On *temporal evils entailed upon us from Adam*, the following:

The argument is this: "None but the guilty can suffer under the government of God; even infants do suffer under that government; therefore they must suffer because of the imputation of the guilt of Adam's sin to them." To this I reply, it is not true that none but the guilty can suffer under the government of God. Whatever may be our philosophy of suffering under the Divine government, the fact that the innocent do suffer under it is self-evident; and, therefore, all conclusions based on the assumption that none but the guilty can suffer under the government of God crumble into ruin.—Pp. 17, 18.

We fear the opponent here would deny that any are "innocent." We venture to suggest the following views on this question, based on our note on Rom. v, 12.

Unfallen Adam, we suppose, was, by the indwelling Spirit and the power of the tree of life, (emblem, perhaps, of immortalization through Christ,) placed upon a high plane of being. The disintegration of the material organism, and consequent disease

and death, were prevented. In his compound nature of spirit and body, angel and animal, the spirit so elevated even the animal that Adam realized, approximately, Paul's conception of "spiritual body." *See our note on* 1 Cor. xv, 44. The fatal act of sin sunk him as animal at once from this high plane of supernature to the conditions of animal nature; on the same plane essentially, so far forth as animal, with the other animal races, and so to material disintegration, pain, disease, and dissolution. Yet, though as animal, he passes through death, his higher nature secures, through unconditional redemption, spiritual immortality and bodily resurrection.

This was unquestionable *personal penalty* for guilt upon Adam. But it was, through the universal and fundamental law of propagation by which like parent generates like offspring, that bodily and mental suffering were entailed upon Adam's posterity by natural consequence, and not by penal infliction; through propagative law, and not by judicial guilt. When a prime minister for some offense is degraded to the ranks of his majesty's subjects, that is upon him penalty for guilt. But when he begets children, and they are subjected to the same humble level, that is natural propagative consequence. The rest of his majesty's subjects were born to those conditions without any offense or royal displeasure. And so God might, without penalty or injustice, have created man in nature conditions, like other animals, without any preceding fall. He so created races of animals of different grades, to furnish out the varieties of nature, before the fall. Moreover, the various grades of being are suitably placed in surroundings adapted to their nature. Air, earth, and water, mountain-top, plain, and marsh, are all conditions suited for their proper occupants. And so it was fitting that man, the immortal animal, should be placed in a world suited alike to his immortal probationary prospects, and to his transiency as a dying race. He is a normal sinner in a humble world, amid temptations and trials and tasks calculated to form his character, if he will, to a lofty hardihood of virtue, piety, and immortal rewards. Other animals (as we showed in our notice of Prof. Hicks in last Quarterly) testify that they are endowed with an existence, with all its disqualifications, so happy that they are ready to flee from death and fight for life with all their will and power. They are in covenant with God to accept all the ills for the basal good with which those ills are compensated. The law of satisfactory COMPENSATION is the divine justification for their creation. Into that contract man has entered;

and if he breaks his contract and commits suicide, it is the result of either insanity or of a desperate wickedness by himself acquired. The animal races are not punished with the natures bestowed upon them. The beautiful so-called "bird of paradise" is not punished because he does not live in Paradise. A gnat is not punished because he is not an eagle, nor a mouse because he is not a lion. So neither is man punished because he is not an angel, and does not live in Eden as his first progenitor did.

But while the progeny thus lowly placed are not punished for a sin not their own, this dispensation from God is an exhibition in the sacred history of our world and of the universe of the fatal nature of *sin*. It shows how a one sin and how a first sin may entail immeasurable ruin. The first alcoholic glass may similarly entail upon the drinker uncontrollable appetite, depravation, death, and hell. Adam, it is popularly said, only ate an "apple;" and this man only drank the grape; and both apple and grape bring perdition. And this analogy, ever repeated in human history, explains the apparent smallness of Adam's probationary test at which skepticism cavils.

But, in proof of "Hereditary Guilt," we are pointed to such passages as Matt. xxiii, 35, where our Lord says to the Jews of his day, "That upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel, etc. . . . All shall come upon this generation." But this merely ancestral sin is accepted and ratified by "this generation;" and so voluntarily made their own "hereditary guilt." The whole previous context narrates their own present enormous wickedness, and declares that it is THEREFOR that the accumulated consequences of past wickedness should come in temporal penalty upon them. And this is, in fact, proof of our own doctrine. By uniformity of wickedness the whole national line had become as one guilty person, until the day of execution at the destruction of Jerusalem and the overthrow of the Jewish state. Our note there says, "Though the temporal punishment be commensurate with the guilt of their whole history, not a man really suffers more than his own sins deserve;" and, we may add, not an infant whose death is not a translation into life. And "*each man may repent, and be saved* in the world to come." And then, verse 37, follow our Lord's plaintive words, "How often would I have gathered thy children, and *ye would not!*" It was their own sins that had made the national guilt their own. And thus it is that, according to the Decalogue, God visits "the iniquities of the fathers upon the

children;" because the children, by a like wickedness, are alike guilty, and suffer really no more than their own deserts. And so Achan's children were put to death, not to punish them as *guilty*, but as a punishment to the father. And Levi paid tithes, being in the loins of Abraham, not from any *guilt* of his own, but by the natural fixing of his relative position in life by heredity. And be it specially noted that all these visitings of parental sins upon posterity belong wholly to the temporal, earthly, law of descent, and not to the system of eternal retribution.

And perhaps these views may aid to solve, too, the problem of INFANT NON-PROBATION—the problem that induces Dr. Prentiss, in the Presbyterian Review, to argue against all probation, and Dr. Newman Smyth to demand a *post-mortem* probation for infants. In thus being blended into one, the two kingdoms—namely, the realm of man's animal nature and the realm of probation and immortality—modify each other. The realm of nature secures bodily death, even of infants; the realm of probation secures resurrection. In the former the Divine Ruler exhibits the blended realm in its most benign aspect of non-probational, unconditioned grace through Christ; in the latter he manifests the probational alternative aspects of conditional grace and justice. The fall is thus simply man's subjection to the law of all earthly races. With both vegetable and animal progenies premature death is arrest of development. The infant oak, trampled as a shrub to death, can never shoot up its trunk, sweep the clouds with its top, and shake the tempests of centuries from its sides. The slain lion's whelp can never rouse the forest with his roar. And so the dying infant immortal, though raised to perfect bliss, may never unfold the fullness of his probationary being. He can never appear as the hardy moral warrior victorious through grace in the battle of life. He has been allowed only to *be*, and to *suffer*, but not to *do*. He may be as an ever-blooming, ever-blissful flower in the garden of God, but not the stately tree. He would be living proof of the predominantly gracious nature of the probationary kingdom. Why should not both these aspects present themselves in the one blended realm? And what need of the *post-mortem* probational appendix? What ground for assuming full literal probation for all as an unfailing law? Is not the appendix an awkward structural addition? Could not the end be better secured by postponing, in all cases, death to adult age?

The apostle states that it is as *natural result* of our descent

from our progenitor, setting us down upon a lower plane of being, that "death passed upon" Adam's nature, and from him death naturally "passed upon all men," for that *all normally sin.* They are normal *sinners*, naturally, apart from grace, tending to sin, and so *natural sinners;* and so they are placed, not only upon the proper plane of such a grade of being, but in the suitable surroundings and amid the vicissitudes of such a grade. The apostle does not, nor, we think, does the Bible, anywhere say, that this *passing upon* of death was a *penalty* upon the *guilt* of the innocent progeny. Each and all are placed under the beams of the atonement, yet each and all on his and on their probation. And probation is the key of the whole problem.

Philip and the Eunuch; or, The Instruments and Methods of Africa's Evangelization. A Discourse delivered in the Park Street Church, Boston, U. S. A., Sunday, October 22, 1882, by EDWARD WILMOT BLYDEN, LL.D., President of Liberia College. Cambridge: John Wilson & Son. University Press. 1883.

Dr. Blyden contemplates the Ethiopian eunuch, uniquely, from an Ethiopian stand-point, as being himself an Ethiop, though clearly not a descendant of the eunuch. He understands his fellow-countryman as we outsiders spontaneously do not. For he holds the Ethiopians, or Negroes, with the capital N, to be all one great race—all his own kindred—whose continental borders have indeed been invaded, but whose interior has never been overcome by conquest or commingled by immigration. His exposition is eloquent, and what is more valuable, since it abounds with surveys and suggestions momentously important at this time to the Christian Church in its stupendous and pressing enterprise of winning Africa for Christ.

His basal point in the text is that not Philip, the Shemitic deacon, was sent to Ethiopia, but the Ethiopian himself. And the doctrine based upon it is that similarly, at this day, Ethiopia must be converted by Ethiopians, Negroland by Negroes, Africa by Africans. Aryan attempts have been uniform failures. The missionary apparatus must be founded in Africa, must in due time be manned by native-born Africans; and not till then can the African heart, in the heart of Africa, be reached and regenerated.

He illustrates his position by a unique survey of history. Africa is a magnet of very powerful repellancies. The Aryan attempts to conquer from the north have only won the northern margins. Whether the old Pharaonic Egyptians, the Persians under Cambyses, the Greeks, or the Romans, made the attempt, deeper

Africa remained to them the "Dark Continent," mysterious, impenetrable, unconquerable. The Christian Church of the early ages suffered a similar defeat. In the north-east was the Greek Church of Origen; in the north-west was the Latin Church of Tertullian and Augustine; and both have been swept away. Why? Just because they were Greek and Latin, and not true-blooded Negro. They were African only in geography and not in race. Still later the Catholic Portuguese seemed on the point of Catholicising Africa; but the converts are no longer Christian, are degraded in character, and hostile to the approach of the Christian missionary. How sad the story of later Protestant missions we too truly know. Meantime, the true Ethiopian Church, the Abyssinian, planted, as is believed, by the Ethiopian eunuch, has been, amid the fires and storms and bloodsheds of ages, unyielding as adamant. It stands at this day self-sustained and self-contained, the most conservative of Churches, because it determined to maintain its primitive apostolic identity, and at this day is profoundly jealous of innovation and repellant of foreign invaders.

And now a powerful enemy to Christianity is in the field, and in the full career of success and triumph. To human appearance Mohammedanism will possess the continent. What Christianity does must be done quickly. And this point can be no better illustrated than by Dr. Blyden's own words:

> The finest university for training the propagators of their faith is in Africa. This is established at Cairo, in Egypt. Ten thousand students are to-day gathered under its roof, preparing to go out as missionaries of the Muslim faith. A celebrated traveler has given the following description of this great institution, the educational pride and glory of Islam:
>
> "This university is nine hundred years old, (older than Oxford,) and still flourishes with as much vigor as in the palmy days of the Arabian conquest. There I saw collected ten thousand students. As one expressed it, 'there were two acres of turbans' assembled in a vast inclosure, with no floor but a pavement, and with a roof over it supported by four hundred columns, and at the foot of every column a teacher surrounded by his pupils. As we entered there rose a hum of thousands of voices reciting the Koran. These students are not only from Egypt, but from all parts of Africa, from Morocco to Zanzibar. They come from far up the Nile, from Nubia and Soudan, and from Darfour beyond the Great Desert, and from the western coast of Africa. . . . They live on the charities of the faithful; and when their studies are ended, those who are to be missionaries mount their camels, and, joining a caravan, cross the desert and are lost in the far interior of Africa," where they become the effective propagators of Islam.
>
> "And this plan of propagating religion in Africa, through indigenous agency, is followed by no Christian Church with greater zeal and determination than the Church of Rome. That Church, ever ready to recognize and utilize those elements in human nature which can be made subservient to the interests of the Church, is now every-where educating Africans for the African work. The "Dublin Review," an able exponent of Roman Catholic thought, said, not long ago: "We are convinced that the only hopeful, promising, and effective way of procedure in

respect to Africa is that which may be summed up in the words, *the conversion of Africa by the Africans.* Christian black settlements ought to be attempted—all over Africa, even, if need be, as among the Mohammedans—after the difficult and costly manner followed by Monsignore Comboni. The task is full of hardship, but *no other system will avail.* . . . Whether it will be practically possible to organize bands of the Catholic Africano-Americans for the settlement and conversion of Africa—as their Protestant brethren, who sail to Liberia in numbers varying annually from two hundred to five hundred, are organized for that very purpose—remains to be proved. Large funds are required—hard heads and generous hearts to direct and carry out such an enterprise; but genuine Faith, Hope, and Charity are divine and creative forces, and we must look for great results where they exist and are brought into energetic action."

The Roman Catholic Church now possesses a number of native black priests; other natives are pursuing their theological studies under the auspices of that Church in Africa; and a community of over thirty Sisters is rendering immense service to the cause of religion on the West Coast.—Pp. 22–24.

The methods by which the Mohammedan missionaries go forth and triumph remind us of the apostolic methods, and recall the early movement of Methodism in America. The vital element was relying faith in God inspiring to bold, heroic venture. Dr. Blyden describes the methods, as he saw them, in words like these:

The true principle is simplicity in those who bring the glad tidings. Herein lies another secret of the success of the Mohammedan missionaries in Africa. In going from town to town and village to village they go simply as the bearers of God's truth. They take their mats or their skins, and their manuscripts, and are followed by their pupils, who, in every new pagan town, form the nucleus of a school and congregation. These preachers are the receivers, not the dispensers, of charity. I have met, in my travels in the interior of Liberia and Sierra Leone, missionaries from Kairwan, Cairo, Morocco, with *nothing*—dependent for their daily food upon those whom they instructed; and I have had the humiliating privilege of being benefactor to some of these self-denying men, as missionary to missionary.—Page 26.

Neither Europe nor America can send forth missionaries like these, able to enter the African huts and insinuate the Gospel into their African heads with the native accent of their own vernacular. Yet there already exists a transition to such a mode of mission, thus described in Dr. Blyden's words:

The Negro missionary, born and brought up in foreign countries, is to a large extent in the position of the foreigner; but he has the advantage of *physical adaptation*, which gives the opportunity for protracted labor; and, from the unfailing and indelible *instincts of race*, he can more fully enter into sympathy with the people; and, meeting with an unsuppressed and untrammeled response, can arrive at effective methods of dealing with novel questions, as from to time they arise. Thus he is enabled to train the thoroughly indigenous elements, who will rise up and lay deeper foundations, and give more continuous impulse to the truth which he has introduced. It is in this way that American Negroes, who have gone to Africa from this country, have been able to do a great and permanent work there; and it is in this way, and even more effectively, that the thousands now being trained in this country—at Lincoln, Fisk, Hampton, Atlanta, Biddle, and other institutions—will accomplish wonders for the evangelization and civilization of the land of their fathers.—Page 26, 27.

We have thus laid before our thoughtful readers these utterances of the most thoughtful and most experienced in these

matters of any Negro living. They point to mistakes and dangers of an alarming character; and, what is immensely better, they furnish in full form and detail the methods by which the mistakes may be remedied and the processes may be reformed. Dr. Blyden makes it apparent that if we are to attain success our apparatus must be reconstructed. First, it would seem, we must awaken the African missionary enthusiasm, especially among the Afric-American members of our own Church. A mission school should then be established, and be mostly manned by Negro professors, in Africa, for preparing native African missionaries of the apostolic type for the vast field. The Negro professors who go from here should be consecrated men, whose whole souls are fired and filled with the idea of African regeneration. The Mohammedan mission-school of Cairo should be outrivaled by our movement as immensely as our Christianity is superior to Islam. There is a world of work to do, and a glorious field is open for our brave American Ethiops to occupy and conquer.

Bible Theology and Modern Thought. By L. T. TOWNSEND, D.D., author of "Credo," etc. 12mo. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Charles T. Dillingham. 1883.

Dr. Townsend's active, brave, and pointed pen has piled up a little library all his own. He is sure of a publisher, because he has a nice little public of his own that waits for his next issue. He is a sharp, bold, individualistic thinker, notwithstanding his general maintenance of what we might call an *ultra* orthodoxy. He has felt the power of the evangelical doctrines, and exults in a powerful presentation of both their menacing and their saving force. His style, though unequal, is usually clear, nervous, and penetrating to both the scholarly and the popular mind.

The course of thought in the present volume, beginning with God, ranges over the doctrines of Trinity, Divine Goodness and Severity, Atonement, and Miracles. He meets the cavils and criticisms offered by "modern thought" often with *thought* still more *modern*. First, as to the commencing theistic argument, he argues that there is undeniably a primitive SOMETHING; a primal motor back of all existences and existence except itself. For *something* is; and, therefore, back of all there must have been an unoriginated *something* whence all originates. And, in order to account for all derived existence, that something must be a permanent cause, an eternal cause, a limitless cause. The

argument is successfully wrought out through an able chapter—the ablest in the book. By an easy gradation he steps, in the next chapter, from the primordial *something* to a primordial SOMEBODY. The original spring of the cosmical system is a Personal Being. But the distinctness of the logical advance is somewhat blurred from the fact that the *somebody* has been too much anticipated and maintained in the chapter on the *something*. Nevertheless, the two chapters are an effective and individualistic view of the theistic argument. The chapter on the "Goodness and Severity of God" essays to maintain the doctrine of hell from the terrible analogies of nature, namely, the volcanoes, the diseases, the parasites, and the armed monsters of the animal world. It thence becomes, to our view, an overdrawn condensation of pessimism, not properly counterbalanced by any thing in the chapter or in the book. At the same time its analogy does not meet the Universalist's objection to eternal misery; for the latter can reply that all the evils of nature are *temporary* for the individual sufferer, and probably for the totality of sufferers. He can argue that life is so good that all love it and desire to enjoy and prolong it, even the pessimists themselves; and that death is a brief and probably painless process for each. In fact, the analogy only makes for the doctrine of annihilationism. Dr. Townsend quotes Ingersoll's terrible descriptions of the evils of the world in confirmation of his view. But Ingersoll would claim that Dr. Townsend was only playing into the hands of his own atheism.

When Bishop Butler, in his "Analogy," defended the claims of the Bible on the grounds that all the objections raised against the God of the Bible lay equally against the God of nature, he argued against deistical opponents who gloried in holding the God of nature to be a true and holy God. Against them the age concluded that his argument was conclusive. Says Huxley, "He left them not a leg to stand upon." Skeptics then said, If that is the case, that the God of nature is so bad, then the matter is worse, and we reject the God of nature too, and turn atheist or agnostic. Such would be Ingersoll's reply to Dr. Townsend. He would say, "I have argued, from the absurdities and cruelties of nature, that there is no God; if you add a world of eternal misery to it, you redouble a thousand times the force of my argument." There does not appear any thing in this volume to neutralize that reply. At the same time, for our single self, leaving all others to their own freedom of thought, we never read Edwards'

sermon on "An Angry God," which Dr. Townsend largely and approvingly quotes, nor the younger Edwards' book on "Eternal Damnation," without a mental reaction against it. And our serious objection to Dr. Townsend's treatment of this subject is that he leaves it with a most unqualified impression of pessimism on the mind that an indignant atheism is master of the field.

We are optimistic. It flows from the very nature of Divine Excellence that he makes the very best world that the necessary and eternal nature and laws of things allows. As we live under the best possible God, so we live most serenely in the best possible universal creation. We do not live in a universe where the laws of geometry can be reversed by power, even by power increased to omnipotence. Nor can there be any corner of that universe in which two and two can be other than four; or in which the law of causation can be non-existent. We found our argument for the very existence of God on the absolute and intrinsic necessity of the law of causation. No power can produce an uncaused event. The affirmation that God can do all things is not affirmation that God can work a contradiction. Even Omnipotence must produce a world under absolute conditions, and can only produce the best those conditions admit. And then it follows that Supreme Excellence would not be justified in producing any other than the most excellent world the conditions would allow. Such a world we have—an optimistic world. And as a system of free moral agents, including capacity for sinful choice, and so possibility, and indeed certainty, (but not necessity,) of sin, is the highest possible system, so permission of evil is a condition to the highest kind of a world. This, as may easily be shown, is the Arminian and Wesleyan theodicy; and, to our view, it fully meets the cavils of Ingersoll, and explains the existence of evil as consistent with the supreme rectitude of God. Dr. Townsend, as we believe, holds that view, and it is to be regretted that he omits its statement at the proper place. There seems to be a missing chapter.

The chapter on Miracles has a good deal of originality and force. The argument that all divine *originations* in the history and progress of the cosmos are true miracles, being contrary to all past experience, is well conceived and developed. It is an unanswerable contribution to the argument. And for fresh, piquant, adventurous thought Dr. Townsend's growing library may be recommended very unequivocally.

The Hebrews and the Red Sea. By ALEXANDER WHEELOCK THAYER. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1883.

Moses with his Hebrews did not cross the Red Sea. That is clear. For the record only says that he crossed the *Yam Suph*. And what was that *Yam Suph?* *Yam* signifies a sea, lake, or pond; and *suph* signifies reedy, weedy. This could not be our modern geographical Red Sea, for the weed indicated by *suph* does not grow in the Red Sea. Lesseps, with his canal, has enabled us fully to know that an immense caravan including women and children could not cross the deep, muddy, rocky Suez Gulf without a miracle, not only immense, but unnecessary and incongruous. Besides, there seems to have been nothing to prevent Pharaoh from marching around the northern shore of the sea and meeting the caravan with his cavalry on the other side.

Of all the various theories of the Mosaic route, Mr. Thayer furnishes, in clear, conclusive, popular style, a due refutation. His theory is largely based upon the researches of a German-Jewish professor, Graetz, to whom he gives ample and honorable credit. Even Brugsch's elaborate and most ingenious theory, noticed in a former number of our Quarterly, is shown to be a physical impossibility. Endowed by a whole life of study with all the knowledge of the subject, supplemented with an ocular survey of the localities, Professor Graetz arranges a programme of identifications of the biblically mentioned localities by which, in accordance with the sacred text, Moses starts from a *Rameses*, makes his first station at a *Succoth*, and, after all the required evolutions, crosses Lake Ballah, or some one of the water bodies that line Mons. Lesseps' canal at the present day. That whole series of lakes, from the Mediterranean to Suez, Mr. Thayer believes to be an ancient extension, under the name of Yam Suph, of our modern Red Sea, broken into lakes by drifting sands and other natural causes. There is an elongated bay at Ballah's southern end, where Mr. Thayer's map makes the crossing place; the soil is sand, and not mud and rocks, like that of the Red Sea. Here, by the good providence of God, a national caravan might escape a pursuing army by a special concurrence of events. The cool north-east wind from the Mediterranean would drive the dense fogs into the face of the Egyptians, blinding their eyes and enveloping them in solid clouds, while Israel walked the dry sands eastwardly in sunshine and triumph. Just so, says Mr. Thayer, Washington extricated his army at the disastrous battle of Long Island. The bright morning opened the

way of escape to the Americans, "while the British camp lay buried in impenetrable mist." Moses and Washington were in many respects unconscious types of each other.

But lo, a catastrophe! Not to Moses, but to Mr. Thayer. His admirable book is scarcely out the press when news arrives that the spade of Mons. Naville, official excavator of "The Egyptian Exploration Association," has demonstrated that Prof. Graetz's identification of localities is mistaken. His Rameses is not the true Rameses, and his Succoth is not the true Succoth. Naville's labors have revealed the true unquestionable Succoth, and we are no longer enveloped in the Egyptian fog of theory, but are developed into the clear light of demonstration—a denouement that justifies a little high-flown rhetoric.

Queerly enough, Succoth is on the line of the railroad, running west to east from Cairo to Ismallia, and a few miles before reaching the latter place, which is a stopping-point on Lesseps' canal. We know not what led Naville to digging at that unpromising spot known as Tell-el-Maskshûtah; but after excavating nearly 20,000 cubic yards of earth he had disclosed the *temple of Tum*, the god of the setting sun, from which the place was once called Pi-tum, or town of Tum, identical with Pithom, one of the "treasure cities," or rather *storage cities*, of Pharaoh, built, according to Exodus, by Hebrew hands. There is the town wall, inclosing the temple, and, what is more thrilling, the very granaries which were the very depots of Pharaoh's crops, the very structures attributed to the Hebrew serfs, made of bricks, with and without straw! The finds plentifully indicate the hand of Rameses Second, and confirm the opinion that he, the *Sesostris* of the Greek historians, the Napoleon of Egyptian story, was the real oppressor of Israel. The name Pithom abundantly occurs, and in such combination with *Thuku-t*, Succoth, as to identify the two as one. Here, then, we have, for the first time in the whole discussion, not theory, but *fact*. We know the first stopping-place of the Mosaic route, Succoth, and we inferentially know that Rameses was a day's journey westerly from Succoth. Of course, the farther Mosaic route was easterly, but what its precise line, and where the exact crossing, can be disclosed only by the spade of the future. And it may be added that there is now the grandest field for the mission of that valuable utensil in the Goshen section of Egypt. This Exploration Association deserves and needs a munificent liberality. Traces of ancient Israel may there be found which, according to

present auspices, may prove the contemporaneity of the Book of Exodus, with a conclusiveness which nothing but the brilliant genius of Prof. Kuenen, and Prof. Toy, and the other "post-exilic" brethren can confute. Thus far we find that the Succoth of Graetz is a good distance north of the Succoth of Naville, but whether, after all, the farther conjectural Mosaic route as given by Graetz might not be well adjusted to the newly-found positions of Succoth and Rameses, we leave for Mr. Thayer to investigate. We think that the interest of his book is little, if any, impaired by Naville's discovery. His chapter on Necho's canal is a fine piece of critical deduction, and leads him to the following keen anticipation: "The prediction is ventured, that the remains of Patumos [Pithom] will yet be discovered within the radius of three or four miles from the new port, Ismallia." He could not, of course, know the key fact, buried as yet under-ground, that Pithom and Succoth were one.

The Epistle to the Romans. With Introduction and Notes by DAVID BROWN, D.D., Principal and Professor, Free Church College, Aberdeen. 12mo, pp. 152, Edinburgh: T. and T. Clarke. [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.]

Dr. Brown's commentary is free from commonplace, nervous in style, and abounding with the best erudition of his school. His introduction of twenty pages is finely written. His notes, while excellent in most respects, are somewhat stiffly Calvinistic, and composed as if he had never read the great Arminian commentators, such as John Goodwin, John Wesley, and Adam Clarke, besides the illustrious Arminius himself. This is particularly evident in his notes on chapters fifth and ninth.

So, on the words "all have sinned," (v, 12,) he says Paul "can only mean, for all are held to have themselves sinned in that first sin. . . . Not certainly in the sense of some inexplicable *oneness of personality* (physical or otherwise) in Adam and all his race; for no one's sin can in any intelligible sense be the personal sin of any but himself." And this last clause is an unquestionable truth which, after affirming, he forthwith proceeds to contradict as follows: "All must be resolved into a divine arrangement, by which Adam was constituted in such sense the head and representative of his race that his sin and fall were held as theirs, and visited penally accordingly." All of which, stripped of its exuberant circumlocution, means simply this, that *the innocent is held guilty and punished for it.* Suppose a human government deliberately hangs a thousand innocent men, and, in order to

justify the execution, simply holds them "by arrangement" guilty of a murder committed in Egypt a thousand years ago. We take it that would be justifying one crime by another. It would be justifying a wholesale governmental murder by a wholesale governmental calumny. The government knows they are all innocent, but *plays* they are guilty, and hangs them. There is no possible "arrangement" by which such adminstration is justifiable. This is just as absurd as the theory of *oneness of personality*, which Dr. Brown has just wisely rejected.

He adds, "Should the justice of this be questioned, it may be enough to reply that men do in point of fact suffer death and many other evils on account of Adam's sin, and this involves as much difficulty as the imputation of the guilt which procured it." But to this we reply, (as in our notice of Professor Burwash on another page,) that animal death existed before the fall, and that not in consequence of guilt; and that Adam's race was in consequence of the fall simply placed in animal, and therefore mortal, conditions. And that this is justifiable, not on judicial, but creational, grounds; namely, that all animal natures are predominantly happy, gladly accept the conditions of life, and dread above all things its withdrawal. Adam's race was, indeed, after the fall, placed upon a lower plane, but a plane perfectly justifiable had no fall from a higher plane preceded.

Dr. Brown, on the *potter* and the *clay* of Rom. ix, drudges along in the old predestinarian rut. He carefully, or perhaps carelessly, omits to notice Jeremiah's potter and clay, (xviii, 1–10,) which Paul allusively adduces, where the *clay* is the symbol of a free agent perversely developing himself into deformity, and therefore in consequence rejected, rejected according to his works. This has been the uniform explanation of Arminian writers, and is perfectly conclusive. Strange that the Calvinistic brethren so persistently do not know any thing about it.

What piles of nonsense have been written about Adam's being "our federal head" and "representative." Every progenitor of an animal face is just as truly its "federal head," sending by the law of propagation its own image and likeness down through the whole line of descent. To quote our own words, (note on Rom. v, 12:)

"Every man dies conceptually *in* the first mortal man, just as every lion dies *in* the first mortal lion; that is, by being subjected to death by the law of likeness to the primal progenitor. The first lion was the representative lion, in whose likeness every

descended lion would roar, devour, and die; and so *in him* all the lion race die. Adam, separated by sin from the Holy Spirit, was a naturally disposed sinner, and, shut from the tree of life, a natural mortal; and so by the law of descent his posterity are naturally disposed sinners, and both naturally and rightly mortal."

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. The Text in the Authorized Translation. By ADAM CLARKE, LL.D., F.S.A., etc. A new edition, condensed, and supplemented from the best modern authorities. By DANIEL CURRY, LL.D. Vol. I.—The Gospels and Acts. 8vo, pp. 541. Price $3. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1883.

We are not very much in favor of revamping the old furniture of our fathers rather than constructing the new which should be wholly and entirely accordant with the best modern methods, (which Dr. Curry was well able to do,) but the traditional affection of our people so clings to Clarke, that he may, perhaps, be made an exception. Dr. Curry's supplementing consists in interpolating into Clarke's work, besides notes of his own, passages from the best recent exegetes, such as Watson, Alford, Meyer, Olshausen, Schaff, and others, marked by brackets. The selections are generally pertinent, and add new facts and suggestions, usually, but not always, we think, approvable. We are especially pleased with his abundant quotations from Richard Watson, the terse, clear ring of whose majestic paragraphs strikingly contrast with Clarke's negligent, simple Anglo-Saxon. Besides, he possessed a clearer view than Clarke of the current and connected flow of the sacred text, and made the subtle connective fibres far more apparent. Clarke's notes are in far too great a degree desultory *scholia*, in which the inner thread of connection is often lost. He presents no synoptic grasp of entire groups of narrative or discourse, and the bearing of one paragraph upon another is seldom well preserved. In this respect Watson made advance; and had he possessed the multifarious erudition of Clarke, he would have been far the superior commentator.

This want of continuity is, of course, increased in this new edition by the overlaying of new patches upon the old garment imported from various sartorial shops. Thus, the great discourse, for instance, of our Lord, distinguishing the destruction of Jerusalem from the judgment day, is disintegrated and flung into chaos. Clarke's double meanings of interpretation, adopted from the current exegesis of his day, became the premises from which modern Universalism deduced, with strict logical accuracy, its

conclusions and its own right to exist. Deism also could say, "If such equivocality is divine prophecy, then Jesus was of no more authority than the Delphic sibyl." And now the master-stroke of destruction is given by the editor's inserting at the end what he calls a "significant note" from Alford, in which the whole discourse is deprived of all reliable meaning, and the very judgment day is abolished. That may not be heresy; it does not deny the doctrine of retribution; but personally we are unable to reconcile it with the Apostles' Creed; with the old standards of the Anglican Church; with Wesley's sermon on the "Grand Assize;" or with the entire consensus of the Methodist pulpit and literature, Clarke included, from Wesley's day to ours.

But "the people want a revised Clarke." Very well. We cannot quite say, *Populus decipi vult, decipiatur.* If Clarke must be "resurrected" from the almost dead, none will do it better than Dr. Curry has done it. It is a noble work; and it will yet, we trust, do a noble work. Except in the almost entire absence of maps and illustrations, the volumes are very handsomely done, and will constitute two noble octavos.

The Prayers of the Bible: showing How to pray, What to pray for, and How God answers prayer. Being a careful and exhaustive analysis of the prayers of the Old and New Testaments, and of all passages relating to prayer, in which the duty, conditions, grounds, times, places, encouragements, advantages, evils of neglect, etc., are systematically presented. Thoroughly indexed. For the use of Ministers, Students, and Private Christians. Compiled by PHILIP WATTERS. 8vo, pp. 334. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1883. Price, $2.

Says Plutarch: "If we traverse the world it is possible to find cities without walls, without letters, without kings, without wealth, without coin, without schools and theaters; but a city without a temple, or that practiceth not worship, prayers, and the like, no one ever saw." And if Miss Whitmarsh's "Prayers of the Ages" were any thing like an adequate collection of the recorded forms of ethnic prayers, a collation of the ethnic with the biblical would form an interesting chapter in comparative theology. There are some identical lines in the world's great liturgy. And the degree of spiritual elevation of the prayers of a people would be no insignificant key to the intellectual elevation of their day. And the degree of, not merely the sense of the divine Presence, but of the moral purity that presence required, would be a clear test of the moral character and the reality of the religion of that age.

Mr. Watters' volume in some degree furnishes a comparison between the earlier and later prayers of the Church of Jehovah-Jesus. The patriarchal prayers are redolent with an intense and solemn sense of the divine Presence, of his perpetual guardianship over the affairs of the present life, of a deep consciousness of sin, with but a dim assumption of immortality. The Egyptians and Assyrians had peopled the invisible regions with so terrible demonology that the Church of Jehovah shrank into an almost entire silence touching an invisible world, present or future. Yet the idea of that invisible world, with its dread alternatives of divine favor or disfavor, did, we are persuaded, pervade the mind of the patriarchal age as a silent, solemn belief. The utterances of that faith grew clearer as the ethnic demonologies waned, as if in preparation of the life and immortality brought to light in the resurrection of the Incarnate.

Mr. Watters dares no commentary. He simply and reverently and silently produces the records. Yet by his classifications the record is full of rich and deep suggestions. So has prayed the Church of the living God in all ages. Such have been the spirit, the method, the conditions, the results of the communion of the saints through this world's history. Reading these pages as a devotional book, the Christian heart enters into sympathy with the holy ones of the past. We are in unison with, we feel ourselves a part of, the Church of the justified. And our ministry will find a deep, personal, spiritual profit, as well as many a rich theme of pulpit discourse, in these pages.

Guides and Guards in Character-Building. By C. H. PAYNE, President of the Ohio Wesleyan University. 12mo, pp. 360. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1883. Price, $1 50.

This volume, the ripe fruitage of Dr. Payne's labors through many years as pastor and president, will be very acceptable to his wide and numerous circle of friends and admirers, both East and West. His assumption at start is that character is a structure to be built, that every man is an architect, and that it behooves him to guard well how he builds. The opening discourse happily illustrates this conception by the requirement given by Jehovah to Moses to build carefully according to the pattern shown him in the mount. And in the Mount of Revelation, namely, the massy and towering pile of Scripture history, Dr. Payne finds a gallery of sacred portraitures "the guides" for the promotion of a noble structure of character. There is

Joseph the incorruptible, and Moses the crownless king; David, the shepherd-boy, becoming the crowned king; Daniel the uncompromising, Thomas the honest skeptic, and Paul the hero; each a pattern, displaying his own traits of desirable and imitable character. Reversely a train of other characters, examples to avoid, models to shun, patterns to reject, furnish the "Guards." First, we have "the fast young man," most numerous types of whom are daily strutting along our pavements, and driving furiously through our parks and thoroughfares, and who may find their prototype in the handsome, youthful, princely, and finally ruined, Absalom. And there is his princely brother, Solomon, already crowned, celebrated for his wisdom in his youth, declining to folly in his age, type of "a brilliant failure." Their narratives are graphically related, their characters artistically drawn, and the traits to admire and imitate, or to loathe and avoid, are drawn with a skillful discrimination and a fine success. The lessons are applied with great practical power, and no young man with right feeling and purpose will fail to find in these pages rich stimulus to form his character to excellence and success.

Mosaics of Bible History. The Bible Record, with Illustrative Poetic and Prose Selections from Standard Literature. By MARCUS WILLSON and ROBERT PIERPONT WILLSON. In two volumes. Vol. I.—Old Testament History. Vol. II.—New Testament History. 12mo, pp. 448, 442. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

These are very rich mosaics, presenting in serial order, and in a very attractive manner, the wonderful unfoldings of our sacred books. The authorship and narrative contents of the Pentateuch are so presented as to deeply interest the popular reader as well as the scholar. It consists largely of elegant passages, selected from the most accomplished of modern Christian scholars, such as Herder, Hugh Miller, Geikie, Stanley, Pusey, and Milman. Very abundantly are interspersed extended passages from the best poets, the beauty of which will illustrate how rich a fountain of poetical picture is the grand old Hebrew book. Among these poetic contributors we find the great names of Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Keble, Montgomery, Campbell, Reginald Heber, and surpassed by none in his power of catching the solemn majesty of the Hebrew spirit, Byron. America contributes Bryant, and, by no means to be despised, President Dwight, Mrs. Sigourney, N. P. Willis, Whittier, Pierpont, Dwight Williams, and George Lansing Taylor. The prophets are with great skill so treated that knowl-

edge is communicated of an erudite character without losing the true freshness of the subject to the popular reader. We regret that while Daniel, the clearest of historic prophets and, in some respects, the greatest seer of the Old Testament, is well and fully presented, too much deference is paid to semi-infidel pseudo-criticism, really based in hatred of supernaturalism. While such biblical authorities as DeWette and Hitzig are named as against the book, it might be well just to mention that Jesus the Messiah quoted it as authentic and truly prophetic, and that its utterances form the base of the predictions of Paul and John. Generally, however, these volumes are true to the positions of the evangelical Church, and may be strongly recommended to ministers, Sunday-school teachers, and the general reading public.

Oinos. A Discussion of the Bible Wine Question. By LEON C. FIELD A.M. With an Introduction by Bishop H. W. Warren, D.D.

This is a reprint of the articles in our Quarterly which, from their ability and force of argument, called out a decided wish that they might appear in a book form. There are added a few further sections and an appendix. Mr. Field is a young man, a graduate of the Wesleyan University. He writes in a clear, graceful, and forcible style, with keen exegesis and conclusive logic. He has elaborately verified his multitudinous quotations and given his authorities with scrupulous fullness and exactness. We are glad to draw it from the Quarterly and place it in seperate form before the public as a valuable contribution to the discussion.

And we call attention to the uniform courtesy which Mr. Field has maintained in dealing with the arguments of his opponents. Appalling as some of their statements are, he has in every case in meeting their utterances exhibited the natural dignity of a pure and elevated mind in defending what he deems truth from strange assault. None of the repeated personalities he encountered from certain quarters in the course of the publication of the articles drew from him an unhandsome reply or a direct notice. And in the addenda closing the volume he calmly knows them not. There seemed to exist the idea that he or the editor of this Quarterly could be browbeaten into silence. But the browbeat was as weak as the argument by which it was attempted to be sustained. These methods justify us in saying that we think no man can converse with Mr. Field five minutes without receiving

the impression of a model Christian gentleman. And if health permit, we have hope that his able pen will in a prosperous future do much for the Church and public.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Memoirs of John Adams Dix. Compiled by his son, MORGAN DIX. Illustrated. Two vols. 8vo. Vol. I, pp. 388. Vol. II, pp. 435. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

General Dix was a New Englander by birth and a New Yorker by immigration. He was a Congregationalist by education, and became an Episcopalian by choice. Early in his life the Federalists of New England, irritated by the poverty in which Jefferson's embargo had involved them, and opposed to the War of 1812, made some disloyal efforts in the direction of rebellion, in which the South has since so brilliantly surpassed them. Young Dix was so disgusted that he became a life-long Democrat, and, if his son's account be true, remained so even after the democracy of the South had obliterated the assigned reason for it. He early visited Washington, and became an ardent admirer of Calhoun, and when, in 1824, Calhoun's friends proposed and elected him to the Vice-Presidency under Jackson, Dix of course became "Jacksonian." He served awhile in the War of 1812, then studied law, and before his middle age set up his law-office at Cooperstown, New York. There, as an able and popular Democrat, he was invited to accept the office of Adjutant-General, which imposed the duty of regulating the military affairs of the State, a post which he filled with eminent faithfulness and ability. It involved his removal to Albany, and, in fact, would install him as a member of a number of leading politicians who were styled by their opponents "The Albany Regency." On his acceptance he remarks that he must share "a portion of the odium of all mishaps which occur in the government—a responsibility which would be particularly agreeable to me."

"The Albany Regency," of which Mr. Dix was so glad to become a member, was a junto of political managers. Martin Van Buren was its supreme Regent, "the great magician" in political sorcery, of whom James Parton, (Life of Jackson,) himself a Democrat, says, "He learned his tactics from Aaron Burr." It was that great original traitor who invented the "machine;" Mr. Van Buren was its perfecter and most mas-

terly manager; and its greatest efficiency and glory culminated in Tweed, the "statesman" of the penitentiary. Mr. Van Buren and his aids organized the most perfect partisan police that had ever existed in political history. It was a complete feudal system, in which the lines that danced the descending grades of political puppets, springing from the master, reached down to the scavenger of the city streets. The machine, like the wheels of Ezekiel, had "eyes;" and so perfect was their watch that it knew the exact political value of every man that walked. Bribery direct was not so common then as now; but the bribery of salary and office, the making political service, and not qualification, the reason for appointments, was the uniform rule. In fine, the political axiom was concisely expressed by their spokesman, Marcy: "To the victors belong the spoils." New York politics, centered in Tammany, was the political fester that corrupted the nation. Transferred by Van Buren to Washington, and adopted by Andrew Jackson, the system installed a body of partisans over the country. Under Jackson's predecessor, John Quincy Adams, removals for opinion were unknown. Adams retained even in his cabinet Judge John M'Lean, a Jackson man. Of course these master managers in New York kept their own hands clear from indictable embezzlement; but under their regimen Swartout, the type of Tweed, embezzled millions, and absconded successfully to Europe. Of course he escaped, for the Regency was always true to its own delinquents. Such a thing as editors attacking, or the party exposing, one of its own tools was a party treachery of which true democracy would scarce be guilty. And this cabal of political experts, without any statesmanly ability, who never have made any record which the world might not well be glad to let die, were able by pure party discipline to ostracise honesty and ability out of public service, and secure the whole official state for men small and mean enough to be their own political subordinates. So far as their platform of so-called *principles* is concerned, it can easily be explained. Mr. Van Buren's position as a "Northern man of Southern principles" suggests its solution. It was to be the humble subservients of the Southern oligarchy, and the ruling demagogues of the Northern mobocracy. It broached the most radical dogmas for the unintelligence and demoralization of our own slums, while it was ready to sustain the haughtiest claims of the Southern despotism. To the latter it proffered supremacy for the privilege of being the pro-consuls of the

Southern imperialism over the Northern provinces. Their rewards were the "spoils" of the said provinces, and the national crumbs that fell from the imperial table. And this subserviency of the North to the Southern leaders was the inheritance of the "Regency" party. In an earlier day John Randolph, of Virginia, could boast: "It is not by our black slaves at the South that we rule; it is by our white slaves of the North." And the "Regency" were the Northern overseers over the Northern plantations.

And to them and their partisans is most largely due our late civil war and its happy, but unintended, result, emancipation. It was this obsequiousness of the overseers which bred that quite justifiable contempt for the North in the hearts of the South that prompted the war. How could the high-minded men of the South feel any thing but contempt, for their serfs, who courted their kicks for emolument, and still deeper contempt for the Northern populace that accepted their rule? And the sentiment of the upper class in due time pervaded all ranks in the South. The humblest specimen of shabby and shirtless chivalry fully believed that a Southern "chevalier" like himself could whip ten or twenty Northern "mud-sills" as an amusement. They soon saw both parties, the Whig and the Democratic, trying to outrival each other in the lowest prostration before the slave-power. But it was in this work of self-debasement that the Democrats were easily triumphant, and Whigism ignominiously died of the effort. They begged the Southern leaders to make bolder and bolder demands, in order to have the merit of conceding them, and thus led them to ruin. Then appeared, prince of demagogues, Stephen A. Douglas, and asked them to ask the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Finally came the crisis; and just before secession the very Republican leaders begged the slave-holders to stay in the Union and remain our masters. It was too late. The Southrons were fully, and scarce blamably, impregnated with the view that we were a general mass of sordid poltroons. They actually declined the drudgery of being rulers of such a set, and kicked off our clinging grasp from their boot-heels.

Into this "Regency" aforesaid Mr. Dix joyously entered, without any misgivings as to its character or methods, and gave it all the sanctions of his personal probity, his varied abilities, his faithful performance of his own office, and of his piety as a Churchman. He was a stereotype partisan, faithful to every article of faith, order, and practice; a member, not only of the

Regency, but of Tammany, through his whole career. Within the party there were always splits, which were merely the fights of interior factions for larger share of the spoils. The outs of office were perpetually raising some more radical issue, some under-cut of more subterranean Democracy, for the purpose of outing the ins and becoming the ins themselves. One of these splits was that of the "Hunkers" and "Barnburners." The Hunkers were so called because they were in possession of the *hunks* or *chunks* of office spoils, and persistently hoarded them in their own pockets. The Hunkers retorted upon the insurgents the name of Barnburners, as being incendiaries mean enough to set fire to your stable. The slavery excitement now having become a nascent power, the Barnburners concluded to venture a little dallying with that ism. Mr. Dix, strangely enough, was on this occasion mixed up with the radicals. But when the antislavery question grew serious, and culminated in the Free-Soil movement, General Dix literally flunked. He was willing to use antislaveryism as a tool, but not to commit himself to it as an ethico-political cause. The Free-Soil Convention offered him the nomination for the Presidency, but he declined, and Martin Van Buren, in revenge for his ostracism by the Southern oligarchy, became the Free-Soil standard-bearer. But General Dix had committed himself too far. The Free-Soil State Convention, in his absence, clapped upon him the nomination for Governor, and he found himself in a box. As a double moral coward, he was afraid to accept and break with either the oligarchy or the Free-soilers, and ashamed to back out from his self-commitment The Rev. Dr. Dix tells us that he felt a real "sympathy" for his father in this sad balance between the two stools. We move for a substitution of pity for "sympathy," and will give it our unanimous vote.

Dr. Dix shows, in his way, the absurdity of this Free-Soil movement in that it was actually made up of a union of men drawn from hitherto different parties! Monstrous that men should abandon their old party connections, and concentrate in unity upon a new, momentous issue! He can understand, and tells how, after the gun was fired upon Sumter, all party issues were abolished and all partisans became a unity. He can understand how an unpartisan movement could be made to save the country from rebellion, but not how it can be done to save the country from the universal predominance of slavery. The Free-Soil movement was a great and vital event. It was the

necessary preparatory step toward rousing the moral sense of the North and presenting that firm issue, politically, in which freedom and humanity were finally triumphant. That it was a rally of the friends of freedom from all sections, sects, and parties simply arose from the fact that it was the then question beyond all other questions. You must strike now, or the cause of freedom and justice is lost forever. Dr. Dix's incapacity for appreciating this momentous fact arises from the fact that his Churchianity is higher than his Christianity.

General Dix's tone of language was now as low as his tone of action. The Free-Soil platform only proposed to *limit* the extension, but not to abolish, slavery. Slavery might stay where it was, but not occupy new territory. General Dix simply told the slave-holders that if slavery was to be extended and run over the continent it was to be done otherwise than by New York. He would prefer disunion to civil war. But he objected to bolting from the old party, and preferred to house in under the old Democratic oligarchic sway, even though slavery should overspread the continent and rule forever. It was the beginning of well-deserved humiliations. When Pierce was nominated he took the stump and advocated his election. Pierce promised him the Secretaryship of State; the oligarchs growled, Pierce trembled and faltered, and Dix tamely submitted to be ostracised. Pierce then proposed a foreign mission, and a second growl paralyzed Pierce and subdued Dix. The word that "the place was wanted for a gentleman from Virginia" revealed to Dix who were his masters, and how low his serfdom; but elicited no moral self-assertion. The infamous quadrennium of Pierce having passed, the imbecile reign of Buchanan commenced. Dix hastened to give in his humble adhesion. In return he obtained not even a promise. But Buchanan, unable to draw money from the New York bankers without a loyal Secretary, was compelled, upon their nomination, to accept General Dix. How ably and loyally he filled that office the country knows.

One of the most unique phenomena we ever knew in politics was the cometary appearance in the Free-Soil contest of John Van Buren. He had previously been noticed by the public mind as a *character;* and went by the name of "Prince John," not merely because he was the son of his father, the President, but because he had revealed also some keen points of his own. After his father was discarded by the oligarchy, and he had accepted the Free-Soil nomination, Prince John bravely took the stump. He ranged

through New York State, with an oratory superior to Webster's in that day of Webster's decline, with a display of wit, argument, knowledge of history, statesmanship, enthusiasm for freedom, and high ethical bearing, that broke upon the public mind with a surprise. He carried all before him with a dash and with a rush. He struck into the Democratic mind of the rural counties views so powerful and just as prepared them for a firm stand when the trying hour came. We have ever thought that had John Van Buren persevered in that same high career of thought and action the Presidential office would have easily rested down upon him. But, throughout the whole, he was, alas, a masterly and brilliant hypocrite! He merely meant but a jaunty filibuster to punish the Democrats for their treachery to his father. He then expected to return to the Democratic head-quarters flushed with triumph. But the followers whom he had taught the lesson of freedom took it for earnest, and could not be whistled back. He returned alone; and the inexorable party allowed him to creep in through the smallest hole, but could bestow no future favor on so gigantic a bolter. He negotiated, and implored, and completely fulfilled the sentence pronounced upon the typical apostate, "on thy belly shalt thou crawl;" but no belly-crawling availed him. He slunk out of public life, and closed a disastrous career in an unhonored grave.

From a failure very much like this General Dix was saved by his military talent and his bold stand for an undivided nationality. He happily falsified the assurance he had given the oligarchy that he preferred disunion to war. At any rate, defiant disunion such as was offered by the oligarchs he pronounced *rebellion;* and he was bravely ready to meet it in arms. For his faithful services in that sphere his country flings a veil over his untrueness to the cause of freedom.

General Dix, though not prominent in any one department of ability, was a many-sided man, endowed with a variety of superiorities. An accomplished gentleman, a fine classical scholar, a potential poet, an able speaker though not a commanding orator, an enlightened statesman, and a military leader, had he but known the day of visitation and rolled back the aggressions of slavery at the hour, there would have been a completeness in his career which history would have delighted to record. We are not sure that he had not greater military talent than he was allowed to display. We are not sure that he was not kept back by Republican distrust or mean jealousy. One thing is clear,

that, even flung in the shade, he was able to make some masterly points, some of which we may give, that redeem his character from all suspicion of tameness.

He was placed at Baltimore to repress the spirit of rebellion which grew rampant after our defeat at Bull Run. So gentlemanly was he that the aristocratic *she*-rebels and *he*-rebels—the *she* ones, of course, occupy the first place—of "Monument Square" queried whether a rising in rebellion—which only waited their lead—would not be amicably received. Yet the General went on in so suave a manner building up fortifications and positioning field-pieces that they had their misgivings as to consequences. Some noble ladies of said "Monument Square," therefore, called upon him in exploration. They were received, of course, with gallant courtesy. Had he been a "chevalier" instead of a "puritan," the reception could not have been more graceful. He showed them around the works. And he pointed them especially to the largest Columbiad, and asked them if they perceived in which direction it aimed? For all the world, right to "Monument Square"! "Yes," replied he, in effect, "and if a rising against the government takes place that will be the first gun fired." Monument Square was soothed to peace.

As keen a point was his dinner-table response to the British Minister, Lord Lyons. General Dix had just telegraphed an order that the Canadian raiders into our territory should, if necessary, be pursued into Canada and taken. Lord Lyons remarked, "That is a delicate point, and may make trouble." "Not more delicate than England's coming to our side and burning a vessel on our own shore." How easily in matters of aggression can England's mouth be stopped by precedents of her own furnishing!

Having so sweetly soothed his sister Democrats of Baltimore, General Dix was next sent to chloroform his brother Democrats, the rebellious slums of New York, soon after the anti-Negro riots. Dr. Dix honestly tells us how near this rabble of Irishry and other mobberies were to laying New York in ashes. Yet it was through this mass of ignorance and vice that Van Buren and General Dix, and their brother demagogues, were able to rule so largely in State and nation. Without them the Democracy of the nation could maintain no status. Occupying a controlling position in such numbers, combined and compacted together, incapable of being appealed to by reason, they are able to overslaugh the great State of New York, and thereby have given the casting vote

more than once in the Presidential election. They were now, before the eyes of General Dix, the traitors that he and Governor Seymour had aided in making them. Had he been now a mere civilian he might have addressed them, as Governor Seymour did, with a suave "My Friends." But being a military chieftain his style, we are glad to say, was Napoleonic. He reports thus: "My orders on the day I took command were, (1) to use no blank cartridges, and (2) not only to disperse the mob, but to follow them up, and so deal with them that the *same persons should never be assembled again.*" How many a future Democratic caucus would have been spoiled had there been an extensive execution of this last clause!

Out of chronological, but in clear logical, place, we last allude to his celebrated order, "If any man tears down the American flag shoot him down upon the spot." The merit of this stroke would have been spoiled had it been an *ad captandum*. But it was a pure impulse, and its publication came across the dejected national heart amid the rumble of treason like an originality and a royal inspiration, as it was.

Twelve Americans, their Lives and Times. By HOWARD CARROLL. With Portraits. 12mo, pp. 471. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1883.

Mr. Carroll's twelve Americans consist of ten statesmen and two stage players; indicating that his range of mind runs not through the military, legal, or ecclesiastical professions, but is vibratory between the twin dramas of politics and the theater. Of the ten politicians, as of the virgins of the parable, five were wise and five were foolish; that is, Democratic and Republican. And so skillful is Mr. Carroll's own—we will not say non-committalism, but—genial fairness and impartiality that, had he not something of a party history of his own, it might be hard to say to which section of political virginity he was attached. In fact, the biographies are mostly the outcome of "interviews" with the innocents themselves, and seem to tell very much their own story; so that to Mr. Carroll's genius we must fairly attribute the origination of a new species of literature, namely, the *interview-biography;* and so well has he performed the achievement that it is a species which, whether "fittest" or not, may survive and appear in further specimens. Mr. Carroll writes narrative, anecdote, portraiture, in a pleasing style, and he particularly succeeds in picturing the homes and surroundings of the eminent personages who,

having played their part as politicians, have retired, and have developed at last into "sage." We have never read picturings of Monticello, the Hermitage, and Kinderhook, so good as Mr. Carroll gives of Deerfield and Quincy. We think he might have craved from our friends of Franklin Square somewhat better externals of paper, print, and engraving.

Beginning with Horatio Seymour, our own boyhood's recollections vary a little from Mr. Carroll's statement of the geography of our native Onondaga. He tells us "Pompey, a hamlet of a few hundred inhabitants, established on an elevation overlooking an unsightly swamp—now the flourishing city of Syracuse—was the principal place in Onondaga County." Now Pompey and Syracuse are to our recollection two different localities. But if it be meant that Syracuse was itself once the swamp, our memory does not concur. We remember the primeval period, when Syracuse was too infantile to have a name, and we of Salina, one mile distant, were obliged to call it "'tother settlement." It then became "The Four Corners." Then, if we mistake not, (for we were absent some years,) it was called Corinth, and finally became Syracuse. That swamp we have reason to recollect from the vapors and agues with which, before it was transformed by drainage into prairie, it enveloped our early years. In fact, the "*fever'n agur*," as it was popularly, or rather unpopularly, called, was to our young imagination a living *sprite*, very frightful to naughty boys. On Mr. Carroll's next page we have mention of a Jonathan Foreman, which suggests to us Judge Joshua Foreman, one of the founders of Syracuse, and the admiration of our own urchin eyes. In those days of poverty, when bankruptcy was almost the normal condition of our struggling people, the columns of the county newspaper used to be well filled with paragraphs beginning with: "By order of Joshua Foreman, First Judge of Onondaga County, notice is hereby given to the creditors of John Blank, an insolvent debtor," to come and bring charges. We remember once to have seen Judge Foreman sitting in the bar-room of Cosit's tavern, Four Corners, listening to the words of a Revolutionary soldier, applying for a pension, plaintively describing how near he came to death in his country's service. "Well," retorted the Judge, "but if you had quite died you certainly would have got no pension," crowning his joke with a ringing peal of laughter, but instantly, on beholding the petitioner's disconcerted face, changing to the most sympathizing tone and manner.

There was no "hereditary guilt," we think, in Mr. Seymour's

having been of high Democratic parentage. Guilt or merit arose if, after he became a responsible agent, he followed or guided his party into an iniquitous or unrighteous course. He himself considers his acceptance of a nomination to the Presidency "the greatest mistake of his life." History, the logic of events, will perhaps reveal to him that his "greatest mistake," a mistake that has ruled his whole political career, is his self-commitment to the support of a despotic oligarchy over his country. "He says, in self-defense, (the capitals are ours,) "the sentiment of hostility to slavery was a JUST one, but sentiment alone is not sufficient to guide men." Is JUSTICE a mere "*sentiment?*" Is it not the absolute Law by which the eternal God rules himself? Is it not the fundamental principle of all right government? The sooner such statemanship as this is retired by our statesmen from existence the better for the world. Wiser would it be for Mr. Seymour if he would confess this greater than his "greatest mistake," and rejoice, like the patriot he no doubt purposes to be, in the entire overthrow of his own policy and the consequent exaltation of his own country, both South and North, as the greatest and freest nation of history.

The narrative of Frederick Douglas, given at full length, verifies Byron's apothegm, "Truth is strange—stranger than fiction." Next in interest is the story of "The Old-Time Democrat," William Allen, of Ohio. We were unaware of the originality of that man's genius, and the romance of his political history, until reading this chapter. He magnanimously refused to be candidate for President instead of Cass, as he had been Cass' confidential friend and adviser. On what a single slender thread hang great world events! Providence overruled that magnanimity to overthrow him and slavery, and save our country. Had he been nominated he would very probably have been elected; and at that critical moment could, as an ultra pro-slavery Democrat, have fatally turned the balance. And Mr. Allen was an honest man, so far as the adoption of a course of unjust policy, deliberately and knowingly, allows a man to be honest.

A Hand-book of India and British Burmah. By W. E. ROLLINS, Missionary. 12mo, pp. 285. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1883.

A pocket edition of the land of ancient wonder and romance. Geography and history have chased away the mists of fable, and leave a reality less dreamy, but invested with still profounder

interest. This little volume condenses in admirable systematic form all we would generally wish to know.

Its six chapters successfully describe: First, the Physical Outlines of India; its surface diversified with mountains, valleys, and plains, cut with magnificent rivers; its animal, vegetable, and mineral productions; its climate, healthfulness, and sceneries: second, its races, customs, civilization, and antiquities: third, its religions, Demonolatry, Hinduism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Zoroastrianism, and the new Brahmoism: fourth and fifth, British and other westerners in India: sixth, evangelization. Besides a map there are five illustrations. The results of missionary labor in India are by no means dazzling, yet not discouraging. After long years it is still but a beginning. But seed is sown which, under the showers of Divine blessing, must fertilize this ancient but not arid land. Faith and hope look cheerfully over the land as sure to be overspread with the religion of Christ.

Politics, Law, and General Morals.

Facts for the People. A Report of the Legislature of 1883. 8vo, pp. 45.

This important document comes from the office of "The New York State Anti-Monopoly League," Frank S. Gardiner, Secretary, 35 Liberty Street, New York. We know nothing of the political affinities of the members of this League. But we do know that its "Report" in a very relentless way shovels out upon us a mass of very disturbing FACTS; facts of which our partisan papers give us very inadequate views; facts which it is very important for every person in the community to know. As these facts present an ethical as well as an economical and political aspect, and raise high moral queries, they are entirely suitable for the discussions of our Church press, and even pulpits.

It is our unparalleled prosperity that brings this danger. We are threatened with enslavement by the accumulation of millions of the all-powerful dollar. With the increase of money is the growth of the money power. So efficient has that power become, that it buys our legislatures, our courts, our press, our pulpits, and threatens to bring us into the condition of a bought and sold people. It imposes its own prices upon us, and it proposes to tax our productions with as heavy a tariff as they "are able to bear." The

carrier and middleman fix their own profit by grinding the producer; making themselves rich and keeping him poor. It is becoming the duty of every Christian man to become a politician. It becomes him to be a constant, faithful, conscientious voter. And we are not sure but there should be a chair in our theological schools, teaching the preacher how to treat the ethical questions in our ethico-political interests. A conscientious pulpit, like a conscientious press, ought to aid in conducting our country through the moral perils that threaten us. Its influence ought to be felt by conventions and caucuses, by legislatures and by courts. The political sensorium is exquisitely alive to influences. Politicians are timid when they encounter a fearless moral force. We see this fact illustrated by the ready alacrity with which both parties have, at least in appearance, jumped upon the platform of Civil-Service Reform, a platform on which they can be made to permanently stand only by close watching from the public eye. And it is through this attainment of a purer style of politics that the great soulless corporations can be made to feel the subduing power of public opinion and compulsory legislation. The formation of new parties on every issue, producing "scrub races" that end in chance results, are, happily, not proposed. But powerful are the "scratch" and the "bolt." Let every thoughtful voter so ostracise the corrupt candidate that the caucus shall feel his power, and beware how it makes corrupt nominations, and one higher step will be attained, one vantage ground for further victories. Unless this legitimate course of reform is pursued, unless bosses are abolished and rail-kings are overruled, strikes, communisms, nihilisms, and social convulsions will break upon us. We are in great want of a true, ethical, and Christian sociology.

And its first elements must be Facts, "*Facts for the People.*" Most heartily do we thank the Anti-Monopoly League for this remarkable body of Facts. And we give a few of their *Facts* by way of appetizing specimens:

UNDISPUTED FACTS.

It is not disputed—

That Gould, Vanderbilt, Huntington, Stanford, Sage, Field, etc., twenty years ago were comparatively poor men, and to-day these five men are worth probably $500,000,000; and, through the corporations they control, wield the power of $3,000,000,000.

That they control, absolutely, the Legislatures of a majority of the States in the Union; make and unmake Governors, United States Senators, and Congressmen, and, under the forms of popular government, are practical dictators of the governmental policy of the United States.

That within twenty years two hundred millions of acres of the public lands have been given to corporations, equal to about four acres for every man, woman, and child in the United States.

That this wealth and power has been acquired largely through bribery and corruption. Mr. Gould testified in 1873 that he contributed money to control legislation in four States, and it was proven that the Erie road, in a single year under his management, disbursed more than $1,000,000 for this purpose. His interference with the administration of our courts of justice is illustrated by his telegraphing United States Senator Plumb, asking him to support Stanley Matthews for the United States Supreme Court. And the striking spectacle was presented of Whitelaw Reid, editor of one of the leading Republican journals of the country, and Henry Watterson, editor of one of the leading Democratic journals of the country, lobbying on the floor of the United States Senate to secure Mr. Matthews' confirmation as a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States.

That a Judge of the Supreme Court of the State of New York recently held court in a stock gambler's office, and wrote his attorneys that he would "go to the very verge of judicial discretion" to oblige them, and yet the Legislature refused to impeach him.

That other judges and many legislators in this State exhibit a strong bias in favor of corporations, accept their "courtesies," and openly "speculate" in corporate securities on "points" furnished by corporate magnates.

That our great Boards of Trade and Commercial Exchanges are fast passing from the domain of legitimate business to that of gambling speculation, and the spectacle is exhibited to the young of the highest prizes of commerce and society being conferred upon its most unscrupulous and unworthy members.

That men who defraud the public, and even their friends, by selling, under false pretenses, stocks for which no money was expended, and accumulate enormous fortunes through professional misrepresentation, are called "financiers," and by doling out a little of their ill-gotten gains for religious or charitable objects, are able to purchase the commendation, or at least the toleration, of good men, and an influential portion of the *pulpit* and the *press*.

That because Senator Thurman was active in compelling the Pacific railroads, in which Mr. Gould was interested, to fulfill their contracts with the government, that honest man and able statesman could not return to the United States Senate.

That E. D. Worcester, Treasurer of the New York Central Railroad, testified before the late Constitutional Convention of the State of New York that that road paid $205,000 one year, and $60,000 another, to obtain legislation, and that *it was obtained.*

That in the last United States senatorial contest in the State of New York, a member of the Legislature stated that he had been given $2,000 to vote for a railroad candidate for the United States Senate; that he had given the money to the Speaker, and asked for an investigation. An investigation was ordered, and a State Senator and two lobbyists were indicted; but they have not been tried, and it is stated that corporation influence will prevent their trial, or, if tried, secure their acquittal.

That, in 1877, the railroad riots in Pittsburg destroyed a large amount of property. The railroads refused to indemnify shippers, but endeavored to make the people of the State liable to the railroads. They tried to buy a bill through the Legislature saddling several millions of dollars upon the public. Their usual method of bribery was employed, but was detected, and E. J. Petroff, a member of the Legislature, with several accomplices, were tried and found guilty; but here political influence was brought to bear, United States Senator Don Cameron leaving his seat in the Senate and going home to look after things, and they were pardoned.

We like this method of giving, not only facts, but names. Let us know who the rogues and what their rogueries, and we shall perhaps know how and where to strike.

The following fact indicates one of the methods of reform:

When John Quincy Adams entered the House of Representatives he owned several shares of the United States Bank, but he immediately sold them on the

ground that no Representative should have an interest in any matter that might come before the House for legislation. Times have changed since then; now a large number of our Representatives are sent to our National and State Legislatures by corporations in which they are interested, or by whom they are "retained," either to make laws in their interest, or to prevent the people from making laws protecting the public interest; in short, to protect class interests—taxing the many for the benefit of the few.

Has not the time come for the passing of a law or another amendment to the Constitution providing that no Representative shall vote upon a question in which he is pecuniarily interested?

Of the leading papers of New York, of both parties, the Post, the Graphic, the Journal of Commerce, the Tribune, and Brooklyn Eagle, speak in bold terms. The Republican Party has accomplished some of the noblest achievements in history. The query now is whether it will undertake this new emancipation. If it unites with the Monopoly, and becomes subservient to the new Oligarchy, its doom is sealed.

The following is the language of one great Republican:

The modern barons, more powerful than their military prototypes, own our greatest highways and levy tribute at will upon our vast industries. And, as the old feudalism was finally controlled and subordinated only by the combined efforts of the kings and the people of the free cities and towns, so our modern feudalism can be subordinated to the public good only by the great body of the people, acting through their government by wise and just laws.

JAMES A. GARFIELD.

And the following is from an eminent Democrat, Senator Beck, of Kentucky:

It is impossible to have an honest Legislature, State or Federal, so long as Representatives are sent who owe their election to, or are personally interested in, great moneyed corporations or monopolies. No matter whether they call themselves Democrats or Republicans, they are not the representatives of the people; they are simply the agents and attorneys of those who seek, by taxing the masses, to enrich themselves, whenever they owe their election to monopolists, or are themselves interested in class legislation.

One of the admirable plans of this "Report" is its synopsis of votes given by the members of the last New York Legislature for or against each and every measure favoring monopoly, the former printed in appropriate black and the latter in red. This brings the whole story under one glance. The electors of the State know who are to be re-elected and who not. We advise every American citizen to whom this subject is new to write to Mr. Gardiner above-named, inclosing two postage-stamps for this pamphlet. On one of its pages will be found a list of the valuable publications of the League.

Miscellaneous.

"*Connectional Plan.*" A Plea in Behalf of Worn-out Preachers, Widows, and Orphans, with a Prayer to the General Conference of 1884. By JOHN L. SMITH, of the North-west Indiana Conference. 1883.

Although our denominational press is now all alive with the discussion of the time-limitation of our itinerancy, it seems to us there is a more important topic now before the Church. Since the publication of the statistics showing how small a minority of our ministers serves through a triennium in the same church, and how large a majority serves through but a single year, we have lost interest in that topic. Flinging off the limitation will scarce make any change. Bishop Hedding's wise and witty statement, heretofore quoted by us, proves itself true: "Don't feel bad, brethren, because we move you; for if we didn't the people would." The people do move the ministry, and all the bishop does is to step in and see that the moving is done for the best good of all concerned. The more important question discussed in this pamphlet is the provision for our superannuate preachers and their dependents. And the surprise is, that our preachers in mid-life do not so realize the prospect before them of an old age of penury as to bring about some plan for affording a proper relief from such a sad result. Mr. Smith's pamphlet presents the details of such a "Connectional Plan" as we think ought, by all means, to be adopted. It is simply to *make the establishment of an ample fund for our superannuates the main object in our Centenary contributions in* 1884.

We vote for this proposition with all our heart and both our uplifted hands. Then let the profits of our Book Concern go to their legitimate object, the spreading a cheap Methodist and miscellaneous literature in all our Methodist families.

The Greek and Latin Inscriptions on the Obelisk-Crab in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. A Monograph. By AUGUSTUS C. MERRIAM, Ph.D., Adjunct Professor of Greek in Columbia College. 8vo, pp. 49. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

The Alexandrian obelisk, now placed in our city park, was originally based in Egypt upon four large sea-crabs, of which two, in a somewhat dilapidated condition, are now placed in our Metropolitan Museum. On one of these is an inscription stating the time of the erection of the obelisk and the name of the architect who performed the achievement. Professor Merriam here gives a detailed but very interesting narrative of his researches in

clearing the inscription of apparent discrepancies and obscurations, bringing to light its true reading. It was a pursuit of knowledge under great difficulties, with great perseverance, learning, and skill, and it brings out conclusive results. The obelisk was erected in the eighth year of the reign of Augustus, under Barbarus, Prefect of Egypt, by the hand of Pontius, the architect. Barbarus and Pontius are identified in history with thorough research and complete success.

Easy Lessons in Vegetable Biology; or, Outlines of Plant Life. By Rev. J. H. WYTHE, M.D., author of "The Science of Life," "The Microscopist," "Agreement of Science and Revelation," etc. Small 12mo, pp. 94. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1882.

A pleasing presentation of the elementary principles of vegetable life.

Dickinson College: The History of a Hundred Years. Alumni Oration delivered at the Centennial Commencement of the College, Wednesday, July 27, 1883, at 8 P. M. By the Rev. GEO. R. CROOKS, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Church History in Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, New Jersey.

Dickinson's century of history is given in Dr. Crook's best style.

Liquordom in New York City. By ROBERT GRAHAM, Secretary of C. T. S. New York: No. 47 Lafayette Place. 1883.

An appalling picture of grog-shop rule in our great metropolis.

University of Michigan. A Memorial Discourse on the Life and Services of Rev. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN COCKER, D.D., LL.D., Professor in the University from 1869 to 1883. Delivered in University Hall, by request of the Senate, June 24, 1883, by ALEXANDER WINCHELL, LL.D. Published by the University, 1883.

An eloquent memorial of a brilliant career.

HARPER'S FRANKLIN SQUARE LIBRARY.—*By the Gate of the Sea.* A Novel. By DAVID CHRISTIE MURRAY, author of "Joseph's Coat," "A Life's Atonement," "Hearts," etc. 8vo, pp. 29. New York: Harper & Brothers. *Thicker than Water.* A Novel. By JAMES PAYN, author of "By Proxy," "High Spirits," "A Beggar on Horseback," "Gwendolen's Harvest," "For Cash Only," "The Best of Husbands," "What he Cost Her," etc. 8vo, pp. 74. *The New Timothy.* A Novel. By WILLIAM M. BAKER, author of "Inside," "The Virginians in Texas," "His Majesty, Myself," etc. 8vo, pp. 71. *The Romantic Adventures of a Milk-maid.* A Novel. By THOMAS HARDY, author of "A Laodicean," "Far From the Madding Crowd," "The Return of the Native." Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 23.

Laura Doone. A Romance of Exmoor. By R. D. BLACKMORE. 12mo, pp. 556. Harper & Brothers.

Philosophic Series—No. II. Energy: Efficient and Final Cause. By JAMES M'COSH, D.D., LL.D., D.L., author of "The Laws of Discursive Thought," "Emotions," etc., President of Princeton College. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

The Cruise of the Canoe Club. By W. L. ALDEN, author of "The Moral Pirates," "The Cruise of the Ghost," etc. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 166. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

Presbyterianism. By JOHN MACPHERSON, M.A., Findhorn. 12mo, pp. 151. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clarke.

Fielding. By AUSTIN DOBSON. 12mo, pp. 184. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

HON. OLIVER HOYT.

THIS well and favorably known New York layman, whose portrait accompanies this sketch, was born in Stamford, Conn., in 1823. His ancestors belonged to the sturdy yeomanry developed in the early history of New England, which gave Connecticut its positive and energetic character. The family had physical and intellectual vigor, and a strong moral and religious sense. Mr. Hoyt is one of seven sons, of whom *six* survive; all but one weighing not far from two hundred pounds and averaging nearly six feet in height. He was apprenticed to the trade of tanner, and went into business for himself, in New York, before he was twenty-two years old. To his own business, which he understands from the rudiments to the most complex mechanical and the most far-reaching financial operation, he has steadfastly adhered, having been connected with the firm of Hoyt Brothers from its origin. In this business he has accumulated a large fortune, the result of integrity, fidelity, and legitimate manufacture of goods necessary to civilization. Large as his fortune is, if his gifts to the Church, the cause of education, the poor, to his friends, his country, and his native town were added to it, they would vastly increase, if they did not double, its volume.

The great event of his life was his conversion. Though trained Calvinistically he was converted under the preaching of "Father Oldin," when the convert was a boy and the preacher in the prime of life. Since that period he has been devoted to the Methodist Episcopal Church. For twenty-five years he has been superintendent of the Sunday-school; his place in the prayer-meeting is rarely vacant, and his voice in prayer and exhortation in revival services is heard with moral power among those who have known him from his childhood. His interest in Lay Representation is too well known to need more than mention.

Both the Church and the State have recognised and worthily honored his integrity and ability: the Church, by electing him a Lay Delegate of the General Conferences of 1872 and 1876; the State, by electing him for several successive terms as a member of its Senate.

Stained by no excesses in youth, by no moral irregularities in manhood; his wealth accumulated by no doubtful transactions; the same honest man in public and in private; he has just passed his sixtieth birthday in the esteem of his acquaintances and the affections of his friends.

He has been for many years a Director of the National Park Bank; and for a quarter of a century one of the Managers of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He has been the Treasurer and an active trustee of the Educational Fund from its origin in 1868.

J. M. B.

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